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BUDDHISTIC STUDIES.

CHAPTER I

THE BUDDHISM OF MANIMĒKHALAI

The history of Buddhism in South India is still wrapped in considerable obscurity. We have no means of knowing when and by what particular agency or means it got promulgated in this part of India. Except from late tradition which associated places with Buddhism and Aśoka, there is not even genuine southern tradition to confirm these. No doubt, there are here and there references to the monuments of Aśoka in Buddhist centres in Hiuen T'sang, but there is nothing else to confirm him in regard to that particular. A work like the Maṇimēkhalai, a professed Buddhist work written by a Buddhist author for the actual glorification of Buddhism, referring to the more important Buddhist centres in Tāmil India and to the monuments therein, has not referred to Aśoka in any one place, which is clear evidence that local tradition knows nothing whatever of Aśoka. Innumerable references there are in that work to northern rulers and to northern sages and saints, but there is no mention of Aśoka's propaganda or of the actual visit of Buddha to any one of these places unless the existence of the footprints of Buddha should be interpreted as indicating his advent there. Even so it does not state it in those terms, although in respect of the footprints on the Gṛidhrakūṭa in Rājagir it says explicitly that the footprints actually mark wherefrom the Buddha delivered a sermon. We may, therefore, take it that the propaganda of Buddhism in this region was not

due to anything that Aśoka did. Aśoka's name figures largely in the Ceylon tradition which frankly admits that there were embassies between Ceylon and Magadha, and that some of the holy monuments in Ceylon were directly owing to the condescending favour of Aśoka to his contemporary of Ceylon. The position, therefore, seems indubitable that Buddhism penetrated in these parts probably much later than the age of the Buddha, and by means other than the propagandic efforts of Aśoka.

The edicts of Aśoka give a clear indication that the Magadha empire stopped short north of the Tāmil country in a somewhat extended sense of the term. The late Vincent Smith's limit at the fourteenth degree of north latitude is not far wide of the mark. The Tāmils mark off the northern frontier by calling it the Telugu-Kanarese frontier, as they made no distinction between the Telugu and Kanarese people and called them both alike *Vaduhar*. Certain places along this frontier are referred to as *Vaduharmunai*, the frontier post against the Vaduhar, literally northerners. One such is clearly referred to at Tirupati. Another one seems probably indicated by the location of the southernmost of Aśoka's Rock Edicts in the Chittaldrug District of Mysore. Whether there was a third frontier post like these has not come to our notice, although frontier posts along this line are indicated in several pieces of literature referrable to the early classical age of the Tāmils. It may, therefore, be taken safely that Aśoka's sphere of influence, political influence, stops short at the northern frontier of the Tāmil land marked by a line roughly corresponding to the fourteenth degree of north latitude or a little further south.

Does that necessarily imply that Buddhism stopped there? We have no means of stating positively that it did, or for the matter of that, it did not for the age of Aśoka But indications in later literature all seem to point to the fact that Buddhism penetrated into the Tāmil country peacefully, if not actually at or before the age of Aśoka, at least since then The progress of Buddhism therefore, seems to be one of peaceful penetration, and this seems warranted by the statement in the thirteenth Rock Edict of Aśoka that even into the realms of his neighbours, independent of his authority or even political influence, the teachings of the Buddha had penetrated already It would, therefore, be reasonable to assume that perhaps in the age of Aśoka already, and even before, Buddhist teachers and mendicants passed into this remote region, and flourished along with teachers of the other systems of religious thought in the Tāmil land, as in fact even in professedly sectarian works these are referred to side by side as flourishing in happy confusion The Buddhist work above adverted to, Manimēkhalai, refers to Brahman settlements with of course their sanctified places for the celebrations of sacrifices large hermitages for the votaries of the Jaina religion, places for the residence and propagation of the religion of the Saiva sectarians, and well-provided garden places for the Buddhists, all as having existed side by side, at any rate, not far from each other While, [therefore, we have to take it that Buddhism had penetrated into the Tāmil country we have to remain satisfied that we are not able to state precisely when and by what actual means definitely, it had been introduced into the country]

There are two incidents in Buddhist history that seem to

throw some light upon this question. Buddhist tradition has it that as a result of the Council held under the auspices of Aśoka, various missions were sent to distant countries for the propagation of the faith. These places are recited categorically together with the names of the missionaries sent to them respectively. Considerable doubt has been thrown upon the actual correctness of the list, as there are discrepancies in it, and there is a considerable similarity in the names of the missionaries.[1] The list is preserved in the Ceylon Chronicle, the Mahāvamsa, a chronicle compiled in the earlier years of the fourth century A. D. The arguments that the names are similar cannot be held to have much force as the names given are not the names of individuals as such, but sacerdotal titles assumed by these missionaries on their admission into the order. Such titles are bound to have a certain amount of family likeness among them as they are not very large in number really. But a certain amount of similarity is inevitable as these titles are assumed on various considerations of a comparatively narrow character. This is true not only of Buddhist secerdotal titles, but it is equally true of the titles pertaining to other religious orders in India even in modern times. Nay, it applies even to royal titles, distinguishing these really from the actual names of individuals. No argument, therefore, against the genuineness of the Ceylonese tradition could well be drawn from these statements. The other discrepancies pointed out are not so serious as to cast doubts of a sufficient degree to reject the

[1] Prof Bhândârkar, Aśoka

tradition as a whole. In this recital of names of countries[1] to which missions were sent, we do not find any that could well be located in South India proper. The southernmost region is Banavasi across the northern frontier of Tāmil India. The only other possibility is Mahishamaṇḍala which has been identified with Mysore by some without satisfactory evidence. Mahishamaṇḍala is to be taken as the region on the banks of the Narmada, the capital of which was Māhishamatî, and if this is removed, there is no other territory mentioned in the list that can be considered as belonging to South India proper.

The same Ceylonese tradition has reference to an assemblage of eminent Buddhist divines from various centres of holy reputation on the occasion of the consecration of the Mahāvihāra in the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya of Ceylon. In this instance invitations were probably issued to all Buddhist centres of reputation, and representatives arrived from these. In the list of the places mentioned figure all the famous places in Buddhist history in Upper India, including Kashmir. There are only two or three places in a list of fourteen that can be considered as belonging to any region south of the Vindhyas, namely the Vanavāsa country, which is Banavase referred to in the section above. The next is the great Kēḷāsa-vihāra. The probabilities are that this Kēḷāsa-vihāra has reference to Amarāvatî rather than to any other place in the farther south. The third place is that which is described as Pallavabhogga which may, with plausibility be identified with the Pallava country. But about the time

[1] See page 82 of Geiger's Mahāvamsa, and for a discussion, the Author's Beginnings of South Indian History, pages 74-77.

to which this has reference we do not know of the Pallavas in the south, and the very name itself seems to indicate that it was a country of the Pallavas in the north-west and the west, the region of Gujarat being about the farthest south possible.[1] The reigning period of this ruler of Ceylon is given as A. B. 382-406, which would correspond to 161-137 B. C. on the basis of the Buddha Nirvāna being 544-543 B. C.

The omission on this occasion is significant, and would bear the definite inference that Buddhism had not penetrated beyond the Asokan frontier of the south. It may perhaps be more reasonable to hold that no particular centre of this region had attained to that degree of celebrity that the other centres had, or even in those early stages, Buddhism of this locality was something distinct, distinct to the degree of hostility, from the Buddhism that prevailed in Ceylon. There is some justification for the latter inference as there are references in the Ceylonese chronicle relating to the period when the chronicle was actually composed, when the votaries of Buddhism who came from this region, the Chola country specifically, were regarded as schismatic sectaries by the Ceylonese All Buddhists of the locality immediately north of this frontier again are regarded as something distinct from those of Ceylon. These are said to be followers of the *Vētulya sūtras* whatever these meant to the monks of the Mahāvihāra in Ceylon. The prejudice against these seems to have arisen from the fact that the Ceylonese belonged to the orthodox Theravāda (Sthaviravāda) and the Buddhists of this locality were considered as belonging to

[1] On this question please see pages 77 89 of the Beginnings of South Indian History

the Mahāsangikas The absence of reference, therefore, need not necessarily be due to the fact that Buddhism was unknown in the regions to which there is no reference Apart from this is the fact recorded in the Mahāvamsa that the rulers and usurpers that came from the Tāmil country in some number according to the chronicle were all of them hostile to Buddhism in Ceylon itself This may to some extent support the conclusion that the Tāmil country had no Buddhism That would be so, if there were no other evidence whatsoever of the existence of Buddhism in that particular region The question, therefore, again comes round to the position whether we have evidence to regard Buddhism as a religion practised in the Tāmil country in the first few centuries on either side of the Christian era In the early centuries of the Christian era Buddhism was prevalent in the Dakhan, and during the first two centuries of this era, there were Buddhist centres of very considerable importance dotted all over the fringe of the Dakhan plateau both on the east and on the west Apart from those on the west, which were comparatively remote from the Tamil border, those on the east were near enough in the neighbourhood, and had attained to so great a celebrity that it would be difficult to believe that these centres exercised no influence upon the country across the southern border Tāmil works datable with certainty to the seventh century, and others presumably datable before that, make references to Buddhism and Jainism in such a way as to justify inferences to these latter occupying a comparatively high position, and exercising a degree of influence to merit the attacks of Hindu saints and sages It is therefore clear

that in this period, which is more or less the period when Hiuen T'sang happened to be in the south, Buddhism must have had a very considerable growth after its introduction, and must have secured an influential position in society. There are monuments bearing inscriptions in Brahmi characters, several of them regarded as Jain, and some as Buddhist. There are several Buddhist Vihāras under reference in Hiuen T'sang's itinerary in places like Conjeeveram and elsewhere. The presumption gains in strength, and we may look forward to discovering vestiges of Buddhism having actually flourished to a very considerable extent in this country.

Among the Tāmil classics there peers forth here and there a detail or two regarding Buddhism and Jainism. The distinction between the two is not always clearly maintained in these references. But there are two works, so they go in the form accessible to us, which are regarded as together constituting one poem though composed by two authors, as the story is one continuous story and the authors intended that each one should be a complement to the other, so that the two together might make up one complete epic poem. The first part of it has reference to a husband and wife, members of influential and rich families of great traders on land and oversea, and has for its subject the tragic miscarriage of justice committed by the ruling Pāṇḍyan monarch in ordering the decapitation of the husband who went into the town to sell an anklet belonging to his wife, under the impression that he was the seller of the stolen jewel belonging to the queen. The bereaved wife took revenge by demonstrating the innocence of the husband, and, calling upon the gods to destroy the town by fire, and then, immolated herself

in the neighbouring Chēra kingdom The story ends with her deification, and this constitutes the prelude to the plot of the other poem The husband and wife referred to above lived somewhat estranged owing to the fact that the husband was captivated by the charms of a dancing woman of their native city Puhār (Kāverippattinam) She was the means of the husband losing all his wealth till the crisis came, which led him to betake himself to Madura with his virtuous wife The offspring of this liaison was a girl who had just attained to the charms of maidenhood when the catastrophe befell the husband and wife in Madura On receipt of news of this tragedy, and, with the concurrence of her mother, she gave up the alluring prospects of the delightful and lucrative life of a royal courtesan, and entered a Buddhist cloister as a novice, quite on the threshold of her life The Chola heir apparent at Kaverippattinam had already been smitten with her charms and he pursued a course of love which ended in his death She went on in her first resolution undeterred by all the allurements of a seductive centre like the royal city, and, aided in her resolution by the angels of the Buddhist pantheon, she attained to the higher life of a Buddhist nun It is this topic of the renunciation of the dancing woman's daughter, whose name was Manimēkalai, that constitutes the theme of the poem, which sets itself up, in treating of this simple topic, to exalt the glories of Buddhism The plan of the compound epic admits of a very large introduction of the miraculous, and, in dealing with this for purposes of history, this character must not be lost sight of It must be remembered however, that even more professedly sober histories of Buddhism are hardly better in this particular than

this poem. No incident of Buddhist history is described in any work of Buddhist history without reference to some tale or other dealing with the anterior births of the Buddha or some other saint of the Buddhist hierarchy. The introduction of the miraculous is, therefore, of the essential, equipment even of Buddhist history. In the course of the story, the heroine is shown engaged in her rounds as a Buddhist novitiate in Puhār. She is later on exhibited in the Buddhist surroundings of a corner of Ceylon. Then she is taken across peninsular India to the capital of the West Coast, Vanji (Cranganore) on the Cochin coast. She is again brought across to Kāñchi. Being a Buddhist she is introduced to us in each one of these places in Buddhist surroundings entirely. Allowing for the miraculous there is left a considerable body of Buddhist details, which could not have been put into a work even of this character, without something corresponding to it in actual life. Buddhist vihāras, monuments and saints are brought before us, and it is these that give occasion for various details connected with Buddhism, much as we find them in the itinerary of Hiuen T'sang. It would, therefore, be worth while examining these in detail with a view to presenting a picture of Buddhism as it prevailed in the Tāmil land.

Without proceeding to an examination in detail of the work it may be stated here that there are a number of contexts in which the author takes occasion to enforce various aspects of the teachings of the Buddha. There are one or two occasions in which these teachings are discussed much more elaborately than on the other occasions. The contexts are such, however, except in regard to the one

occasion or two, that it would hardly be justifiable to expect anything like a full exposition of the character of Buddhism that the author wished to expound. Taken as a whole we have enough left to justify our conclusion that the Buddhism the author expounds is not the Mahāyāna but distinctly Hînayāna. An examination of the last three chapters, however, gives us a clear indication that the School of Buddhism that the author wished to expound is that of the Sautrāntika school of the Sthaviravāda as far as we can judge of the system from other Tāmil works which lay themselves out to state and criticise the tenets of this particular school. There remain, however, points which, judged by the latter material, are not quite intelligible to us to label them precisely. Having regard to the contexts in which such discussions occur in the course of the work, we may take as a test the idea of Nirvāna. The work throughout expounds it as a release from the ills of life, products of Karma, in accordance with the original teachings of the Buddha. There is nothing to indicate the change of idea conveyed in the following passages in regard to the Mahāyāna ideal of Nirvāna. 'The highest ideal of Mahāyāna Buddhism is, not to escape from the ills of life. but, universal love. Nirvāna in the sense of extinction, as I have already shown. is never regarded as man's final aim. Even attempts for the salvation of one's own self, irrespective of that of others, are deprecated. As a proof of this, let me translate an extract from Āryadeva's Mahāpurusha Śāstra, which illustrates the cardinal principle of Mahāyānistic perfection, viz , that thoughts for the good of others should always precede those for the good of self." "Those

who are afraid of *saṁsāra* and seek their own advantage and happiness in salvation are inferior to those aspirants to Buddhahood, who rejoice at their rebirth, for it gives them an opportunity to do good to others. Those who feel only for themselves may enter Nirvāna, but the aspirant to Buddhahood who feels for the sufferings of his fellow creatures as though they were his own, how can he bear the thought of leaving his fellow-creatures behind, while he himself is making for salvation and reposing in the calm of Nirvāna ? Nirvāna, in truth, consists in rejoicing in others being made happy, and *Saṁsāra means not* feeling happy. Whosoever feels an universal love for his fellow-creatures will rejoice in conferring bliss on them and by so doing attain Nirvāna."[1]

While we may find in the Manimēkhalai even occasions when rebirth is sought for the purpose of doing good to others on this earth, the ideal still before the mind of the individual is the accumulation of merits by good deeds in this life with a view to the attainment of his own Nirvāṇa. Thus it is clear that the Buddhism of the Manimēkhalai is of the Hīnayāna, and not Mahāyāna form. Does it follow from this that Buddhism of South India was necessarily Buddhism of the Sautrāntika school of the Hīnayāna ?

This would merely indicate the conviction of the author and his anxiety to preach to others by means of his work what is his own particular belief. As was pointed out already the Mahāvamsa bears witness to a general hostility of those coming from the Tāmil country in regard to Vibhajyavāda school of the Sthaviravāda prevalent in Ceylon. All

[1] Systems of Buddhistic Thought, Yamakāmi Sōgen pages, 63-64

through this work, there is no reference whatsoever to the school of the Mahāsanghika which was the prevailing form of Buddhism across the northern border of the Tāmil land, that is, in the Andhra country. The absence of any reference or criticism to the Sthaviravāda, may be passed over as the Sautrāntika school itself may be regarded as belonging to that system. But the Mahāsanghika school that prevailed in the Andhra country was a sect somewhat hostile to the Sthaviravāda, and would find mention. It does not. What is perhaps a more positive lead to the conclusion that the Buddhism of the Tāmil country was of the Hinayāna form is that the other systems of Buddhism find no mention even in that chapter where the heretical systems are formally expounded to the heroine by their respective votaries with a view to her examination of these before she is actually taught the orthodox teachings of the Buddha. Nor is there any direct mention, or even an indirect allusion, to teachers like Nāgārjuna and Deva, figures of the first importance in Mahāyāna Buddhism, who lived and taught not very far from Kanchi itself. Hence the conclusion seems justifiable that the Buddhism actually expounded in the Tāmil classic is not merely a form of religion believed in by the author, but acutally that form of Buddhism which prevailed in the land. We may, therefore, regard the work itself as anterior to the time when the teachings of the Madhyamika school of Buddhism of Nāgārjuna came to be widely known.

There is another point of some importance in connection with the discussion of various heretical systems expounded in this work. The first system to come in for criticism

by the author is the Mīmāmsā Three teachers of this system are referred to, Vedavyāsa, Krtakoti, and Jaimini, and they are brought in here as the expounders of *Pramānavāda* Vyāsa is said to have expounded ten *pramānas*, Krtakoti eight and Jaimini six There is a further reference in the course of the same canto that at the time of the author, the accepted *pramānas* were only six, which are enumerated as *Pratyaksha, Anumāna, Śābda Upamana, Arthāpatti, and Abhāva* These are according to the work the *pramāna* applicable to the six systems of Hindu philosophy, enumerated as Lokāyata, Bauddha, Sānkhya, Nayyāyika, Vaiśeshika, and Mimāmsā Of the three authoritative expounders of the Mimāmsā, Jaimini and Vyāsa are well known as the respective teachers of the Pūrvamīmāmsā and Uttaramîmāmsā Krtakoti is not so well known Krtakoti seems to be the name however of a work, not of the author It seems to be the vrtti generally known as Bodhayana vrtti which is followed rather closely by Rāmānuja and his school The information regarding this work is brought to light in a passage from a work called Prapanchahrdayam which deals with Mimāmsā and its various expounders, writers of sutras and commentators, and it mentions the vrtti of Bodhayana as bearing upon the whole of Mimāmsā, Pūrva and Uttara, which was abridged by Upavarsha [1] The way that the Manimēkhalai refers to these authors does not give us clearly to understand whether it regards the Mimāmsā as a whole or in its two separate sections, Pūrvamîmāmsā and Uttaramîmāmsā, in the first reference

[1] See a note on the subject by A Rangaswami Sarasvati in the Journal of Indian History Vol v part 1

Perhaps it is open to us to infer from the recital of the six systems that it regarded the Mîmāṁsā as a single system and not, as later on as two separate systems, Pūrva and Uttara-mûmāṁsā. This feature of the reference in the Maṇimēkhalai to the Mimāṁsā would again indicate that the work Maṇimēkhalai is referable to a comparatively early age, the same age indicated by the character of the South Indian Buddhism adverted to above.

There is one other point of some importance which may be noted here. Dealing with Jainism among the heretical systems, the Maṇimēkhalai refers in two separate sections to the Ājivakas and their teacher Markali, and to the Nirgraṇthas with their teacher Aruhan (Arhat) the name by which Mahāvīra is usually referred to in Tāmil literature. But later works generally regard the Ajivakas as a section of the Jains. But the way that the Maṇimēkhalai describes the two seems to warrant the inference that in Maṇimēkhalai itself the systems are regarded as distinct, and having no connection with each other. The term Ājīvaka is of frequent occurrence in the inscription found in the Tāmil country, and seems to refer uniformly to the Jains, although we are not in a position to mark distinctly when exactly this confusion came in. For our present purpose, however, this would also indicate the early character of the systems under discussion in the work, thus giving to the work itself an early character.

This investigation shows that the South Indian Buddhism as described in the Maṇimēkhalai is of a distinct character not yet assimilable to the systems that came later into vogue in the region immediately north of the Tāmil borders across.

Brāhman who obtained the name of Kānadēva by a feat of his which has some resemblance, with characteristic differences of course, to the achievement of another saint of a different order.

For Dēva luckily we have two Chinese treatises that give information, (1) Life of Kānadeva by Kumārajîva. and (2) a Chinese work Fu-fatsān-yin-yuen-kwān. According to these two, Dēva was the son of a Brahman in southern India, and was the greatest disciple of Nāgārjuna His great achievement in the field of religious controversy was the defeat of the Saivas, votaries of Maheśvara. In the words of the author : 'In his time, there was a large golden image of Maheśvara, whose statue was about 22 to 36 feet high. People believed that if they made vows to this image they could obtain any desire of their heart because of the miraculous powers it was supposed to possess. One day Deva also went to worship, and requested permission to enter the shrine.' Thereupon the master of the shrine replied, "It cannot be seen by human eyes, for the image of Maheśvara possesses such a supernatural and miraculous power that whoever catches a glimpse of it, falls into a swoon which lasts for one hundred days. So, you had better worship and offer your vows from this gate". Thereupon Deva said ; "A divinity ought to possess supernatural and miraculous power, and it is for this reason that I want to see him If he were otherwise, why should I long to see him." So he entered into the shrine himself. When he looked at the golden image, it seemed as if the image had got angry for something and was moving its eyes But Deva fearlessly said, "If this be God, it must exercise the influence of divine

power upon human beings and must overpower all beings with its divine knowledge and virtue. Here indeed is a trickery devised for the purpose of deluding with the gorgeousness of gold and glitter of glass!" With these words, he mounted on this image by a ladder and plucked out its left eye. Some of the bystanders at once began to doubt the supernatural powers of this image, while others were furious at the sacrilege. So Deva addressed them thus;—"Deity is boundless. I have full faith in His spirit. But material has no connection with Him. I, therefore, plucked out this eye which consists of glass, after mounting on that golden mountain-like image. I am not a proud man and should be the last person to offer insult to the Deity". The narrative may appear tedious, but no one would deny the great interest which attaches to the conduct of the great man as the destroyer of idol-worship which was the root of the numerous superstitions in India at this time. Be it as it may, the authors of these two works mentioned above, describe Deva as a native of Southern India. Dr. B. Nanjio says that Deva was a native of South India, not of Ceylon. As against this clear statement there is to be pitted the statement of Hiuen T'sang in connection with Deva that he came from Celyon. What is more a further statement in the words of Deva himself; "My father, mother and relations dwell in the island of Ceylon. I fear lest they should be suffering from hunger and thirst. I desire to appease them from this distant spot."[1] The learned scholar, from whose lectures I have taken this extract considers this statement sufficient to

[1] Systems of Buddhistic Thought by Yamakami Sōgen, pp. 187-92.

the territory dependent on Kanchi. The region immediately across the northern border of the Tāmil country was the region where Nāgārjuna lived and taught. Along with his name must inevitably be associated that of his own disciple Deva otherwise Āryadeva, another expounder of the same system. It is well known that the later Buddhist pilgrims to India, Hiuen T'sang and I-tsing have references to Nāgārjuna as one of the principal teachers of Buddhism. Nāgārjuna was the fourteenth patriarch, Deva was the fifteenth, Aśvagosha being referred to as the twelfth. This order gives the indication that Nāgārjuna and Deva were not far apart of each other, and neither of them very far away from Aśvagosha. Prof. Keith[1] would refer them to about A. D. 200, Deva somewhat later than Nāgārjuna on the ground that the latter author refers to the week days and the signs of the zodiac which, according to him, must have come from the west a little earlier. It is open to question whether this is such a decisive point, and whether it can be accepted as proved that there is no reference to the *Rāśis* and the week days anterior to this period of time. One substantial fact from Chinese Buddhist literature is that Kumārajîva who lived and wrote between A. D. 399 and 416 17, and was therefore an exact contemporary of Fā-Hian, has written a life both of Nāgārjuna and Deva. If the life of these two celebrities could be written about the year A. D. 400, they must have attained to great fame by then. While A. D. 250 may not, from this point of view, be far from wrong, we have to bear in mind the other cardinal fact regarding Nāgārjuna's history, that he was

[1] Buddhist Philosophy, p 229

the contemporary of a king of considerable position among the Sātavāhanas, whoever that king be The Sātavāhana power went out of existence as a power by the first quarter of the third century. And the more important of the Sātavāhana rulers had ceased to exist soon after the commencement of the third century Nāgārjuna may have to be referred therefore to a period somewhat earlier in the century at the latest Having regard to these general considerations, it would be folly to reject the evidence of the Ceylon chronicle regarding Deva or Āryadeva

Ārya Deva is referred to as occupying a position of influence in the reign of Vōhārikatissa and his successors. If he came to occupy a position of that degree of importance stated in the Mahāvamsa, both from the point of view of political and religious life, he could not have been a very young man, much rather the circumstances would warrant our inferring that he was a man of age, if he was not of advanced age The period of time under reference relates to the years A D 203 to 240 If he was a person who could discourse to Vōhārikatissa with authority between the years A D 203 and 225, his ultimate date cannot be brought very much beyond A D 250, and his senior Nāgārjuna himself therefore may have to be regarded as somewhat earlier This is a minor point however According to Chinese authority Deva was otherwise called Kānadēva According to this authority Nāgārjuna was born 700 years after the Buddhist Nirvāna, which, on the basis of the Chinese date for this Nirvāna would bring him to the century between A D 150 250 Leaving Nāgārjuna aside, Kānadeva is described as a South Indian, the son of a

make Deva a native of Ceylon It seems hardly enough to bear that burden Deva could have been a Brāhman and a native of South India who might have gone and settled in the island of Ceylon when he had grown up to manhood and having lived there for a while, for about thirty years at least, he could have contracted relationships there If his parents were alive when he emigrated, they would naturally have followed him to his new domicile, so that this need hardly be regarded as decisive against his Indian nativity Nor is this against his having gone to see Nāgārjuna from Ceylon In this history of Deva he is in no way connected with Nālandā either in the life or in the statement that Hiuen T'sang makes regarding him Therefore the Deva associated with Nālandā at a somewhat later period may be dismissed as a separate individual from Deva the disciple of Nāgārjuna the Ārya Deva, the expounder of the Madhyamika school of Buddhism In this connection Deva's own statement must be held to be decisive

He states in his commentary on the first *śloka* of Nāgārjuna's Madhyamika sāstra that Nāgārjuna lived in the fifth century after the Buddha[1] That cannot take us to the time of Candragupta of the Gupta dynasty as the late M M S C Vidyābhushana[2] took it

Deva, according to the accounts, went to Vaisāli to hold disputation and not to Nālandā The general opinion of Chinese scholars however seems to be that Nagārjuna lived about seven hundred years after the death of Buddha This is in direct contrast to the statement of Deva himself

[1] See note on page 104 of the Systems of Buddhistic Thought referred to above.
[2] Indian Logic—Mediæval School page 71

and the starting point, the date of the Buddha Nirvāna itself, is uncertain. We are, therefore, driven round to fall back upon the Mahāvamsa of Ceylon, and the Dīpavamsa[1] which is a work of about the same date as Kumārajīva's life. The period of active life of Deva in Ceylon extended from A. B. 746 to 788 which on the basis of 544 for the Nirvāna would work out to A. D. 200 240 roughly.[2] He must have come to India after this last date, and there is nothing objectionable in this date so far; much rather it would be in keeping with the fact that Deva had become a celebrity of sufficient importance for Kumārajīva to write his life as the fifteenth patriarch.

There is another point of considerable importance relating to the life of Deva whom both the works above referred to call by the name Kānadeva, the attribute Kāna being interpreted as one-eyed. It would appear according to some, "he is called Kānadeva because he plucked out Mahēśvara's

[1] Mahāvamsa, chapter 36 Dipavamsa, chapter 22

[2] The following remarks of Professor Kern seem apposite here —

'Huen Thsang calls him (Nagārjuna) one of the four lights of the world along with Dēva, Kumāralabdha and Aśvaghosa Considering that the Rajatarangini represents Nāgārjuna as having flourished immediately after the Turuṣka kings, we may hold that Nagārjuna lived about the middle or in the latter half of the second century

(The lives of Nāgarjuna, Ārya Deva and Asvaghosa are said to have been translated into Chinese A D 387 418 Wassilief B 210, Cp Waddell Buddhism of Tib II.)

If Ārya Deva originally come from Ceylon, and represented as a younger contemporary of Nāgarjuna, be identical with the Thera Deva living in the beginning of the 3rd century (Dipav XXII, Mahav pp 255 ff Tib L 310, Tar 83 voy 1,186, II 432, 433, it cannot be true that Deva or at least this Deva, was rector at Nalandā in the reign of Gupta Candragupta (Cp Beal, The age of Nāgārjuna, Ind. Ant. XV, 353.). The view here proposed would find a support in a work composed at a time not very far removed from the date of Deva

Apart from Deva being distinctly said to be a native of Ceylon there is another circumstance which is apt to strengthen the belief that the Thera is identical with *Deva, the rival of Nāgarjuna We are told that Deva after a protracted discussion* with the somewhat older Nagārjuna put the latter to *TERMINUS NON LOQUI.* Now how could the great Mahayanist be defeated otherwise than by an adherent of the old faith, a Śrāvaka ? (Voy I, 186 ff) The form in which the story is put seems to be a device to conceal the importance of the defeat suffered by Mahāyānism from orthodoxy)

inhabited by a people, probably the lineal descendants of Kaṇṇappa. The individuals may have had nothing to do with each other, but the story has a common milieu. Whether the Śaivas be the earlier or the Bauddhas, the prevalent worship of Śaiva in the locality is clear from the character of the miracle itself in both cases. There can be no doubt, however, that Nāgārjuna flourished in this region and so did Deva at any rate in the last period of his life, and both together originated the Madhyamika school of Buddhism which is perhaps the first distinct school of the Mahāyāna.

The region south of the Krishna and the territory immediately on the northern side of it extending along the coast to some considerable distance interior was probably a region which in those days constituted the territory of the Sātavāhanas, Sātahani-Āhāra, and it is in keeping with the association of Nāgārjuna with the Sātavāhanas, the *Sadvāha* of the Chinese authorities.[1]

This region, therefore, or the Andhra country might take credit for having been the theatre wherefrom the Madhyamika school of Buddhism originated. India farther south can perhaps claim a share in the credit as having contributed Āryadeva who commented and expounded the system of Nāgārjuna. Kanchi which in this early age probably remained Hinayanic later contributed Mahayanist Yogācāra teachers in the persons of Dinnāga and Dharmapāla. The former is described to be of Andhra birth, but lived for long in the Simhavaktra suburb of Kanchi, Simhavaktra apparently standing there perhaps for the lion-gate of the city, as Kanchi must have constituted in those ancient times

1 See Takâkusu's I tsing pp 159 60 and note

a number of separate townlets joined on together to the main thoroughfare between the fort on one side and perhaps the palace on the other. Dharmapāla was born and brought up in Kanchi and having renounced life early lived to become famous among the most distinguished principals of the Nālandā University. No detailed account of these is taken up here as there is nothing new to offer beyond what is available in well-known Chinese Buddhist records.

eye. At any rate, his nickname is Kāṇadeva in the above Chinese translations". The circumstances under which Deva got this name are detailed as follow in the two works already laid under contribution. It would appear Deva visited Mahēśvara whose image he immolated on the day following the mutilation and the following colloquy is said to have taken place between Dēva and Mahēśvara. Mahēśvara showing a body with his left eye plucked out, sat down in a quiet corner, and looking at the sweetmeats, said to Deva; "Very well gentleman, you obtained my mind while the multitude were satisfied with my form. You offered me your heart while the people offered me only material things. You respect me heartily while the people fear and accuse me. These sweetmeats which you offer me, are the most beautiful and delicious, but I want to receive one thing as the best alms Will you give me ?" Deva replied, 'Deity knows my mind. I shall obey his will.' Mahēśvara said, "What I want is the left eye. Art thou able to give me thy left eye ?" Deva replied, "Certainly, sir." He bored it out and offered it of his own will. Mahēśvara said, "Well done. This is the true and the best of alms. I shall give whatever you ask for."[1] It is as a result of this incident that Dēva is said to have acquired the nickname Kāṇadeva.

The story of the Śaiva saint Kannappa Nāyanār has quite a family likeness to this. The story briefly is that Kannappa was born of an ignorant hunter, and was brought up as such. In one of his hunting excursions, he came upon a figure of *Linga*, to which a Brahman was offering worship. Kannappa was so struck by what the Brahman was doing and

[1] Systems of Buddhistic Thought, 191 92.

began to offer worship himself the same way, only he offered the God whatever, in his estimation, was delicious, fish and flesh of all kinds of game that he killed, to the great chagrin of the Brahman, who daily found this act of desecration perpetrated by somebody. He complained to God Mahē śvara about this act of blasphemy as he thought, and lay in hiding to see who it was that had been doing it He discovered Kannappa in the act, and complained again to Mahēśvara threatening to commit suicide if Mahēśvara would not set matters right. Mahēśvara wished to demonstrate the character of the devotion of Kannappa, and shed tears with his left eye the next morning when Kannappa came to offer worship. The hunter pulled out his own eye, and set it in place of the weeping eye. Then the other eye began to weep, and Kannappa was about to pull out his right eye when Maheśvara himself stoped him The hunter lad who was known by the name of Tinna before, came to be known as Kannappa in consequence of the sacrifice of his own eye because of the fancied ailment of Mahēśvara. Each story had its own peculiar setting, but there is a kind of family likeness between the two from which if a specific inference of relationship is difficult, the general likeness has to tell its own tale The Śaiva miracle is associated with Kālahasti, and Nāgārjuna lived his life in the region not very far off; and if Deva lived some time with Nāgārjuna and died, he must have been in about the same region also. The probabilities are that Nāgārjuna lived in the region marked by Nāgārjuni Konda, some distance from Amarāvatî across the Krishna, but within the same circuit and along the same ridges of hills which terminated at Kālahasti even now

CHAPTER II

BUDDHIST COUNCILS

THE FIRST COUNCIL

1. THE ACCOUNT IN CULLAVAGGA

According to the Buddhists of all schools a Great Council (Saṅgīti) of the Buddhists was held almost immediately after the death of the Buddha. Our authorities,[1] however, widely differ regarding the details of this First Great Council. It would, therefore, be well to take as a basis of our discussion the very circumstantial account that has been preserved in the Eleventh Khandhaka of the Cullavagga of the Vinaya Piṭaka.[2]

It began in the irreverent conduct of a monk called Subhadda.[3] While the death of the Great Master caused universal mourning, he struck an altogether different note.

[1] The account of the First two Councils given below is mainly based on the following authorities, but incidental references will be made to other texts:

1. Cullavagga of the Pāli Vinaya, and the canonical texts of other Buddhist sects.
2. Mahāvamsa
3. Dipavamsa.
4. Buddhaghoṣa's Introduction to Samanta pāsādika.
5. Mahābodhivamsa.
6. Mahāvastu.
7. Tibetan Dulva.
8. Hiuen Tsang's Record of Western Countries.

Kern (Histoire Bk. IV) has given prominence to the Tibetan version contained in "Tibetische Lebensbeschreibung sakyamunis" by Schiefner (St. Petersburgh, 1848) But as the work on which it was based was composed by a Tibetan Lama of the seventeenth century, it can hardly be regarded as authoritative. Besides, the authentic Tibetan version in the Dulva (Tibetan Vinaya) is now available in Rockhill's Translation. Hence no reference has been made to Schiefner's book. It appears, however, on a comparison of the two texts, that Schiefner's account follows closely on the lines of that in the Dulva.

[2] Vin. Text. Vol. II., pp. 284 ff. The text has been translated into English by Oldenberg (Vinaya Texts, Part III, S. B. E., Vol. XX, pp. 370 ff).

[3] This Subhadda is not identical with the monk of the same name who was the last disciple converted by Buddha shortly before his death. Oldenberg's view that they were identical is wrong.

"Enough Sirs," said he, "Weep not, neither lament! We are well rid of the great Samaṇa We used to be annoyed by being told, 'This beseems you, this beseems you not' But now we shall be able to do whatever we like, and what we do not like, that we shall not have to do"

The Venerable Mahā Kassapa took this to be an alarming indication of the possible laxity of discipline among the monks in the absence of the Great Teacher He therefore requested the other monks to meet and 'chant together the Dhamma and Vinaya, before what is not Dhamma and what is not Vinaya are spread abroad, and what is Dhamma and what is Vinaya are put aside'

Four hundred and ninety nine Arhats were accordingly chosen, and Ānanda, although he had not yet attained the state of Arhatship, was added to the number, at the request of the assembled monks, and in view of his special knowledge of Dhamma and Vinaya It may be added that Ānanda reached the state of Arhat at the close of the night preceding the first session of the Assembly

The town of Rājagṛha was selected for the meeting, as there was abundance of lodging places and plenty of alms It was then arranged by a special resolution of *Samgha* that the five hundred selected Bhikkhus would spend the rainy season at Rājagṛha in order to chant the Dhamma and the Vinaya, and that no other Bhikkhus should go there during that period

The meeting actually took place in the second month of the rainy season The procedure adopted was quite simple The venerable Mahā Kassapa questioned Upāli regarding Vinaya and Ānanda regarding Dhamma, and elicited

from them full information about both. A specimen of these questions may be given here.

'Venerable Upāli, where was the first Pārājika promulgated?'

'In Vesālī, Sir.'

'Concerning whom was it spoken?'

'Concerning Sudinna, the son of Kalanda.'

'In regard to what matter?'

'Sexual intercourse.'

"Thus did the venerable Mahā Kassapa question the venerable Upāli as to the matter, as to the occasion, as to the individual concerned, as to the (principal) rule, as to the sub-rule, as to who would be guilty and as to who would be innocent, of the first Pārājika." Similarly Mahā Kassapa questioned Ānanda through the five Nikāyas.

After the chanting of Dhamma and Vinaya was over Ananda represented to the Bhikkhus that the Great Buddha had told him at the time of his death, that the *Saṁgha* might, if it should so wish, revoke all the lesser and minor precepts. There was, however, a wide difference of opinion as to what constituted the lesser and minor precepts, whereupon the Assembly agreed, on Mahā Kassapa's proposal, to follow all the precepts laid down by Buddha, 'not ordaining what has not been ordained, and not revoking what has been ordained.' The Assembly, however, took Ānanda to task for not ascertaining from the Blessed One which were the lesser and minor precepts, and Ānanda had to confess his fault. Ānanda was similarly charged by the Assembly, and had to confess his fault, for (1) stepping upon the Blessed One's rainy season garment in order to

sew it, (2) causing the dead body of the Blessed One to be first saluted by women who profaned it by their tears (3) not requesting the Buddha to remain on earth for a *kalpa* even when a plain hint was given by Buddha of such a desire on his part, and (4) exerting himself to procure admission for women into the Buddhist Church

Ānanda then told the Bhikkhus that the Buddha had said at the time of his death "Let then the *Samgha* Ānanda when I am dead, impose the higher penalty on Channa the Bhikkhu Fortunately, in this case, Ānanda had already ascertained from Buddha what the higher penalty meant The Bhikkhus accordingly imposed on Channa the terrible punishment which meant practically a social boycott Channa, however, repented of his sins and attained the state of Arhat whereupon the penalty was removed This ended the business of the First Council

2 ACCOUNTS IN OTHER AUTHORITIES

In order to understand properly the other view points it would be necessary to analyse the account of Cullavagga into its constituent parts and discuss each of them in the light of other authorities For the sake of convenience we might divide the whole story into the following topics

(*a*) The motive or object of summoning the Council
(*b*) The preliminary arrangements about the Council
(*c*) The Scriptural work attributed to the Council
(*d*) The part played by Ānanda

(*a*) The motive or object of summoning the Council

The irreverent words of Subhadda have been alleged in C V as the motive of summoning the Council This is

not, however, universally agreed to. Some authorities agree *in the main, but differ in details*; other authorities ignore this motive altogether and suggest entirely different reasons for the convocation of the Council.

The Mahīśāsaka, Dharmagupta, Mahāsāṅghika Vinayas, the Sudarśana-vinaya-vibhāsā (Nanjio, 1125) and the Vinaya-mātrkā-sūtra agree with C. V., though the name of the irreverent monk is given as (Su)bhānanda in the first, second *and fifth, Mahallaka in the third, and Subhadramahallaka* in the fourth.[1] In Mahāvaṁsa, the irreverent conduct of Subhadda is regarded as only one of the many reasons which induced Mahā Kassapa to convoke the Council.[2] Hiuen Tsang has improved upon the account of C. V. In his account, *not one monk, but many expressed satisfaction* at the death of Buddha. Mahā Kassapa, having heard this, was deeply moved and afflicted, and he resolved to assemble the treasure of the law (Dharmapiṭaka) and bring to punishment the transgressors.[3] Buddhaghosa has followed closely on the lines of C. V.[4]

But a good many authorities altogether ignore the Subhadda-episode as the motive of Mahā Kassapa in summoning the Council. The Sarvāstivādins, for example, are silent

[1] The information is given by M Suzuki who has dealt with the Chinese sources in his article "The First Buddhist Council" (Monist XIV, 1904, pp 252 283) Cf Ind Ant 1908, p 2 fn 5

[2] Mahavaṁsa, Transl Geiger, Chap. III, pp 14 15

" . . *bethinking him (Mahakassapa) of the evil words of the aged Subhadda* and also bethinking him that he (the Master) had given him his garment and had (thereby) made him equal with himself, and (bethinking him) that the sage had commanded the establishing of the holy truth, and (lastly) that the Sambuddha's consent existed to make a compilation of the holy dhamma, appointed to this end five hundred Bhikkhus "

[3] Beal—Records Vol II p 162

[4] Samanta pāsādika, Introduction, Vin Text, Vol. III, p 284

about it,[1] while no mention is made of it in the Dipavamsa,[2] the Tibetan Dulva,[3] Prajñāpāramitāsāstra, the life of Asoka, the Transmission of the Dharmapitaka (Nanjio 1363) or in the record of the compilation of the three Pitakas and the miscellaneous Pitaka.[4]

As to other motives and objects for summoning the Council, some very general ones have been suggested by the Mahāvamsa.[5] The Dipavamsa says that the five hundred Theras composed the Vinaya and Dharma, *as they knew the doubts of the people*. The Tibetan Dulva describes the situation as follows: "Mahā Kāsyapa heard, after the death of Buddha, people remark that whereas 80,000 Bhikkhus had died at the same time as Sariputra, 70,000 on Maudgalyayana's death and 18,000 more when the Buddha had died, the words of the Blessed One had vanished like smoke, and that as all the mighty Bhikkhus had utterly passed away, the Sūtrānta, the Vinaya, and the Matrka of the Blessed One were no longer taught. When he heard people thus censuring, blaming, and slandering, he told what he had heard to the Bhikkhus, and concluded by saying that they must assemble in that place (i. e. at Kusinara). The Bhikkhus assented to this proposition".[6] Hiuen Tsang, after narrating the irreverent conduct of the monks as described above, proceeds thus: "And now the King of the Law having gone from the world, both men and Devas were left without a guide, and the great Arhats moreover

[1] According to Suzuki (op. cit.)
[2] Dipav.—Ch. IV.—pp. 133-135.
[3] Rockhill—p. 148.
[4] Ind. Ant. 1908, p. 2, fn. (o).
[5] cf. the passage quoted in fn. ... at p. 30.
[6] Rockhill, p. 148-149.

were cleaving to (the idea of their) Nirvāna Then the great Kāsyapa reflected thus "To secure obedience to the teaching of Buddha, we ought to collect the Dharma pitaka" Some authorities refer to the intervention of the gods in order to induce Maha Kassapa to summon the Council, while, lastly, several others record that he spontaneously resolved to assemble the Council "It is for the laymen" said he "to occupy themselves with the relics of the Tathāgata, for us to tabulate the law"[1] According to the Mahavastu, five hundred monks wanted to die voluntarily after the death of their master, but Kassapa opposed the procedure, saying that it is necessary to compile the law lest the heretics would say that the law of Buddha vanishes like smoke[2]

(*b*) *The preliminary arrangements about the Council*

All authorities agree that Mahā Kassapa took the initiative, and summoned the Assembly Some supernatural elements are introduced by later authorities Thus, according to Hiuen Tsang, Maha Kassapa ascended mount Sumeru and sounded the great gong to summon the Councillors[3] The Tibetan Dulva ascribes the same part to Pūrna and further introduces the somewhat fantastic episode of Gavampati, who, when summoned to attend the Council, consumed himself by means of his magical powers and passed into the state of *parinirvana*[4]

But although Maha Kassapa took the initiative and chose the Bhikkhus, his actions were, according to C V, sanctioned by formal resolutions of the Samgha Thus impor-

[1] Cf Ind. Ant 1908 p 2 fn (*a*)
[2] Mahavastu pp 69 ff
[3] Beal—Records Vol II. p 167
[4] Rockhill—op cit.

tant detail is omitted in some authorities.[1] Other authorities make it quite clear that there was at first a general assembly of the Bhikkhus who flocked from all the regions at the invitation of Mahā Kassapa, and the five hundred Bhikkhus who took part in the Council were chosen by this body. Thus the Dīpavaṁsa says "The congregation of Bhikkhus, seven hundred thousand in number, assembled, ...They all, having made enquiry and determined which were the most worthy, elected by vote of the congregation five hundred Theras."[2] Most authorities agree with C. V. that the number of Councillors was 500, but Hiuen Tsang puts it as 1,000. All authorities agree that the Council was held at Rājagṛha, in the Sattapaṇṇi Cave, with the exception of Tibetan Dulva which substitutes Nyagrodha Cave instead. This last named authority states an additional ground for selecting Rājagṛha viz. that as Ajātaśatru was a very firm believer, he would provide the Saṁgha with all the necessaries.[3]

(c) *The Scriptural work attributed to the Council.*

The account in C. V. is followed by Mahāvamsa. According to Hiuen Tsang and Tibetan *Dulva*,[4] *Ānanda first* recited the Dhamma, then Upāli recited Vinaya and lastly, Mahā Kassapa himself recited the Abhidhamma.[5] The last named authority adds various episodes, and, further, the sections of Vinaya and Dharma which it puts in the mouths of Upāli and Ānanda do not always agree with those stated in C. V.

[1] E g Mahāvaṁsa, op cit
[2] Dipav Op cit
[3] Rockhill, op cit
[4] Op cit
[5] The Dulva refers to Mātṛkā According to Kern it really means Indices (Anukramani) though some took it in the sense of Abhidharma (Histoire—p 264 fn 3)

Buddhaghosa, while agreeing generally with C V, refers specifically to all the constituent parts of the Pāli Vinaya and Suttapitakas as being recited in the Council [1]

According to all these accounts, however, the whole business of the Council was practically conducted by the three Theras named above, while the other Councillors remained more or less passive listeners The Dipavamsa, on the other hand, gives a more circumstantial account, and makes all the Theras take an active part in the proceedings "The Bhikkhus composed the collection of Dhamma and Vinaya by consulting Upāli about the Vinaya, and by asking the Thera called Ānanda regarding the Dhamma Thera Mahākassapa and the great teacher Anuruddha, Thera Upāli of powerful memory, and the learned Ānanda, as well as many other distinguished disciples who had been praised by the master made this first collection' [2]

Among these other distinguished members Vangīsa, Pūrna, the junior Kassapa, Katyayana and Kotthita are mentioned in diverse sources The account in the Mahāvastu is entirely different According to it, Kātyāyana is the chief speaker in the Council and the subject of his discourse was the exposition of the 'Dasabhūmis' i e ten degrees of Bodhisattvas [3] It must be remembered, however, that the Mahavastu preserves the traditions of the Lokottaravādins, a sect belonging to the Mahāsāmghikas [4] who broke away from the Orthodox Church

[1] Introduction to Samanta pasadika, Vin. Text III p 289
[2] Dipav op. cit
[3] Mahavastu I pp. 76 ff
[4] On the Mahāsamghikas see later in connection with the account of the Second Council

(d) The part played by Ānanda

(The part played by Ananda in the First Council is confusing in the extreme Although he is regarded as the chief authority on Dhamma, he is at first refused admission into the Council on the ground that he has not yet attained the state of Arhat Further, although he attains the Arhat ship he is charged, after the close of the Council, with several offences for each of which he has to confess his fault)

The account in the Tibetan Dulva differs in some material respects from C V As soon as the proposal of the Council was mooted by Kassapa, the assembled monks inquired if Ānanda would be admitted into the synod Kassapa was unwilling to make an exception in favour of Ānanda, but agreed to admit him if they were willing that he (Ānanda) should be appointed to supply the Samgha with water This having been formally approved by the Assembly, Ānanda proceeded to Rājagrha Ill luck, however, accompanied him Having arrived at Rājagrha Kassapa "requested Anuruddha to examine if any one out of the five hundred was still subject to passions, anger, ignorance, desire or attachment" Anuruddha discovered that this was the case only with Ānanda and so Kassapa excluded him from the Assembly Ānanda was naturally mortified and protested against this decision "Bear with me, venerable Kassapa," said he, "I have neither sinned against morality, the doctrine, nor against good behaviour Be forbearing, then, O Kassapa" Kassapa then brought forward several charges against Ānanda, similar, if not identical to those mentioned in C V Ānanda replied as best he could, but Kassapa refused to admit him so long as he had not des

troyed his passions and become an Arhat Thereupon Ānanda mournfully departed for Vrji, but erelong he attained the state of Arhat and took his rightful place in the Assembly [1]

(Apart from minor discrepancies to be noted hereafter, there is one essential difference between the accounts given in C. V and the Tibetan Dulva According to the former, Ānanda was allowed to take part in the Assembly without any objection, and was brought to trial only after the business of the Council had ended The Dulva, however, places Ānanda's trial before the Council and makes his admission to that body dependent upon his acquisition of Arhatship) The C V is followed in this respect by the Vinayas of the Mahīśāsakas and of the Mahāsāmghikas, and several other authorities, but the other version is upheld by the Dharmaguptas, and the Sarvāstivādins Hiuen Tsang omits the 'charges' but makes the acquisition of Arhatship a condition precedent to Ānanda's admission into the Assembly. (It may be added that no reference is made to Ānanda's guilt in Dīpavamsa, Mahāvamsa, Buddhaghosa's Introduction to Samantapāsadika, and Mahāvastu)

There can be hardly any doubt that the account in C V. is in this respect less reasonable than the other versions, and is besides involved in a self contradiction After the account of the Council the C V refers to the penalty imposed upon a monk named Channa for some faults committed by him But as soon as Channa reached the state of Arhat the penalty was automatically removed from him This is in strict accordance with the orthodox view that Arhatship

[1] Rockhill op cit

involves the exemption from all guilts Judged by this standard, it seems incongruous that Ānanda should have been brought to trial for his offences, long after he had attained the position of an Arhat [1]

Nothing in the whole account of the Council is so difficult to explain as the episode of Ānanda He is referred to in the most flattering terms and regarded as indispensable by almost all the authorities [2] And yet he is not only denied admission to the Council but charged with a variety of offences, and sometimes even forced to accept the function of menials As regards the charges against him there are two more, in addition to the five stated above on the authority of C V [3]

6 Ānanda did not give clear water to Buddha to drink, although he thrice asked for it

7. After the death of Buddha, Ānanda showed to men and women of low habits the hidden parts of Tathāgata

Ānanda made a suitable reply to all these charges (1) He forgot to ask the Buddha about the lesser and minor precepts as he was overcome with grief at the prospect of losing Buddha (2) He had to tread upon the Buddha's

[1] For the long discussion on this point by Minayeff Oldenberg and Prof L De la Vallée Poussin Cf Ind. Ant 1908 pp 10 ff

[2] Mahavastu seems to be the only exception It practically ignores Ānanda's part in the Council and assigns the leading position to Kātyāyana

[3] For the different charges and the sources of information about them cf Ind Ant 1908 pp 4 ff Almost all the charges are contained in the Dulva (Rockhill pp 152 ff) There are only two exceptions viz. (1) that Buddha asked Ānanda thrice times to serve him as one who offers things (?) to Buddha but he declined him (Dharmagupta) and (2) that when Buddha preached in parables Ānanda made some superfluous remarks on them (Sarvastivadins) Neither of these is however very intelligible As regards the charge of having first admitted the women to venerate the body, and having it profaned by their tears, this last element is omitted in some authorities e g the Mahasanghikas As to the treading upon a garment according to most authorities it was done while sewing but according to some while washing it (Sarvastivadins). According to the Dulva Ānanda rested his feet for whole day on the garment.

garment while sewing it, as there was no friendly Bhikkhu to help him. (3) He caused the body of the Buddha to be saluted by women first, as he thought they should not be kept beyond due time, and that if they saw the Blessed One, many of them would conceive a longing to become like him. (4) He was possessed by the Evil One when he refrained from requesting Buddha to remain on earth for a Kalpa. (5) He exerted himself to procure admission for women into the Church out of consideration for the venerable Gautamī who nursed the Buddha in his infancy. (6) He could not give clear water to Buddha as five hundred waggons had just then crossed the neighbouring river and made it muddy. (7) He thought that women, being naturally sensual, would cease to be so, if they but saw the privy parts of the Blessed One.[1]

The replies of Ānanda would appear generally satisfactory to most persons, and except one or two important ones, such as the admission of women into Order, most of the other offences would seem to be trivial in the extreme.

3. HISTORICAL CHARACTER OF THE COUNCIL

young.' Rockhill, too, demurred against the view of Oldenberg and held that 'the authenticity of the Council of Rājagṛha has been doubted on insufficient grounds,'[1] but he did not push his contentions any further. The first bold attempt to expose the weakness of Oldenberg's argument was made by Professor L. De La Vallée Poussin. "Never," said he, "and the mere thought of it disconcerts them, never will they believe that the silence of a *sūtra* about a dogma or an ecclesiastical event can furnish anything but an hypothesis. They read again two or three times Prof Oldenberg's remark about the absence of allusion to the First Council in the Mahāparinibbāna ;. still they are not quite sure they have read correctly."[2]

In view of the different accounts of the First Council, culled from various authorities, it is now a comparatively easy task to refute the opinions of Prof. Oldenberg It has been pointed out that the story of the irreverent conduct of Subhadda has not been described or alleged as the motive of summoning the First Council in good many authorities The Tibetan Dulva, for example, narrates the story of Subhadda, in very much the same way as the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, but makes no allusion to the First Council as resulting from it. Are we to conclude, then, with Oldenberg, that the author of this book did not know anything of the First Council ? But fortunately we can easily demonstrate the falsity of this assumption, for, in the eighth page after that, it contains a most detailed account of the First Council.

[1] Rockhill, p vii

[2] Ind. Ant 1908, p 9 I may add that 15 years ago I made an equally emphatic protest against the views of Oldenberg, although unaware at that time of the writings of Prof. Poussin

Thus we see that the peculiarity which Prof. Oldenberg noticed in the Mahāparinibbāṇa Sutta is shared by many other later texts, and it therefore hardly stands to reason to characterise the account of the Council as a forgery. On the other hand, some recension of the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta actually contains an account of the Council.[1] Thus the whole argument of Professor Oldenberg loses its weight.

Further, Prof. Oldenberg proceeded on the assumption that the account in C. V. is the authentic account of the First Council. This might have been excusable in his days in view of the imperfect knowledge of Buddhist literature, but is no longer so. It will be apparent from a comparison of the different accounts given above, that the C. V. has no claim to be regarded as the parent-stock from which the other accounts have been derived. It is equally clear, that judged from the point of view of general credibility, the accounts in C. V., at least in some respects, the case of Ānanda for example, are less reliable than others. One cannot help thinking that the importance of C. V. has been much exaggerated in this respect. It can only be regarded as containing one of the many versions about the story of the First Council which were current at the time of its composition.

The original source from which these different versions have been compiled will probably never be known. Still it is against all accepted canons of criticism to dismiss the unanimous tradition of the First Buddhist Council as nothing but an invention of a later date. Probably all fair-minded

[1] "The Mūlasarvāstivāda nikāya saṃyukta vastu (Nanjio 1121) makes the M P. S. followed by the account of the Council Ind Ant 1908, p. 8. fn 36.

critics will admit that there must be some basis of truth in a matter agreed to by all the sects of the Buddhists, in spite of their fundamental differences in other essential matters

If therefore we accept what Minayeff propounded long ago, that there was really an assembly of the Buddhists shortly after the passing away of the Master, the question resolves itself into a discussion about the nature of the meeting and the business performed in it

That the assembly was held in the Sattapanni cave at Rajagrha may be accepted in view of the unanimity of the tradition It is impossible to rely on the number of assembled Bhikkhus given in any account, but it is probable that a large number of eminent Bhikkhus attended the session We may agree with C V that Kassapa, Ananda and Upali took the leading parts in the discussion but it seems to be certain that that authority has unduly belittled the importance of the other members present The Dipavamsa, although a much later work seems to contain a more genuine account in this respect, when it assigns due importance to the other members ? It would indeed appear from a perusal of C V that the other members formed more or less a dumb show This is neither probable nor reasonable, and adds one more evidence in favour of rejecting C V as the primitive source of the varying accounts of the First Buddhist Council As to the business of the meeting the four things of primary importance seem to have been the trial of Ananda punishment of Channa the recital of Scriptures and the decision as to the minor or lesser precepts

Minayeff and Prof L De La Vallee Poussin both agree

in regarding all these items, excepting the recital of scriptures, as bearing the mark of high antiquity They go even further and regard the discussion of these episodes as the cause of summoning the assembly The reasons advanced by these scholars for regarding the episodes of Ananda, Channa and the lesser precepts as genuine can be readily appreciated Ananda, being the favourite disciple of Buddha, must have been an object of jealousy to many, and, as too often happens in such cases, the withdrawal of the protecting hand must have been a signal for bringing trivial charges against him As regards Channa, the Church was bound to carry the punishment ordered by the Master As to the precepts which the Bhikkhus were to observe it was absolutely necessary for the Church to decide the question one way or the other for the very existence of the organisation These episodes are natural and almost inevitable consequences of the death of the Master,—on the other hand they are of too trifling a character to be invented in later times These considerations seem to me to be enough to regard the episodes as historical.

But while regarding the First Council as a historical one, and believing in the authenticity of the episodes referred to above, Minayeff does not concede that the recital of scriptures formed any business of that meeting But almost all the arguments which can be advanced in support of the other episodes apply with equal force in this respect also What, for instance, can be more natural than that the disciples of the Great Master should make an effort to collect his sayings and teachings immediately after his death in order to guide themselves ? In the absence of a written book,

and any recognised leader, the necessity of such a collection is almost a paramount one In this connection we have got an episode in some versions of the story which seems to be of great significance It is said that immediately after the recitation of the scriptures was over the monk Purāna arrived at Rājagrha with five hundred brethren When asked to associate himself with the Dhamma and Vinaya as had just been recited, he replied "The Dhamma and the Vinaya have been well chanted by the Theras However, in the way in which I have heard and received the law from the mouth of Bhagavat himself, in that manner I purpose to retain it in my memory "[1] This was a danger signal for the Church The attitude of exclusiveness displayed by Purāna and the irreverent conduct of Subhadda may perhaps be regarded as typical of a large section of the monks And this rendered it all the more necessary that there should be a general agreement among the Bhikkhus on the main and essential points of the doctrine and disciplinary rules

Besides, the convocation of a general Council for this purpose, far from being unusual, may be regarded as quite in consonance with the democratic constitution which the great Master imparted to his Church The example of the republican tribes, after which the constitution of the Buddhist Church seems to have been designed,[2] must also have furnished a model to the Bhikkhus In that critical hour of the Church when the guiding hand of the Master was no more and the spirit of insubordination and irreverence was gradually raising its head, nothing seems to be more natural

[1] Ind Ant 1908 p.5 The episode of Purāṇa is not however found in all versions It is absent e g in C. V

[2] Bhandarkar—Carmichael Lectures Vol. I. pp. 179 ff.

and reasonable than that the eminent Bhikkhus should meet in a conclave, and arrange the disciplinary and doctrinal matters as best they could in order to substitute something for the Departed Master as the guiding authority of the Church. And when the course of events, so natural and reasonable in itself, is supported by the unanimous tradition of the Buddhist world, it is difficult not to regard it as authentic, at least in its main outline.

It is quite true that we shall not be justified in regarding the present canon as arranged in its entirety in the First Council. But once we concede that the essentials of doctrine and disciplinary matters were discussed in the First Council, it is fruitless, in the present state of our knowledge, to inquire as to what portions of Vinaya, Sūtra and Abhidharma were recited there. It may be conceded that the First Council framed the nucleus out of which the elaborate and well arranged Tripitakas arose in later time, as a result, probably, of efforts of generations of scholars. But the question as to which portions of the existing literature formed the original nucleus must be decided by textual criticism and no amount of historical discussion can solve the problem. It seems to be certain, however, that the present Pāli canon has little claim to be regarded as that nucleus.

THE SECOND COUNCIL

1. THE ACCOUNT IN CULLAVAGGA

In pursuance of the method already adopted in the case of the First Great Council, we shall begin with the account of the Second Council as given in *C. V.*

About a century after the death of the Master dispute arose regarding the validity of 'ten points'[1] in the Buddhist doctrine which were upheld by the monks of Vaiśālī. It happened in this way. Yasa, the son of Kākandaka, arrived in Vaiśālī and stayed at Mahāvana in the Kūṭāgāra hill. On Uposatha day, the monks of Vaiśālī placed a copper pot full of water in the midst of the Bhikkhu Saṁgha, and asked the lay disciples to put some coins in it. The contribution, they said, "will be wanted for the Saṁgha, for the provision of various utensils." The venerable Yasa openly protested against this, for he held that the use of gold and silver was forbidden to the Bhikkhus, and forbade the lay disciples to pay anything. They, however, did contribute, but Yasa refused to take any share of the collection when offered to him.

The monks of Vaiśālī were angry and carried out against Yasa the Patisāraniya-kamma (Act of Reconciliation), for upbraiding and reviling the laity.[2] According to this Act Yasa was to go and ask pardon of the laity. Accordingly Yasa went to the laity, but instead of asking pardon he defended his own point of view by quoting the sayings of Buddha. His eloquent sermon brought over the laity to his side, who declared in one voice 'that there is but one (meaning Yasa) who is a real Bhikkhu, the rest are no Bhikkhus.'

The monks of Vaiśālī, thereupon, determined to carry

[1] These ten points will be discussed fully later on.

[2] This was apparently based on the directions laid down in C. V. I 20 Among the offences for which such an act could be carried out against a monk is included "speaking to the laity in dispraise of the Saṁgha," and "reviling and finding fault with the laity". The last offence is intended, though the first one is also not inapplicable in the present case.

out against Yasa 'the Ukkhepaniya-kamma' or Act of suspension for 'not acknowledging and for not atoning for an offence.' This would virtually mean the expulsion of Yasa from the Saṅgha.

The venerable Yasa then proceeded to Kauśāmbī and sent messengers to Avanti and other countries in the West and the South, inviting the Bhikkhus to come and decide what is true and what is not. From Kauśāmbī Yasa went to the venerable Sambhūta Sāṇavāsī who was living on the Ahogaṅga hill.[1] He explained to him the ten doctrinal points wrongly held by the Vajjian Bhikkhus of Vaiśālī, and requested him to take up the question before "what is not Dhamma is spread abroad, and what is Dhamma is put aside."

Sambhūta Sānavāsī agreed. In the meanwhile, apparently in response to the invitations sent by Yasa, about sixty Arhats from the Western Country, and about eighty-eight from Avanti and the Southern Country assembled on the Ahogaṅga hill.

These monks held "that the legal question involved was hard and subtle", and wanted to enlist the support of the venerable Revata who was distinguished alike by his learning and personality. The venerable Revata moved from one place to another in order to evade the Bhikkhus, but they at last got hold of him at Sahajāti.[2]

The venerable Yasa then put before Revata the ten,

[1] The hill was probably situated somewhere near the Upper Ganges Valley (cf. M V VII, I 1 fn.)

[2] During excavations at Bhiṭa (near Allahabad) a seal containing the legend "sahijitiya nigamasa" in letters of the 3rd or 4th century B C was found in a building of the Mauryan epoch 'Sahijiti' may be identified with 'Sahajāti' of the text, and would then correspond to Bhiṭā or a place in the neighbourhood (A S I, 1911-12, p 29)

points one after another and asked his opinion. A specimen of this question and answer may be quoted:

Yasa—'Is the horn-salt-license, Lord, allowable?

Revata—'What, Sir, is this horn-salt-license?

Yasa—'Is it allowable, Lord, to carry about salt in a horn with the intention of putting it into food which has not been salted?'

Revata—'No, Sir, it is not allowable.'

In this way did Revata declare as invalid each and every one of the ten points held by the Vajjian Bhikkhus of Vaiśālī. Thereupon Yasa requested Revata to take up this question "before that which is not Dhamma is spread abroad and that which is Dhamma is put aside." And Revata agreed.

The venerable Yasa had thus stolen a great march over the monks of Vaiśālī. But they were not idle. They fully appreciated the importance of Revata and wanted to gain him over to their side. With this object they got together a large quantity of bowls, robes and other requisites of a monk, and proceeded by boat to Sahajāti, where Revata dwelt. Revata, however, refused to receive any gift. They then approached his disciple Uttara, who, after a great deal of persuasion, accepted one robe only, and agreed to intercede on their behalf to his master and request him in the following words: "Let the venerable Thera (meaning Revata) say thus much in the meeting of the Saṃgha—"It is in the regions of the East that the Buddhas, the Blessed Ones, are born. It is the Bhikkhus of the East who hold opinions in accord with the Dhamma, whereas the Bhikkhus of the West do not."

Revata, however, sent Uttara away, saying "Thou urgest me to that which is against the Dhamma"

Then Yasa and the monks assembled by him met together to decide the question But Revata very wisely suggested that the dispute should be settled where it arose And so they all went to Vaiśālī

Fortunately, there was living in Vaiśāli, at that time, the oldest Thera in the world named Sabbakāmī, who had been ordained by Ananda exactly 120 years ago He was approached by Sambhūta Sānavāsī, and on being questioned about the validity of the ten points gave his verdict against them

Then the monks, seven hundred in number, met in a Council to decide the question It shortly became apparent, however, that the large assembly was merely wasting time in pointless talk and fruitless discussion Revata accordingly proposed, in full conformity to the rules laid down by the Buddha,[1] to refer the whole question to a Committee The Committee was agreed to and it was constituted in a surprisingly modern fashion It consisted of four monks of the East, viz, Sabbakāmī, Sālha, Khujja sobhita and Vāsabha gāmika, and four monks of the West, viz, Revata, Sambhūta Sānavāsi, Yasa and Sumana The Bhikkhu Ajita was appointed seat regulator, corresponding, though remotely, to the position of the Secretary, of the Committee, and the Vālika Ārāma was fixed as the place of meeting

When the Committee met at Vālika Ārāma Revata proposed that he would put the questions before the venerable Sabbakāmī and this was agreed to

[1] Cf C V IV 14 19

Then followed the questions and answers of which a specimen is given below :

Revata—Is *the horn-salt-license, Lord, allowable ?*

Sabbakāmī—What, Sir, is this horn-salt-license ?

R—Is it allowable Lord, to carry about salt in a horn with the intention of putting it into food which has not been salted ?

S—No, Sir, it is not allowable.

R—Where was such a claim rejected ?

S—At Sāvatthi, in the Sutta Vibhaṅga.

R—Of what offence is the person, who does so, guilty ?

S—Of Pācittiya, in eating food which has been put by.

R—Let the venerable Saṅgha hear me. This first point having been examined into by the Saṅgha, has been found to be false Dhamma and false Vinaya, and not contained in the teaching of the Master. Thus do I cast the first vote.

In this way, all the ten questions having been disposed of. Revata concluded :

"Let the venerable Saṅgha hear me. These ten points having been examined into by the Saṅgha, have been found *to be false Dhamma and false Vinaya, and not contained* in the teaching of the Master."

Sabbakāmī also agreed that the question was settled and settled once for all. Nevertheless he suggested that *Revata should repeat his questions in the full Assembly* and he would give reply to them. This was accordingly done and the decision arrived at by the Committee was endorsed by the whole Assembly. Thus concluded the session of the Second Great Council.

2. DIFFERENT VERSIONS OF THE ACCOUNT.

A. The Ceylonese Tradition.

The Dīpavaṃsa has preserved two accounts of the Council. The first is a brief summary of C V and may be regarded as the account proper, as it is concluded with the words: "Here ends the history of the Second Council." The second account of the Council is given in connection with the history of the different Buddhist sects and contains much additional information. This is evidently of later origin. But both these accounts as well as those contained in Mahāvaṃsa and Buddhaghosa's Introduction to Sumaṅgala pāsādikā follow closely on the lines laid down by C V.[1] The essential differences may be noted as follows:

(*a*) As regards the eight Theras who formed the Committee, the C V merely says about Sabbakāmī that he was ordained by Ānanda exactly 120 years ago. But the Dīpavaṃsa and the Mahāvaṃsa add the information that all the eight Bhikkhus had seen the Buddha, that two of them, Sumana and Vāsabhagāmika, were pupils of Anuruddha and the rest were pupils of Ānanda.

(*b*) In the second account of Dīpavaṃsa we find the number of Bhikkhus on both sides exaggerated beyond all probability. "Twelve thousand Vajjiputtas of Vaiśālī," we are told, "assembled and proclaimed at Vaisālī the ten indulgences. In order to subdue them, many pupils of Buddha, twelve hundred thousand sons of the Jina, assembled." But the account concludes with a reference to the eight Bhikkhus, and the 700 Arhats selected by them. The

[1] The account in Mahāvaṃsa is a close summary of C V. The other accounts are very brief and omit the details.

Mahāvaṁsa puts the number of Bhikkhus on the side of Yasa as eleven hundred and ninety thousand. Later on, however, it gives the number as one hundred and twelve thousand, from whom 700 were chosen by Revata to form the Council. Buddhaghoṣa also puts the number of assembled Bhikkhus as 12,00,000 though he refers to the Council of 700.

(*c*) We learn from the Dīpavaṁsa and Samanta-pāsādikā that at the time of the Council, Aśoka, the son of Susunāga, was ruling at Pāṭaliputra. The Mahāvaṁsa not only corroborates this and traces the genealogy of Kālāśoka from Ajātasattu, but adds that the king took an active part against Yasa's party, till he was dissuaded from his evil course by a dream and the persuasion of his sister.

(*d*) We learn from the Dīpavaṁsa that after the Second Council had rejected the ten indulgences, the Bhikkhus of Vaiśālī held another Council. It was attended by ten thousand monks and was therefore called the Great Council (Mahā-Saṁgīti). The members of this Assembly, who were the first schismatics, made an altogether new redaction of the Buddhist Scriptures.

(*e*) In describing the Bhikkhus who came to Ahogaṅga hill in support of Yasa, the Mahāvaṁsa uses the word Pāveyyakā, instead of C. V's Pāṭheyyakā. The former would mean the Bhikkhus from Pāvā, while the latter means Bhikkhus from 'Paṭheyya', a kingdom situated to the west of the Kosala country.[1]

(*f*) According to C. V., the Bhikkhus of Vaiśālī merely carried out the Act of Suspension against 'Yasa'. Mahā-

[1] Cf. S B. E. Vol. XVII, p 146 fn. 1.

vamsa tells us that they came to thrust him (Yasa) out and surrounded the Thera's house'

(g) According to the Mahāvamsa the seven hundred Theras meeting in the Vāluka Ārāma under the leadership of the Thera Revata compiled the dhamma" (*akarum dhamma sangaham*) This has been construed as a 'collection or redaction of the Scriptures' But this does not seem to be the real meaning The term is to be taken in the same sense in which the words rehearsal of the Vinaya are used at the end of the account in C V All these terms apparently mean the settling or rehearsal of Dhamma or Vinaya so far as the ten points under dispute were concerned. Buddhaghosa, however, says that after the ten points were decided, the 700 Bhikkhus discussed the Vinaya and Dharma in the same way as was done in the First Council, and made a new redaction of these into Pitaka, Nikāya, Anga and Dhammaskandha

B The Chinese and Tibetan Versions

The too brief account of Hiuen Tsang does not differ materially from C V, except by way of omitting many details Thus he mentions only five of the eight Arhats,[1] and omits altogether the name of the venerable Sabbakami who, according to C V, acted as the President He places the Council exactly 110 years after the death of Buddha and concludes his account in very much the same way as C V, merely pointing out how the doctrines held by the monks of Vaiśali were declared erroneous, and without

[1] For the identification of the Arhats mentioned by Hiuen Tsang with those in C. V. cf Watters On Yuan Chwang Vol II pp 74 75

making any reference to the compilation of Scriptures. But Mr. Watters has translated a passage at the beginning of Hiuen Tsang's account of the Council which contradicts this view. According to this translation the pilgrim refers to the Commemorative *stūpa* at Vaiśālī as "the place where the 700 eminent sages made the second compilation (viz. of the Dharma and Vinaya)"[1] Julien and Beal, however, rendered the passage differently, viz., "the place where 700 sages assembled together."

Fā-Hien also states that the assembled Bhiksus "examined afresh and collated the collection of disciplinary books, *i. e.*, Vinaya Piṭaka."[2]

The Mahāsaṁghikas go one step further and name one Daśabala as having drawn up the Vinaya for the Council.[3]

But the Chinese version of the Second Council does not mention anything beyond the condemnation of the ten indulgences.[4]

The Tibetan Dulva[5] gives a brief account of the Second Council. While differing in details, it agrees substantially with the narrative as given in C. V. It, however, gives a quite different version of the ten indulgences, and omits the preliminary discussion of the question by the Committee of eight. But the eight theras are mentioned together with their dwelling places, and Yasa is said to have visited the other seven theras and discussed the question separately with them. It adds that originally 699 arhats formed the assembly, and all these were contemporaries of Ananda. The number of 700 was completed by the addition of Ku-

[1] Watters, op. cit., p. 72
[2] Watters, op. cit., p. 75.
[3] Ibid. pp. 171 180.
[4] Legge, Fā Hien, p 75
[5] Rockhill, op cit., p. 180

yyasobhita of Pātaliputra, who was aroused from his meditation by the Devas and mysteriously made his appearance before the Assembly just before the proceedings began. The account in Dulva concludes as follows "When they (*i. e.* the 700 arhats) had examined and condemned the ten indulgences they beat the *ghantā* (i. e. the bell) and having assembled all the Bhikkhus at Vaiśālī, Yasa informed them of the proceedings and decision of the Council." It does not say anything about the revision of the Scriptures or the subsequent assembly of the Mahāsamghikas.[1]

3. HISTORICAL CHARACTER OF THE SECONI COUNCIL.

Anyone who carefully reads the varying accounts o: the Second Council, as given in different authorities, cannot but come to the conclusion that, barring unessential details, there is a fair amount of agreement as to the essential part of the story. The dispute about ten doctrinal points which the monks of Vaiśālī regarded as valid, and their rejection by a general assembly of Buddhist monks are the essential points of the story, and fortunately they are subscribed to by all our authorities Nay, more; these authorities are equally agreed about the names of the main actors in that strange episode, howsoever they might differ

[1] In addition to those given above there are slightly varying versions of the Second Council in a large number of texts (cf e g Kern "Histoire du Bouddhisme"—Vol II, p 288) but no great importance attaches to them The same may be said of the account of Tāranātha It tells us 'that the Arhat Dhṛtika who usually lived at Kauśambī and was regarded as the head of the Bhikkhus fell ill The monks of Vaiśali consequently rejected his authority and declared the ten points to be legal After Yaśas and 700 other Arhats had condemned these practices as illegal a second compilation of the canon took place at Kusumapuri under the patronage of King Nandin of the Lichchhavi race' It thus substitutes Kusumapuri or Pāṭaliputra for Vaiśāli and King Nanda for Aśoka Evidently the story deserves but little credit

as to details about them. This consensus of opinion among different authorities, who evidently drew their inspiration from widely varying sources, certainly raises the presumption that there was a historical nucleus around which the legend of the Second Council has subsequently grown up.

Kern, however, thought otherwise.[1] He summed up his conclusions in the following sentence: "We could not discover in these accounts anything but dogmatic fictions for which didactic mythical stories of older times have furnished the materials." Apparently he changed his views later on. For we find the following sentence in his later work, "Manual of Buddhism" (p. 109), "The Council on Vinaya in Vaiśālī has an historical base." Oldenberg, however, all along held the same view and remarked as early as 1879, that "it is an account which, with all its pedantic snatching after trifles, bears the stamp of being in the highest degree trustworthy."[2] The later writers have more or less subscribed to this view, and the historical character of the Second Council is generally maintained.

It is not difficult to get an idea of what exactly took place in the Second Council. For this purpose it is only necessary to eliminate the episodes which are obviously of later growth. Let us take, for example, the southern version. It has been noted before that Dīpavaṁsa gives two versions of the Council, one being a faithful summary of C. V., while the other contains much additional information The same spirit of making additions to old authentic tradition is clearly perceptible in the accounts given in Mahā-

[1] Kern, op. cit., p. 290
[2] Introduction to Vinaya Piṭakam, p. XXIX

vaṃsa and Samanta-pāsādikā) As there is no doubt that all these different versions are based on C V, which is the oldest authentic text, we are justified in regarding all material variations from that primitive source as bearing the stamp of unauthentic additions in later ages We can thus sweep away, at one stroke, (1) the legendary number of the members of the Assembly ultimately reaching the astounding figure of 12,00 000 (2) the introduction of king Asoka son of Susunāga (3) the story of the Mahāsangīti, *i e*, a separate Council held by the monks of Vaiśalī, and (4) the compilation afresh of the Buddhist Scriptures not to speak of the many lesser details such as are given above on p 52, paras (*e*) and (*f*)

After this preliminary spade work is over, we can have a clear perception of the main events in the story and on a comparison of C V with the northern versions we are forced to admit the substantial correctness of the main outline as given in the former The points for critical discussion then resolve themselves into the following questions —

(*a*) The time of the Council

(*b*) The main actors in the Council

(*c*) The ten points which formed the subject matter of discussion in the Council

(*a*) The Southern version as we have seen places the Council just a century after the Nirvana The northern versions generally give the date as 110 A B but some authorities place the Council even so late as 210 or 220 A. B The last two dates fall near or within the reign of Aśoka and are apparently due to a belief that the Council was

held in his time. This belief has, however, no basis in fact, and we are therefore justified in ignoring it. The difference between the other versions is so slight that we may reasonably conclude that the Council was held about 100 years after the death of Buddha, in round numbers.

(*b*) As to the principal actors in the Council, there is a fair degree of consensus of opinion among our different authorities about their names. Hiuen Tsang and the Tibetan Dulva give some additional information about their residence. This is shown in the following table:

Name.	Residence as mentioned in C. V.	Dulva	Hiuen Tsang
1. Sabbakāmī	Vaiśālī	Vaiśālī	
2. Khujja Sobhita	(of the east)	Pāṭaliputra	Pāṭaliputra
3. Vāsabha-gāmika	(of the east)	Saṅkāśya	
4. Sāḷha	(of the east)	Sonaka	Vaiśālī
5. Revata	Soreyya	Sahadsha	Han no (or Sa-han no)
6. Sambhūta Sāṇavāsī	Ahogaṅga hill	Māhīsmatī	Mathurā
7. Yasa	nil	Sonaka	Kosala
8. Sumana	(of the west)		

As will be seen from the above list, Hiuen Tsang omits the names of three Arhats, Nos 1, 3, and 8. The Tibetan Dulva omits No 8, Sumana, but introduces a new name, Ajita, who lived at Śrughna.[1]

As regards the residence, there is hardly any agreement except in the case of Sabbakāmī and Khujja Sobhita. Sometimes the two sources are contradictory; thus while Vāsabha-gāmika is represented in C. V. as belonging to the east, his residence is placed at Saṅkāśya, far to the west,

[1] A Bhikkhu Ajita is mentioned in C. V as the Seat regulator i. e. Secretary, but not a member, of the Committee (See ante).

in the Dulva. The conclusion is thus almost forced upon us that, while there was a fairly accurate tradition about the names of the chief actors, there was no equally trustworthy information, available to succeeding generations, regarding their places of residence.

The same thing may be said of the age of these actors. In the C. V. Sabbakāmī is said to be a pupil of Ānanda and of 120 years' standing from the date of his Upaṣampadā. The Mahāvaṁsa proceeds a step further and makes all the eight Theras contemporaries of the Buddha, Vāsabhagāmika and Sumana being pupils of Anuruddha and the remaining six, pupils of Ānanda.[1] In the Dulva we find the last step in this process of legendary reconstruction, and all the 700 arhats, who took part in the Council, are said to be contemporaries of Ānanda.[2]

It is not difficult to perceive in the above a gradual transformation of the actors of the Council into semi-mythical hoary-headed Arhats whose authority and influence were supposed to have been derived from the Blessed One himself. The absurdity of the assumptions lies on the very face and he who runs can read it. But the story of the Second Council is not indissolubly bound up with this fabulous age of the actors. As a matter of fact, the fable, as we have seen, is of gradual growth. It would be extremely unfair, then, to challenge the historical character of the Second Council simply on the ground of the impossibly old age of its principal actors It is equally futile to argue, with Kern, against the historical character of the Council on the ground that the list of principal actors does not include

[1] op cit p 24

[2] op. cit p 179.

any of the Patriarchs of the Buddhist Church, for the list of Patriarchs is contained in only late authorities and Kern has himself proved its unhistorical character[1]

(c) Lastly, we come to the ten points which formed the subject matter of discussion in the Second Council. The C. V. describes them as follows.

(1) 'The Horn-salt license.' (Is it allowable to carry about salt in a horn with the intention of putting it into food which has not been salted ?)

(2) The Two inch license (Is it allowable to eat the midday meal beyond the right time, provided only that the shadow has not yet turned two inches ?)

(3) The Village-trip-license. (Is it allowable for one who has once finished his meal, and refused any more, to eat food which has not been left over, on the ground that he is about to proceed into the village ?)

(4) The Circuit-license (Is it allowable for a number of Bhikkhus who dwell within the same circuit, within the same boundary, to hold separate Uposathas ?)

(5) The Indemnity-license. (Is it allowable for a Samgha, which is not legally constituted, to perform an official act, on the ground that they will afterwards obtain the sanction of such Bhikkhus as subsequently arrive ?)

(6) The Precedent license (Is it allowable to do a thing on the ground that "My preceptor has practised this" or "My teacher has practised that' ?)

(7) The Churn-license (Is it allowable for one who has once finished his meal and has refused any more, to drink milk, not left over from the meal, on the ground that it has

[1] op. cit. p. 120 ff.

left the condition of milk and has not yet reached the condition of curds ?)

(8) Drinking Toddy. (Is it allowable to drink spirits which have not yet become spirits and have not yet acquired intoxicating properties ?)

(9) Unfringed-seat.[1]

(10) Gold and Silver. (Whether the Bhikkhus could accept gold and silver as present).

The ten points, as enumerated and interpreted in the C. V., do not, however, agree with those mentioned in other texts. Some schools like the Dharmaguptas and the Mahī śāsakas accept the technical names but give quite different interpretations.[2] On the other hand the Tibetan version of the ten points is almost entirely different from that of C. V.[3] It would appear that whereas there was a common tradition about ten disciplinary points having been discussed in Vaiśālī. there was no such unanimity of views as to what those ten points actually were. Consequently, in subsequent times, each sect or community sought to utilise the tradition for settling local disputes by simply including the points which agitated their own narrow world among the traditional ten points of Vaiśālī. This seems to be the way in which the traditional ten points came to assume various forms.

It is also not unlikely that the Council of Vaiśālī was merely the precursor of many other similar, more or less

[1] The C V does not explain this But from the Tibetan sources we learn that it means "to use a new mat without patching it around the edge (with the width of) a Sugata span (equal to a cubit and a half)' Rockhill—op cit., p 172

[2] These have been fully discussed by Prof L. De la Vallee Poussin Ind Ant 1908 p. 89 ff

[3] Rockhill, op. cit., p. 171 ff.; Ind. Ant 1908, p 104 ff.

general, Assemblies, in which other disputed points of discipline or doctrine were discussed, and that later traditions have jumbled them all up into one story. Whatever may be the reason, the result is extremely unfortunate. For we cannot now be quite sure as to the matters which created such a profound agitation in the Buddhist world within a century of the Master's death, and thereby we miss a brilliant opportunity of studying the primitive Buddhism in its actual working.

Further, a decision on these ten points has an important bearing on the history of the growth of Buddhist canon. It is obvious, in spite of what Oldenberg says to the contrary, that if we accept the ten points as given in C. V., we can hardly accept the present Pāli Vinaya texts as anterior to the Council of Vaiśālī. For many of these ten points have been so clearly decided in the existing Vinaya texts that it would be an insult to the understanding of the *theras* of old if we believe them incapable of coming to a decision about them without so much ado. It is to be remembered that each of these points was discussed, not on its merits, but only as to whether or not it was in accordance with the doctrines as preached by the Buddha. If the Vinaya Texts existed then in anything like its present shape, most of the points of discussion would never have arisen at all,[1] and the monks could hardly agree that the legal question involved therein "was hard and subtle" (see ante). One instance only need be quoted in support of this contention. Take for example the *avāsakappa* which was disposed of as follows in the Council of Vaiśālī according to C. V.

[1] Oldenberg, of course, maintains the contrary view—but Professor Poussin seems to have completely demolished his contentions (Ind Ant. 1908, pp. 89 ff.)

"Revata—Is the 'circuit-license', Lord, allowable?

Sabbakāmī—What, Sir, is this circuit-license?

R.—Is it allowable, Lord, for a number of Bhikkhus who dwell within the same circuit, within the same boundary, to hold separate Uposathas?

S.—No, Sir, it is not allowable.

R.—Where was such a claim rejected?

S.—At Rājagaha, in the Uposatha Saṁyutta.

R.—Of what offence is he, who does so, guilty?

S.—Of Dukkaṭa, in neglecting the Vinaya."

But consider for a moment the following passage in Mahāvaggā: "At this time two halls of Uposathas had been instituted in a certain parish. The Bhikkhus assembled in both halls because (some) thought: 'The Uposatha will be held here', and (the other): 'The Uposatha will be held there'. This was reported to Bhagavat who said "Let no one establish two halls of Uposatha in the same parish. I order the suppression of one of the two and I desire that the Uposatha be held (only) in one place."

In the face of such instances no unbiassed reader would accept the dictum of Oldenberg that the text of the Vinaya, as we have it, "does not know of the propositions discussed at Vaiśālī.[1] It is equally difficult to believe that in the face of such clear ruling in the Vinaya texts, the matter would have formed a subject of dispute in a learned assembly of Bhikkhus. Again, Oldenberg has truly observed: "We may with full assurance infer that if the discussions as to what was permitted and what forbidden, which we have

[1] Introduction to Vinaya Texts, p XXXVI

before us in the Vinaya, were established after the time of this Council, it was next to unavoidable, that in appropriate passages, it should be directly stated how the Bhikkhus were to act with regard to the points so hotly disputed at Vesālī."[1] As a matter of fact, however, the Vinaya has made explicit statement about many of these points. This topic is not, however, relevant to our present discussion and we need not, therefore, labour the point any further.[2]

To sum up. The story of the Second Council seems to be based upon a genuine historical tradition. It was held at Vaiśālī about a century after the death of Buddha in order to settle some disputed points of discipline on which there were apparently no clear decisions extant. It was largely attended by the Buddhists from all parts of northern India, and the principal parts were played by eight Bhikkhus notably Revata, Sabbakāmī and Yasa. The result of the Council was the condemnation of the views held by the Bhikkhus of Vaiśālī. This might have led to a schism in the Church and the evolution of one or more new sects, but of this we have no clear evidence.

THE THIRD COUNCIL.

The story of the Third Council is given in the Dīpavaṁsa, Mahāvaṁsa, and Buddhaghosa's Introduction to Samanta-pāsādikā.[3] It is not referred to in C. V., and is unknown to the Buddhists of northern India, Tibet and China. This fact at once raises great suspicion as to the

[1] Introduction to Vinaya Texts, p xxxvi

[2] For an illuminating discussion on this point the reader is referred to Ind. Ant. 1908, pp 89 ff.

[3] Dipav. VII, 34 ff.; Mahāvaṁsa—Ch V.; Vinaya Texts Ed Oldenberg, Vol. III, p 306 ff

historical character of the Third Council, and the doubt is more than confirmed when we proceed to discuss the *details* given in the late Siṁhalese authorities.

There is hardly any doubt that all the three authorities are indebted to a common source for information on this point. All the three give pretty long rambling accounts of the circumstances leading up to the Council. These accounts are full of unnecessary and impossible details, and contain reference to miraculous happenings. It will suffice here to give a short outline of the essential features of the story as gleaned by a comparison of the three texts.

It appears that the bounty of Aśoka had increased the riches of the Buddhist monasteries while it had reduced to great straits the followers of heretical sects, so much so, that the latter found it difficult even to procure a livelihood. The result was that the heretics in large numbers passed themselves as Buddhist Bhikkhus and dwelt even in the royal monastery with the latter. "They proclaimed their own doctrines as the doctrine of the Buddha and carried out their own practices even as they wished." On account of the large number of these heretics the Buddhist Bhikkhus proper could not maintain discipline in the Saṅgha, with the dire consequence that for seven years neither the *Uposatha* ceremony nor the *Pavāraṇā* could be held in any monastery in the whole of Jambudvīpa.

At that time 60,000 Bhikkhus dwelt at Aśokārāma in Pāṭaliputra. When the emperor heard that the *Uposatha* ceremony had been stopped in his own *ārāma*, he sent an officer to settle the matter. The officer went thither and announced to the Bhikkhus the king's command to carry out

the *Uposatha*. Some *theras* boldly replied that they could not carry out the *Uposatha* festival with the heretics. This was too much for the foolhardy official who immediately drew his sword and cut off the heads of several *theras* who had protested. But when he found the Bhikkhu Tissa, brother of Aśoka, among them, he dared not kill him, and returning to Aśoka, reported the whole matter to him. Aśoka deplored this action of his officer and was very much disturbed in mind at the idea that the guilt of his official might devolve upon him. He asked several Bhikkhus whether the guilt belonged to him or to his officer, but no uniform reply was received, some attaching the blame to him, others exonerating him of any guilt. Then the king asked of the Bhikkhus whether there was any eminent Bhikkhu in India who could give a decisive reply to this question. They all in one voice referred to Tissa Moggaliputta.

This Tissa Moggaliputta is held out as the divine majestic figure round whom centred all the important events leading up to the Third Council. It is related that even at the time of the Second Council the *theras* taking part in that assembly foresaw that the heretics will be dominant about a century later, and that a Samana descending from Brahmā's world will be born in human race to destroy the heretics, his name being Tissa and surname Moggaliputta.

Aśoka sent for Tissa Moggaliputta, and after great difficulties succeeded in bringing him to Pāṭaliputra. There he first established his greatness by a display of supernatural powers, and then satisfied the king by his decision that the guilt of killing the Bhikkhus did not attach to the king as the latter had no evil intent.

On the seventh day after this Aśoka held an assembly of 'all the Bhikkhus on the earth'. Then, 'seated with Tissa Moggaliputta on one side behind a curtain, he called to him in turn the Bhikkhus of the several confessions', and after each sect had expounded its wrong doctrine, Tissa had no difficulty in exposing its false character. The king thereupon expelled these sects from the Order. Lastly came the upholders of the Vibhajja-doctrine and Tissa Moggaliputta held that that was in consonance with the real teaching of Buddha.

After the Order was thus purged of all heretical sects, the *Uposatha* ceremony was held again, and Tissa Moggaliputta proclaimed the treatise called Kathāvattu. Then he chose a thousand learned Bhikkhus and held a Council in Aśokārāma. There he compiled the true Dharma, even as Mahākassapa and Yasa did before him, and the convocation was finished in the space of nine months.

Such is the brief outline of the story which the later Siṁhalese authorities have handed down to posterity. The story stands self-condemned. It is impossible to hold that thousands of heretics entered into the Saṁgha and were not detected for years; that the *Uposatha* ceremony was stopped for seven years even in his own *ārāma* in Pāṭaliputra and Aśoka did not know anything of it till at the end of that long period; and lastly, that the name and fame of such a great Arhat, as Tissa Moggaliputta is represented to be, could possibly remain unknown to Aśoka till the 18th year of his coronation. Then, again, the upshot of the whole affair was an authentic declaration that the Vibhajjavādins were the only true followers of Buddha, and if we

rémember that all the three accounts that we possess really originated from the Vibhajjavādins of Mahāvihāra, whereas the whole affair is completely ignored by the rest of the Buddhist world, we are bound to entertain very grave doubts about the Council at Pāṭaliputra. Even if any Council was held, it was admittedly a party-meeting of the Vibhajjavādins alone, and could by no stretch of imagination be called a general Council. But whether even such a party-meeting was ever held to compile the Dhamma, may be doubted in the absence of evidence of a more reliable character. It must be remembered that Hiuen Tsang who has recorded so many traditions about Aśoka has not a word to say about this Council, and that not the slightest reference to it is made in the numerous inscriptions which that emperor has bequeathed to us.

In course of his description of Pāṭaliputra Hiuen Tsang has told us a very interesting story regarding the origin of a stūpa called "The Institution of the Gong-call tope." We are told that once in bygone days the heretics of Pātaliputra had excelled the Buddhists by means of their learning and scholarship. As a result, heated discussions often took place between the rival parties, and these were attended by loud shouts and wild beating of gongs At last the king arranged a public discussion to decide the respective merits of the parties with the condition that if the heretics proved successful the Buddhist monasteries should not be allowed to call meetings by gong-beating. The Buddhists, being defeated, had to put up with this humiliation for twelve years. Then Deva, a disciple of Nāgārjuna, came to Pātaliputra and arranged a public discussion. In the course of twelve days

he refuted the propositions of the heretics and vanquished them utterly in argument. The king and his ministers being satisfied raised the *stūpa* in question as a memorial.[1]

It is not difficult to perceive striking resemblances in essential points between this story and that of the Third Council. Both refer to the predominance of heretics over the Buddhists in the city of Pātaliputra, a consequent period of humiliation for the Buddhists, seven years in one case and twelve years in another, and the final discomfiture of the heretics and the triumph of the Buddhists by the efforts of a great Bhikkhu, Deva in the first case and Tissa Moggaliputta in the Second. In both the king plays a more or less passive part.

It seems reasonable to hold that a long-drawn struggle between the heretics and the Buddhists, out of which the latter finally emerged as triumphant, was the nucleus of both the stories, to which different personalities were introduced in later times

THE FOURTH COUNCIL.

It is held by all the Buddhist sects, with the exception of the Ceylonese monks, that a Council was held under the patronage of King Kaniska. Thus while the Ceylonese look upon the Council of Aśoka as the third and the last, the same view is taken about the Council of Kaniska by the remaining Buddhist world.

The most circumstantial narrative of this Council is given by Hiuen Tsang. It may be summarised as follows:—

'Kaniska, the Buddhist king, was much perplexed at the

[1] Beal—Vol. II. pp 96 ff ; Watters—Vol. II. pp. 100 101.

different and contradictory interpretations of the Buddhist Scriptures caused by conflicting tenets of sectarians. He then expressed to the venerable Pārśva a desire to have the Tripitaka explained according to the tenets of the various schools. Pārśva having agreed, Buddhist Bhikkhus were summoned from all quarters As the number of Bhikkhus who had assembled in response to the invitation were very large, Kaniska selected, out of them, 499 Bhikkhus noted for their learning. To this was added the venerable Vasumitra who acted as the President This Council of 500 composed 100,000 stanzas of Upadeśa-śāstras, explanatory of the canonical sūtras, 100,000 stanzas of Vinaya-vibhāsā-śāstras, explanatory of the Vinaya, and 100,000 stanzas of Abhidharma-Vibhāsā-śāstras, explanatory of the Abhidharma These treatises were written out on copper plates Kaniska had these enclosed in stone boxes and deposited them in a *stūpa* specially erected for the purpose."[1]

There are differences in points of detail in the various accounts of the Council that have reached us

First, as to the place where the Council was held. Hiuen Tsang places it in Kashmir, while according to Tibetan authorities it was in Jālandhara As to the personnel of the Council, the Tibetan Life of Buddha says that 500 Arhats under Pārśva and 500 Bodhisatvas under Vasumitra held the Council, while Tārānātha proceeds one step further, and speaks of 500 Arhats, 500 Bodhisatvas and 500 Panditas. There can be hardly any doubt that the original 500 was duplicated and triplicated in the hands of later writers.

As to the work of the Council, Tārānātha gives a some-

[1] Watters—Vol I. p 270; Beal Vol. I, p 151

hat different version Having referred to the internal issensions in the Church which resulted in the rise of 18 ifferent sects Tārānātha adds that all these 18 sects were cknowledged by the Fourth Council as holding the true doc rine According to him the Council further put to writing he whole of Vinaya and the portions of Sūtra and Abhi harma which had not yet been written out The other ortions of the last two which already existed in a written rm, were corrected According to the Tibetan Life, the ourth Council collected the canonical books These three counts although different are not self contradictory d may be reconciled without much difficulty If, as uen Tsang says, elaborate commentaries were made on e Tripitakas, it was obviously necessary in the first place collect together the canonical books themselves So r we can agree with the views in Tibetan Life, but it is fficult to believe the statement of Taranatha that the whole Vinaya yet remained unwritten and was merely trans tted orally even as late as the first century A D As the reconciliation of the 18 different sects, the best way of ing that was obviously by means of ingenious commen ies which would satisfy rival sects by putting different erpretations on the same passage exactly as was done later times in the case of the Brahmanical Smrtis, the ne passage in Manusamhitā for example, being quoted to pport almost diametrically opposite views

We may thus hold that the chief business of the Fourth uncil was to collect the canonical texts and to prepare borate commentaries on them with a view to reconcile tenets of different sects as far as possible

But the Fourth Council, like the Third, can hardly claim to be a general Council of the Buddhists at large. As noted above, it is completely ignored by the Ceylonese Buddhists. It also appears that the Mahāyānists took no part in it. It was at best a Council of the Hīnayānists of northern India. But within this narrow sphere it did a great deal of good by putting a stop to old quarrels and dissensions. It was well that the Hīnayānists thus closed up their ranks, for time was not distant when their position was going to be seriously challenged by the new Mahāyāna sect. That the Hīnayānists were in a position to make a common cause against their new rival was in no small measure due to the work done in the Council of Kaniṣka.

ABBREVIATIONS.

Vin. Text.	Vinaya Texts.—Ed. by Oldenberg. C. V.
C. V.	Chullavagga
Dipav.	Dīpavaṁsa edited and translated by Oldenberg.
Rockhill	Rockhill—Life of Buddha.
Histoire	Kern—Histoire du Bouddhisme dans l'Inde.
M. V.	Mahāvagga, Translated by Oldenberg in S. B. E.

CHAPTER III

SIX HERETICAL TEACHERS

The Sāmaññaphala Sutta of the Digha Nikāya mentions the six heretical teachers who are spoken of in identical terms as "*the head of an order, of a following the teacher* of a school, well-known and of repute as a sophist, revered by the people, a man of experience who has long been a recluse, old and well stricken in years' (Digha Nikāya, Vol *I p 47)* *The six heretical teachers* were *the following* :—

1 Pūrana Kassapa
2 Makkhali Gosāla
3 Ajita Kesakambali
4 Pakudha Kaccāyana
5 Sañjaya Belatthiputta
6 Nigantha Nāthaputta

Max Muller was *the first to attempt to assign a definite* position to them in the history of the six systems of Indian philosophy With all deference to that great scholar, I must say that he has hardly succeeded in establishing the precise relation in which these teachers stand either to the history of Indian philosophy or to that of Jainism and Buddhism A short account of these teachers appears in Rockhill s Life of the Buddha drawn from the Tibetan translation of the Samaññaphala Sutta *(pp 100 105)* Mr Rockhill gives in his appendix extracts from the Jaina Bhagavati (XV) of the intercourse between Mahāvira and Gosāla Makkhaliputta and also an account of the doctrines

of these teachers according to two Chinese versions of the Sāmaññaphala Sutta. Dr. Oldenberg and other Buddhist writers furnish us with a mere legendary account of them. In one of the Jātakas these teachers are contrasted with Buddha-Gautama as a filthy crow in comparison with the painted, well-trained and sweet-voiced peacock. (Jātaka, Fausbōll, No. 339, Vol. III. pp. 126-128). The Milinda-pañha which can be dated the second century of the Christian era, contains a spurious account of these teachers which leads us back to the Sāmaññaphala Sutta that might be taken as the most typical of genuine Buddhist fragments. Of the six teachers, Jaina Aṅgas unfortunately mention only Makkhaligosālaputta and Niganṭha Nāthaputta.

1. Pūraṇa Kassapa :

He was so called because he was born of a girl who was a foreigner. There were previously ninety-nine of that race and his birth completed the hundredth, he was called Pūrṇa or Puraṇa, complete, or "full" which was prefixed to his name Kassapa. His master was unwilling to put him to hard work and made him the porter of his mansion. Kassapa ran away as he did not like this job. He was attacked by theives in the forest where he fled. There the thieves stripped off his clothes and left him naked. He went to a village being naked. The people there asked him who he was and he said that his name was Pūraṇa because he was full of all sciences, Kassapa because he was a brahmin and Pūraṇa Kassapa Buddha because he brought all his evil desires under control. The people bought clothes in abundance for him but he refused them as he thought that if he put them on, he would not be treated with the

same respect Kassapa said, "Clothes are for the covering of shame and shame is the effect of sin I am an arahat. As I am free from evil desires, I know no shame" The people believed what he said, brought offerings for him and worshipped him Five hundred persons became his followers. It was proclaimed throughout the Jambudīpa that he was the Buddha He had eighty thousand followers who were not seekers of truth They all went to hell with their false teachers

The Buddhist Sāmaññaphala Sutta gives a distorted, mutilated picture of the philosophical speculations of Pūrana Kassapa The Buddhist teachers are led by their moral predilection to judge only the moral bearing of Kassapa's philosophy They assert that Pūrana Kassapa ruled out the play of will in our moral life from the domain of speculation The Jainas join hands with the Buddhists in grouping Kassapa's doctrine under Akiriyāvāda The Buddhist account keeps the theoretic side of Ajita's philosophy in the background However, an important passage of the Jaina Sūtrakritānga (Sūtrakritānga, I I I 13) clearly states that his was really a theory of the passivity of soul "When a man acts or causes another to act, it is not his soul which acts or causes to act (evam akārayu appā) " The Jaina commentators identify this doctrine with the Sānkhya philosophy which also posits soul as a passive principle In the absence of documents coming down to us from Kassapa it is difficult even to imagine in what manner he conceived the part played by the soul in the conscious experience of the individual The Sankhya system speaks no doubt of soul as a mere passive spectator while prakriti performs

all active functions of the body and the mind But he tried to get over the difficulty by asserting that the presence of soul even as a passive spectator is essential to stir up energy in prakriti Upadhī is the principle which connects body and mind with soul Although such details of Kassapa's philosophy are unknown it is undeniable that this theory of the passivity of soul was an important step towards the development of the Sānkhya system from the rough outline given by Pippallāda Thus we see that the influence of Pūrana Kassapa's speculation upon Jainism and Buddhism was rather of a negative character and the latter rejected in a body the absurdity of Kassapa's theory about the soul

2 Makkhali Gosāla

He was called Gosāla because he was born of a slave who was confined to a cattle pen on account of the displeasure of his master. When he grew up, his master one day gave him a pot of ghee to carry on his head, and when he came to a muddy place he was told to take care lest he should fall He fell down and for fear of consequence he ran away His master followed him and caught hold of his garment but he left it in his hand and fled to the forest naked, whence he came to a village and deceived the people in the same way as Purana Kassapa did He had the same number of disciples and led the number of followers to hell In spite of the general tendency of the Jain works to paint Gosāla in dark colours the Bhagavati had to admit that Gosāla attained Jīnahood and that he was recognised as a teacher at Sāvatthi some two years before Mahāvīra It is not improbable that by the theory of fortuitous origin or chance (adhiccasamuppādo, ahetuappaccayavādo,

akāranavāda, yaddricchā in Setasatara Upanishad) Buddha understood the logical postulate of the philosophy of Pūrana Kassapa besides that of the philosophy of the Vedas and the Upanisads. Something comes into existence that was previously non-existent (ahutvā ahosi, that is to say, something comes out of nothing) This is the fundamental logical principle of Pūrana Kassapa as Buddha understood him. The term, adhiccasamuppāda, is obviously the opposite of Buddha's paṭiccasamuppāda, theory of causal genesis, which is explained thus. This is that comes to be, on the arising of this, that arises, etc. Of course Pūrana Kassapa's principle was interpreted by Buddha from the moral standpoint, something comes out of nothing means that from the soul which is uncaused arises the experience of pleasure and pain, the sense of good and bad, etc. It is curious that the theory of non-causation or chance is ascribed to Makkhali Gosāla in the Samaññaphala Sutta, but the incompatibility of such a theory with the general trend of Gosāla's thought needs some explanation The Anguttara Nikāya has a passage where the doctrine of Pūrana Kassapa and Makkhali Gosāla are mixed up by Ānanda The interest of this passage is that the theory of chance is associated with the name of Pūrana Kassapa. Perhaps this confusion led Buddha Gautama to declare Gosāla's to be the worst of all doctrines (Oldenberg's Buddha, p 70, Anguttara Nikāya, Siamese Edition, p 302). As Mrs Rhys Davids points out that in this passage Buddha confounded Gosāla with Ajita Kesakambali when he said in jest that the blanket made up of hair was hot in hot weather and cold in cold weather. Judging from the line of thought

followed by Makkhali Gosāla, he was a fatalist or a determinist rather than a propounder of the doctrine of chance. Everything was unalterably fixed This was the fundamental thesis of Makkhali Gosāla as we read in the Jaina Bhagavatī Buddhaghosa also says that according to Gosāla things happen exactly as they are to happen, that which is not to happen does not happen (Sumangala Vilāsinī, pp. 160-165) It is clear from this that Gosāla maintains that everything happens according to the unalterable laws of nature, that is to say, he banishes chance from the whole of experience He seeks to explain things as a biologist in the light of these three principles —(1) Fate, (2) Species, and (3) Nature

The pleasure and pain which living beings experience depend partly upon past deeds and partly upon their birth and inherent nature (Niyatisangatibhāvaparinatā, Samaññaphala Sutta, Sutrakritanga Sūtra) Gosāla's is a theory of evolution of individual things by natural transformation (parināma implied in parinato) The Sāmaññaphala Sutta states his main thesis rather narrowly when it says that both fools and wise men alike wandering in transmigration make an end of pain (Sandhavitvā samsaritvā dukkhassa 'ntam karissanti) His doctrine is that all forms of life, all living substances attain perfection after having gradually passed higher and higher through different types of existence which are fixed, and after having experienced pleasure and pain, peculiar to each form of existence The highest in the scale of existence is of course a Jina (perfect man) Now his theory of evolution differs fundamentally from Darwin's theory as it implies an evolution not of species but of indi-

viduals, from a lower species to a higher one In working out his theory of perfection by transformation Gosāla classifies the living things in various ways and arranges them in an ascending order and he seems to give a two fold classification, psychological and physiological But it is implied in his expressions that organic development progresses side by side with the development of mind He conceives infinity of time, involving a conception of kalpas (cycles) antarakalpas, meaning uniform succession of the cycles of existence, but time for individual is finite or limited in both ways as illustrated by the simile of a ball of string which spreads out just as far and no further than it can unwind For Gosāla there is not only a gradation of the types of existence, but also there are eight stages of development in the life of a man, at each of which the mental growth corresponds to the physical and vice versa The theory of the gradual development of self connects Gosāla with the past, the Aitareyas in particular (Aitareya Āranyaka), and with succeeding ages, which had seen the birth of the religious philosophies of Mahāvira and Buddha Gosāla's biological speculations supply his worthy successors with ample food for thought, with arguments which are put by them mainly to a moral, social and, in short, to a practical use One illustration will suffice In the Vāsettha Sutta of the Suttanipāta, Buddha opposes the caste system on grounds drawn from Biology The theory of caste or jāti is untenable as it introduces a species within a species Buddha gives a list of species of various animals, insects and plants and holds that such a variety of species is not to be found among men (p. 118, verse 14) The theory

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of caste or yāti easily breaks down when we see that a Brahmin and a caṇḍāla do not differ in their physical constitution and can both procreate children

A short and malicious fragment in the Samaññaphala Sutta tells us that Gosāla divides actions into act, word and thought, thought being regarded as half karma This division of karma which some writers suppose to be derived from the Zendāvestā was really an indigenous growth in India and played an important part in the Jaina and Buddhist thought As a naturalist, Gosāla lays stress on act and word Buddha as a psychologist lays stress on manokamma and kāyakamma on the ground of the inter action of body and mind (Cittanvayo kāyo hoti, kāyanvavam cittam hoti) (Majjhima Nikāya, Vol I, pp 237-8) The deterministic theory of Makkhali Gosāla constitutes a moral difficulty If living beings are bent this way and that way by their fate, how can we make them responsible for their actions ? Both Mahāvira and Buddha think that Makkhali s theory leaves no room for the freedom of the will That is to say, his is a doctrine of non action (akiriyāvāda) But in point of fact the moral freedom of men is not inconsistent with the deterministic theory of Gosala, and the relation of Gosala's theory to Indian philosophy in general and to moral philosophy in particular is that it establishes governance of law in the universe of experience It also tacitly suggests that not only physical phenomena but also mental and moral phenomena are subject to definite laws Thus we see that he provides his successors with a caution that moral freedom, if there be any, must be freedom of being within the operation of laws If will is to be operative,

it must operate in accordance with the general order of things.

3. Ajita Kesakambalī

He was a servant who ran away from his master As he had no means of livelihood, he became an ascetic He put on a mean garment made up of hair, shaved his head and taught, "It is an equal sin to kill a fish and to eat its flesh"

The way for Mahāvīra and Buddha was prepared by Ajita Kesakambali whose doctrine like that of Epicurus is generally misunderstood The negative side of Ajita's philosophy is more prominent than its positive side In its negative side his philosophy was employed to demolish the whole ground of the Brahmanic faith and ceremonial works Indeed it breathed an utter contempt for everything Vedic or Brahmanic He naively denied the possibility of rebirth and retribution The world was just a concourse of four elements, the space being the repository of the senses, the soul being just a chemical product of matter and nothing more Ajita rendered a great service to Indian philosophy by the positive side of his philosophy which was directed against the dualistic or pluralistic theory of Kaccāyana That which is psychical is corporeal (tam jivo tam sarīram) Thus Mahāvira and Buddha fitly described the main content of Ajita's doctrine What Ajita really contemplated was not to identify body with soul or matter with spirit but to point out that a particular object of experience must be somehow viewed *as an indivisible* whole (Sūtrakritānga, 2 I 15 17) Mahāvīra and Buddha were right in supposing Ajita's doctrine to be a doc

trine of non-action, (Akiriyāvāda), because Ajita destroyed the ultimate ground of moral distinction by denying the possibility of personal continuity and thus deprived life of its zest. However his service to Mahāvīra and Buddha was considerable: (1) He led them to think of reality or real object as a single, indivisible whole and (2) he led them to seek for the ground of moral distinctions in the volition of mind rather than anything else.

4. Pakudha Kaccāyana:

He was the son of a poor widow who bore him at the foot of a Kakudha or Kumbuk tree. A brahmin saw him and brought him up giving him the name of the tree near which he was born. After the death of the brahmin he had no means of support and became an ascetic. He taught thus "when cold water is drunk, many creatures are destroyed and that warm water alone is therefore to be used whether for washing the feet or for any other purpose." His followers never drank cold water nor washed their bodies with it and if obliged to pass through water or ford a river, it gave them much pain as they thought it caused a great destruction of life.

A Kavandhin Kātyāyana is mentioned in the Praśnopanishat as a younger contemporary of Pippallāda to whom we owe the outline of the Sāṅkya system of philosophy (Praśnopanishat, Praś. I. I). The nickname Kavandhin applied to the name of Kātyāyana is of some interest. Kavandhin or Kakudha was really a nickname intended to distinguish the famous sophist from other teachers bearing his name.

Supposing that Kakudha Kātyāyana or Kavandhin

Kātyāyana was a younger contemporary of Pippalāda and that the Buddha was a younger contemporary of Kātyāyana, it does not seem improbable that Kātyāyana was of the same age as Sañjaya

Let us examine the doctrine of Pakudha Kaccayana (Kakudha Kātyāyana) In the Jaina and the Buddhist works his doctrine is designated differently , the name signifies various aspects and phases —

1 "Sassatavāda" (Brahmajāla sutta Digha N Vol I, p 1)

2 Aññajivo (the theory of duality) annamsaviravado, Sattakāyavādo ātmashastavādo, anikyavado

3 Akiriyāvādo

The logical postulate of Kavandhin Kātyayan's philosophy is no other than the Parmenedian doctrine of Being "Nothing comes out of nothing" (Noya uppajjae asam) What is does not perish from nothing comes nothing (sato nacci vinīso, asato nacci sambhavo Sūtrakritānga 2 1 22) The Buddhist fragments do not make mention of this important logical principle (Satkarya vada) accepted in almost all the systems of Indian philosophy notably the system of the Bhagavat Gitā the Sānkhya the Vaisesika and the Vedanta Among the earlier systems we might mention Jainism, Buddhism and the philosophy of the Upanisads particularly that of Naciketā in Kathopanisat which inculcate the same principle These led the Jaina commentators Silanka and others to identify the doctrine of Pakudha with the system of the Bhagavat Gitā the Sankhayam and some of the Saiva systems The ontological significance of its eternalism is summed up by Mahavira

and Buddha in the expressions that soul and the world (attā ca loko ca) are both eternal, giving birth to nothing new, that they are steadfast as a mountain peak, as a pillar firmly fixed These principles are the same for ever and ever.

The epithet pluralism implies that Kaccāyana sought to explain the whole of experience in the light of six or seven substances The seven substances according to the Buddhist enumeration are earth, water, fire, air, pleasure, pain and soul The six substances given by the Jainas are (1) earth, (2) water, (3) fire, (4) air, (5) space, and (6) soul

The Jaina and the Buddhist accounts differ no doubt in some respects but fundamentally we find an agreement between them

We are led to understand that according to Kātyāyana the concrete existences are the results of the combination of the six or seven substances which perpetually unite and separate, unite by pleasure and separate by pain Thus partly in agreement with Naciketā and partly in agreement with the Bhagavat Gitā, Kaccāyana aimed at explaining away birth and death as common phenomena in the world of experience

The pluralism of Kaccāyana is fitly summed up in the dualism of Pippallāda in the Prasnopanisat, that is, of Sānkhya

Pippallāda as is well known postulated prāna and rayi (that is, purusa and prakriti) the two ultimate principles relating to the explanation of all phenomena

The logical consequence of his doctrine was fatal to modern philosophy, if the substances are uncreated, uncaused and eternally existent, and if they mechanically unite and

disintegrate, the theory can ill afford to account for moral distinctions between good and bad, between right and wrong This is the significance of the epithet akiriyāvāda. Kaccāyana identified thought with being The result was that he explained away the destinies of the particulars under the glamour of the universal concepts Both Mahavīra and Buddha rejected the position of Kaccāyana though theoretically they agreed with him that the real object of experience as a whole can never be cognised and described by appropriate symbols Thus the influence exercised by Kaccāyana upon Jainism and Buddhism was rather of a negative character

5 Sañjaya Belatthiputto :

He was called Sañjaya because he had on his head a boil like a sañja or wooden apple and Belatthi because he was born of a slave

It is still an open question whether Sañjaya Belatthi putta was the same person as Sañjaya the wanderer , the former was the teacher of Sāriputta who became later on the chief disciple of Buddha Prof Jacobi has identified the two names (Jaina Sūtras, pt II p xxix) Of course Belatthiputta himself was a far-famed wandering teacher of the time In the Jaina Uttaradhyāyanasutra there is mention of a Sañjaya, king of Kāmpilya, whose teaching savours of scepticism

There it is stated that he was converted to the Jaina faith by Gardabhali Supposing that Belatthiputto was no other than the wanderer and that Sariputta was the connecting link between him and the Buddha, we can show how scepticism as a philosophic method was superseded in course

of time by a method which was critical. The transition did not however take place abruptly. Sañjaya's contribution to Indian philosophy was similar to that of Pyrrho in Greek tradition, who visited India and studied philosophy under the Gymnosophists in the 4th century B. C. His contribution was a negative or destructive one, as it aimed at avoiding all dogmatic conclusions. He was the first to maintain a neutral attitude towards the dogmatic views of life and things and to prove that it was impossible to offer certitude for human knowledge concerning the reality of life and things. He was the first to turn men's attention away from vain speculations and to teach that the best pathway to peace lay elsewhere, in preserving a tranquil state of mind. Thus he suggested what problems were to be excluded from the domain of speculation and he inaugurated a critical era dominated by higher ethical ideals.

As philosopher, Sañjaya belonged to the sophistic period, and his doctrine was unintelligible except in relation to the teachings of Pakudha Kaccāyana and Ajita Kesakambalī.

6. Nigaṇṭha Nāthaputta or Mahāvīra :

He was the son of Nāta, the husbandman and because he declared that there was no science with which he was acquainted, he was called Nigaṇṭha. He said that he was free from sin and that if any one had any doubt about any subject whatever, he might come to him for explanation.

The Sāmagāma Sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya (Vol. II. P. T. S, p. 243.) and the Pātika Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya (Vol. III) bear evidence to the fact that Nigaṇṭha Nāthaputta or Mahāvīra predeceased Buddha by a few years. Dr. Hoernle conjectures that Mahāvīra died some five years

before the Buddha (Ajivikas in Hastings' Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics) It follows from the evidence of the Abhayarājakumara Sutta (Majjhima Nikāya Vol I p 392) of the Majjhima Nikāya that Mahavira was aware of the fact of dissension between Buddha and Devadatta In the opinion of Prof Kern, the death of Bimbisāra took place when Buddha had reached the age of 72 years, and that Buddhadatta's agitations against the Buddha must be dated some time after this event (Kern's Indian Buddhism p 38) Judging from this documentary evidence Dr. Hœrnle's conjectures would seem to have substantial historical accuracy Mahavira is said to have lived seventy two years and Buddha is said to have died at the age of eighty Thus the greater part of Mahāvīra's life coincides with that of Buddha After carefully examining the data supplied by the Jaina records, Dr Hœrnle has come to the conclusion that Gosāla Mankhaliputta had become a far famed teacher some two years before Mahāvira and that the latter survived the former by sixteen years (Uvāsagadasāo, Tr pp 110 111)

Notwithstanding persistent insinuations as to Gosala being formerly a disciple of Mahavira and as to his rupture with his teacher there is room for doubt if Gosala had ever been a disciple of Mahāvira While the malicious Jaina accounts deepened the mystery about the relation between the two teachers we can have recourse to the Buddhist writings or more reliable information The Buddhist fragments are unanimous in referring to them as the most distinguished sophists of the time the recognised founders of the two separate schools, namely the Ajivikas or Mas karins and the Niganthas (Jainas)

In the account given in the Sāmaññaphala Sutta Mahāvīra is said to have laid great stress on the four-fold self-restraints (cātuyāma saṁvara); the term which is differently interpreted by Buddha first in relation to Mahāvīra, and secondly on his own account. In reference to Mahāvīra, the term is interpreted thus:—"A Niganṭha..... lives restrained as regards all water; restrained as regards all evils; all evils he has washed away and he lives suffused with the sense of evil held at bay. Such is the four-fold self-restraint; and since he is thus tied with this four-fold bond, therefore is he the niggaṇṭho (free from bonds) called Gatatto (whose heart is gone; that is to the summit, to the attainment of his aim), Ajatatto (whose heart is kept down; that is, is under command), and Ṭhitatto (whose heart is fixed)" (Jaina Sūtras, pp. 74-75). Buddha explained the term somewhat differently when he explained it on his own account. By the four-fold self-restraint he meant the four moral precepts, each of which is viewed in its fourfold aspect.

In the Cūlasakuladāyi Sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya (Vol. II, pp. 35-36), we read that according to Mahāvīra, the four precepts and self-privation are the recognised roads to the blissful state of soul.

CHAPTER IV

GAUTAMA BUDDHA AND THE PARIBRĀJAKAS

Four stages of life of a Hindu according to Manu and Yājñavalkya.

Hindu sages divide life into four stages, *viz*, (1) education in the prime of life and self restraint in adolescence, (2) householder's life including the performance of yajñas (sacrifices) in adult age, (3) forest life in advanced years, and (4) to wander about for salvation in old age (Manu, Ch VI, Yājñavalkya, Ch III) When people having religious trend realised that the worldly life was full of sorrows and sufferings and that everything secular was transitory, they renounced household life though their family might be in affluent circumstances, and kept themselves aloof from human affairs They were wanderers and were content with leading secluded lives of continence They practised asceticism and often subjected themselves to extreme forms of self mortification They were not moved by honour or reproach, though their fame far spread They used to strive hard to know the truth and did not deem it a disgrace to be destitute The rulers treated them with respect and could not make them come to court (Watters on Yuan Chwang Vol I, pp 160 161)

Life of the wanderers

Two classes of parivrājakas in the Pali Buddhist literature

According to the Buddhists, a parivrājaka means a wandering religious mendicant The Pali Buddhist literature speaks of two classes of parivrājakas or paribbājakas —(1) Brāhmana paribbajaka and (2) Aññatitthiya paribbājaka

A Brāhmana parıbbājaka ıs one who was at first a Brāhmına but who later on became a wandering religious mendicant, and an Aññatıtthıya parıbbājaka means a parıbbājaka who belonged to a group of heretics other than the Brāhmana parıbbājakas The parıbrājakas were prohibited from kılling lıvıng creatures Harmlessness, honesty, restraint, non acceptance, purity of mınd, contentment, sımplicity, theism, sacred study, ımpartıality, patience, mıldness, servıng the *guru*, reverence, forgiveness, contınence, meditatıon, spırıtual knowledge, abstemıousness, *prānāyām* (a peculiar breathıng through nostrils as a religious austerity), prayer, and ındıfference to the conse quences of deeds done are the vırtues of a parıbrājaka A parıbrājaka who ıs ındıfferent to worldly attachments deserves salvatıon

Difference between a parıbrajaka and a bhıkkhu.

The parıbrājakas must not be confounded with the bhıkkhus —The sılas (precepts) mentıoned ın the Vınaya Pıtaka[1] must be observed by a bhıkkhu but they are not to be observed by a parıbbājaka The parıbbājakas practıse asceticısm (*e g*, should not speak, should not accept ınvitatıon, should not accept alms from a pregnant woman, should lıve on one handful of rıce, should lıve on vegetables, leaves, etc, should cut off the haırs of the head, bread, etc) whıle a bhıkkhu follows the mıddle path whıch lıes mıdway between asceticısm and luxurious and easy lıfe The parıbrā-jakas spend their tıme either ın holdıng religious dıscourses or dıscussıons or ın meditatıon It ıs to be noted that ıt ıs not

[1] The Parajıkā Pac ttıya Mahavagga and Cullavagga of the Vınaya Pıtaka deal with the sılas which are collected and summarized in the Patımokkha

compulsory for the paribbājakas to shave their head or beard. Their dress is quite different from that of a bhikkhu. Various kinds of dress are used by a paribbājaka while three robes only are prescribed for a bhikkhu.

Sir Charles Eliot's view criticised.

We agree with Sir Charles Eliot when he says that the paribbājakas were not householders but wanderers and celibates. Often they were ascetics and addicted to extreme forms of self-mortification. They used to perform sacrifices. But we do not agree with Sir Charles when he says that they did not study the Vedas. We know on the authority of the Mahāvastu that Asthisena, a paribrājaka, studied the Vedas and was acquainted with the sāstra of the paribbājakas.

At the time of the Buddha the Aññatitthiya paribbājakas did not receive respect and honour from the people nor did they get their requisites from them (Saṁyutta Nikāya, Vol. II, p. 119).

The Pāli literature contains some valuable information about several paribrājakas who held discussion with the Buddha on topics, ethical, moral and religious.

Account of the paribrājakas in the Nikāyas.

A paribrājaka named Poṭṭhapāda used to live in a hermitage named Mallikārāma with 300 paribrājakas. One day in the forenoon the Blessed One went out for alms. He went to Poṭṭhapāda at Mallikārāma. At that time Poṭṭhapāda was engaged in holding a loud conversation with his disciples. He saw the Buddha coming and asked his disciples to be silent as the Buddha was in favour of silence. He received the Buddha well and informed him that in an assembly of heretical monks, there was a talk about cessation

of perception and he told the Buddha of the various opinions about the matter. The Buddha said, "There is the cause of origination and cessation of perception. By learning precepts, etc., perception is originated and destroyed." He then spoke of samādhi (meditation) and its stages, and nirodhasamāpatti or attainment of cessation (Dīgha N., I, pp. 187 foll).

At Anupiya there lived a paribrājaka named Bhaggavagotta. Buddha went to his hermitage. He received the Buddha well and told him that a Licchaviputta named Sunakkhatta came to Bhaggavagotta and told him that he was no longer a disciple of the Buddha whom he had left. The Buddha said that Sunakkhatta had left him. Sunakkhatta told Bhaggavagotta that the Buddha did not show him miracles and did not point out to him the supreme knowledge (Dīgha N., III, p. I, foll.)

Buddha dwelt at the Gijjhakūta at Rājagaha. At that time a paribrājaka named Nigrodha was dwelling in a paribrājaka hermitage. Once a householder named Sandhāna was going to see the Buddha at noon. In course of his journey he visited Nigrodha's hermitage as it was too early to see the Buddha. Sandhāna saw the paribrājaka holding a loud conversation with his disciples. The paribrājaka saw Sandhāna coming and told the disciples to remain silent as the disciple of Gautama was coming. Sandhāna told the disciples, "You are whiling away your time by vain talks while the Buddha is engaged in meditation in a lonely forest, where there is no sound, no noise, which is calm and quiet." Nigrodha asked him, "With whom the Samana holds discussion? His wisdom is confined to an empty house. He does not come to any assembly and he does not know how

to talk He lives alone" Nigrodha told the householder that he would defeat Gotama by putting to him one question if he would ever care to come to him The Buddha heard of this with his divine ear and went to the hermitage of Nigrodha Nigrodha asked Gotama, "What is the Dhamma which Gautama teaches his disciples and by learning which one becomes consoled ?" The Buddha replied that he being a heretic would not find it easy to understand the Dhamma of the Tathāgata and he told him to ask questions regarding his own doctrine Nigrodha asked the Buddha, "How is asceticism fulfilled and how is it not ?" The Buddha explained the various stages of asceticism which were accepted by Nigrodha The Buddha further pointed out to him that asceticism is the cause of the increase of sins (upakkilesa) Buddha explained that in order to remove sins one should practise sila (precepts), samādhi (meditation) and paññā (wisdom) (Digha N III, p 36 foll)

A Brahmin named Jānussoni met a paribbajaka named Pilotika on his way from the Buddha He asked the parib bājaka as to wherefrom he was coming The paribbājaka told him that he was coming from Samana Gotama The paribbājaka when asked said that he was incapable of measuring the extent of the knowledge of the Buddha as he was not equal to the latter The Brahmin asked the paribbājaka *why he was thus praising the Buddha* He replied that after seeing the four qualities of the Samana Gotama, he became convinced that the Samana Gotama was the Exalted Buddha The Khattiya pandits used to worship the Buddha and give him offerings, so also did the Brahmin

gahapati (householder) and samana pandits (Majjhima N., I, pp. 175-177).

The Blessed One was dwelling at the Kūṭāgārasālā near Vaiśālī. A paribbājaka named Vacchagotta used to live in a paribbājakārāma in Ekapuṇḍarīka. One forenoon the Buddha in his begging tour came to the ārāma. The paribbājaka welcomed him cordially. He asked the Buddha whether the Samana Gotama was all-knowing, all-seeing, possessed of wide knowledge and ready wit. The Buddha replied that those who held this view were mistaken. The Samaṇa Gotama, the Buddha said, was endowed with three kinds of knowledge. The paribbājaka questioned the Buddha whether there was any one who put an end to suffering after the dissolution of the body without destroying the bonds of household life. The Buddha answered it in the negative. Again he questioned the Buddha whether any one had gone to heaven without destroying the bonds of household life. The Buddha answered it in the affirmative. He further questioned the Buddha whether any Ājīvika had put an end to suffering after the dissolution of the body. He answered it in the negative. Another question was put by the paribbājaka to the Buddha whether any paribbājáka had gone to heaven after the dissolution of the body. The Buddha answered that as far as he remembered, only an Ājīvika had gone to heaven before the 91st kappa (world-cycle) from the present moment as he was a Kammavādī (believer in kamma). The Buddha said, "The religion of the titthiyas (heretics) is empty." The paribbājaka admitted this to be true. (Majjhima N., Vol. I, pp. 481-483).

In the Samyutta Nikāya we read that Vacchagotta again

went to the Buddha and questioned him why wrong views arose in the world, *e g*, whether the world is permanent and limited, whether the body and soul are the same or not, whether being is reborn after death or not, etc The Buddha replied that on account of ignorance of form (rupa), origin of form, destruction of form, and the path leading to the destruction of form, the wrong views arose So also the Buddha spoke of vedanā (sensation), saññā (perception), sankhāra (confections) and viññāna (consciousness) Vol III, pp 257 foll)

Once again Vacchagotta paribbājaka went to the Buddha and told him that in the past the heretical teachers assembled in the Kūtāgārasālā and discussed that Pūrana Kassapa was one of the teachers who could say where a disciple of his was reborn after death Makkhali Gosala and other heretical teachers could say so and the Samana Gotama used to say where a disciple of his was born after death but he did not say where among his disciples the person who had got the highest attainment was reborn after death The Samana Gotama used to say that he had put an end to desire and suffering and removed the ties Vacchagotta was doubtful as to the Buddha's knowledge of Dhamma The Buddha said that his doubt arose as to the right point The Great Teacher said that one whose desire is uprooted, is not subject to rebirth (Samyutta Nikaya, Vol IV, pp 398 400) Vacchagotta asked the Buddha as to where attā exists The Buddha remained silent (Ibid , p 400)

There was a paribbājaka named Aggivacchagotta One day he approached the Buddha and asked him Do you say that the world is eternal or not ? Do you say that the world

is limited or unlimited ? Is the body soul or not ? Is soul different from body and *vice versa* ? Is a being born after death or not ?" The Buddha answered these questions in the negative. The paribbājaka asked him that by seeing what evil effect he had come to hold these wrong views. The Buddha replied, "These wrong views bring sufferings, mental agonies, etc. All these do not lead to nibbānam." The paribbājaka questioned him, "Is a bhikkhu who does not hold these wrong views born after death ?" No direct answer was given by the Buddha. The paribbājaka being greatly pleased with the Buddha was converted into Buddhism. (Majjhima Nikāya, Vol. I, pp. 483-489).

There was another paribbājaka named Mahāvacchagotta who went to the Buddha and requested him to preach kusala and akusala. The Buddha said, "Lobha, dosa and moha are the akusalas and alobha, adosa and amoha are the kusalas." He further said, "Killing creatures, stealing others' property, enjoying sensual pleasures, speaking falsehood, backbiting, using harsh words, holding vain talks are the akusalas and the opposite of these, kusalas." He further said, "Avarice, hatred, wrong views are akusalas and their contrary are the kusalas." (Majjhima N., Vol. I, pp. 489-497).

A paribbājaka named Dīghanakha said to the Buddha that he held that he could bear everything. The Buddha said, "This is your false belief. This false belief will be dispelled when you will be able to realise that this will bring about disorder, quarrel, wound, disgust, etc." He further said, "There are three vedanās (sensations), sukha (happiness) dukkha (pain) and adukkhamasukha (neither pain nor happiness). When you feel one sensation, other sensations do

not arise These vedanas are impermanent Therefore a learned ariyasāvaka becomes disgusted with these vedanās Then gradually his mind becomes free from all sins" The paribbājaka became pleased with the Buddha and became one of his disciples (Majjhima N Vol I, 497 501)

A paribbājaka named Magandiya met the Buddha when he was among the Kurus He spoke ill of the Buddha because he saw a bed of straw spread for him by the side of a fire place of Bharadvājagotta who was a Brahmin sacrificer The paribbājaka was asked by the Brahmin not to speak ill of the Buddha as he was much respected by the learned Brahmins Khattiyas, householders and monks The paribbājaka said that according to their śāstra, the Buddha was a Bhūnahu (*i e* killer of embryo) The Buddha heard with his celestial ears what Magandiya said The Buddha went to him and said, 'Eye takes delight in form but the eye of the Tathagata is restrained The Tathāgata instructs others to restrain eye Hence the Tathāgata may be called the Bhunahu' The Buddha said that the Tathāgata had all other five senses restrained and he instructed others also to restrain them The Buddha told Magandiya that he had given up sensual pleasures after renouncing the household life The Buddha was happy and blissful after being free from desires Māgandiya requested the Buddha to instruct him in the dhamma by which he could obtain sight The Buddha complied with his request Māgandiya became his pupil and attained upasampadā (ordination) Later on he became an arahat (Majjhima N, Vol I, pp 501 513)

A paribbājaka named Sandaka received Ānanda in his

ārāma near Kosambī. Sandaka was spending his time with his disciples in a vain talk. Ānanda was requested to give a discourse on Dhamma as instructed by his teacher. He spoke of the four kinds of brahmacariyam which should not be followed by a wise man. The four kinds of brahmacariyam are the following: (1) the first one teaches annihilation, (2) the second one teaches that there is neither sin nor merit by killing a creature or doing other sinful acts or by giving charity, etc., (3) the third one teaches that there is no cause of merit and demerit, (4) the fourth one teaches that there are seven permanent things, *e. g.*, earth, water, fire, wind, happiness, suffering and soul. Ānanda also spoke of another four kinds of brahmacariyam which should not be followed by a wise man: (1) One should not practise brahmacariyam under the teacher who brags that he is all-knowing, all-seeing and possessed of endless knowledge; (2) One should not practise it under the teacher who says that such and such a thing occurs in the Piṭaka and such and such a thing is handed down from generation to generation; (3) One should not practise brahmacariyam under the teacher who is a disputant and practises dhamma by disputation; (4) One should not practise brahmacariyam under the teacher who is a fool and having very little knowledge evades answering questions. The brahmacariyam which is safe, full of hope and leads to an end of suffering should be practised. The paribbājaka asked his disciples to practise brahmacariyam under the Samana Gotama but he said that he would not go to him on account of gain and fame that he was receiving. (Majjhima N., Vol. I., 513-524.)

A paribbājaka named Potaliputto went to Samiddhi, a pupil of the Buddha, and said to him that he had heard from the Buddha that kāya and vacikammas (actions in body and speech) are void Only manokamma (action in mind) is true and there is also a samāpatti (attainment) by acquiring which one does not feel anything Samiddhi said that the Buddha had not said thus The paribbājaka asked Samiddhi when he had received upasampadā Samiddhi said, "Only three years ago" The paribbājaka said that a newly ordained bhikkhu was trying to conceal the fault of his teacher and what to say of the elder bhikkhus The paribbājaka questioned Samiddhi thus, "Doing anything knowingly by body, speech and mind what does the doer feel?" Then Samiddhi replied, "He suffers for knowingly doing anything by body, speech and mind" The paribbājaka did not approve of this and left Samiddhi (Majjhima N, III, p 207)

Annabhāra, Varadhara, Sakuladāyi and many other well-known paribbājakas used to dwell in a paribbājakārāma near the bank of the river Sappinī The Buddha went to them and told them that the four dhammas were excellent, *i g*, absence of avarice, absence of malice, right recollection and right concentration Samanas and brāhmanas must possess these four dhammas If any person challenges these dhammas he must be blamed (Anguttara Nikāya, Vol II, 29 39) On another occasion the Buddha went to the paribbājakārāma and told the paribbājakas that he had realised the four truths of a Brahmin He further said, 'All beings are steeped in ignorance all the sensual pleasures are impermanent and full of misery and all existences are

subject to change. Nothing belongs to me and I belong to none." (Ibid., pp. 176-177.)

Many famous paribbājakas were dwelling in a paribbājakārāma at Moranivāpa in the Veluvana. They were Sakuladāyī, Anugāra, Varadhara and many others. Once the Buddha went to Sakuladāyī who said that many teachers, *e. g.*, [1] Pūrana Kassapa, [2] Makkhali Gosāla, [3] Ajita Kesakambali, [4] Pakudha Kaccāyana, [5] Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta, [6] Nigaṇṭha Nāthaputta and [7] Samaṇa Gotama were dwelling at Rājagaha. *Of these teachers who were greatly respected by his disciples?* Sakuladāyi said that amongst the teachers the Buddha was greatly respected by his disciples. The Buddha said, "why is he so saying?" Sakuladāyī said, "The Blessed One is living on little food and he instructs others to eat little. He remains quite content with the poor garments he gets. He is content with little alms, ordinary dwelling and sleeping place and he lives alone and instructs others to live alone. This is the reason why the Blessed One is so much respected by his disciples." The Buddha admitted it to be true and mentioned other reasons for which he was so much revered by his disciples. (Majjhima N., Vol. II, pp. 1-22.)

On another occasion the Buddha when met by Sakuladāyī was requested by him to give religious instruction. The paribbājaka said, "There is the visible path to the attainment of absolute joy." The Buddha said, "The path referred to by the paribbājaka is the five stages of meditation (jhāna) and what the paribbājaka says is not correct." Sakuladāyī became pleased with the Buddha and requested him to give him ordination (Majjhima N., Vol. II, pp. 29-39.)

A paribbājaka named Uggāhamāno, son of Sama a-

mandika used to live at Mallika's ārāma with a big parib bbājaka retinue An engineer named Pañcakanga went out of Srāvasti to see the Buddha On his way the engi neer went to the paribbājaka who said that he called him the samana who was endowed with four qualities and who obtained good attainments The four qualities were —(1) not committing bodily sins (2) not committing sins by speech (3) not cherishing evil thoughts and (4) leading a pure life

The engineer then left him and went to the Buddha and told him everything what the paribbājaka had said The *Buddha refuted the theory of the paribbājaka* (Majjhi ma N , II 22 25)

A paribbājaka named Vekhanasa met the Buddha and had a talk exactly similar to the one held between the Buddha and Sakuladāyi paribbajaka Vekhanasa became pleased with the Buddha on hearing that rūpa rasa sadda, gandha and photthabba are the objects of sensual pleasures and one enjoys sensual pleasures after enjoy ing these objects The Buddha told him You are a heretic and you do not realise kama and kamma Hearing thus he became angry and spoke ill of the samanas The Buddha gave him instructions and pointed out his folly He after wards became a disciple of the Buddha (Majjhima N Vol II, pp 40 44) Sarabha was at first a bhikkhu Later on he became a paribbājaka and in an assembly at Rajagaha he was telling that he knew the dhamma of the Buddha and knowing it fully well he renounced it and became a paribbajaka The bhikkhus informed Gautama about it and he at once went to Sarabha s hermitage where he asked Sarabha about the matter but the paribbajaka remained

silent. The Buddha then addressed the followers of the paribbājaka that none would be able to point out any defect in the Buddha's dhamma and the dhamma which would lead to the attainment of the wished-for-object. None would be able to point out sin present in the Buddha. Sarabha became ashamed of his conduct and his parisā (assembly) became disgusted with him. (Aṅguttara N., Vol. I, pp .185-188.)

Potaliya paribbājaka went to the Buddha who asked him about the puggala whom he liked. The Buddha mentioned four kinds of puggalas, *e. g.*, (1) He who blames the blameworthy; (2) He who praises the praiseworthy; (3) He who neither blames the blameworthy nor praises the praiseworthy; (4) He who blames the blameworthy and praises the praiseworthy. The paribbājaka was in favour of the third kind of puggala. The Buddha was in favour of the fourth. The paribbājaka was afterwards led to accept the view of the Buddha. (Aṅguttara N., Vol. II, pp. 100-101.)

Moliyasīvako paribbājaka went to the Buddha and said to him, "How is the dhamma to be realised by one's own self?" The Buddha said, "Do you realise that you have avarice when it is present and do you also realise that you have no avarice when it is absent?" The paribbājaka replied in the affirmative. The Buddha then spoke of dosa (hatred) and moha (delusion). The Buddha showed the way to realise the Dhamma. Moliyasīvaka became pleased with him and became his disciple (Aṅguttara N., Vol. III, pp 356-357.)

The paribbājaka again asked the Buddha, "Does one, on account of past deeds, feel three kinds of sensation, *e. g.*,

sensation of happiness, pain and neither happiness nor pain ?" The Buddha said, "All these sensations are the outcome of bile, phlegm, wind and the mixture of all these three, change of weather, indigestion, pain caused by external agency and the effect of kamma and in spite of these those who hold the above view are wrong" He afterwards accepted the Buddha's discipleship (Samyutta Nikāya, Vol IV, pp 230 231)

Sutavā paribbājaka went to the Buddha and heard him saying that it was improper for the disciples of the Buddha who became arahats to perform five kinds of act —(1) Not to kill any creature willingly or knowingly , (2) Not to accept that which is not given , (3) Not to indulge in sexual inter course , (4) Not to speak falsehood knowingly , (5) Not to enjoy things being duly accumulated The paribbājaka asked the Buddha as to the propriety of his speech The Buddha said that he was right in saying so and mentioned four more things which are not possible to be done by an arahat —(1) Partiality in doing justice , (2) Not to do anything under the influence of anger , (3) Not to do any thing under the influence of delusion , (4) Not to do anything under the influence of fear (Anguttara N , Vol IV, pp. 369 371) The Buddha had a similar discourse with a paribbājaka named Sajjho (Anguttara N , Vol IV, pp 371 foll)

A paribbājaka named Sāmandaka went to Sāriputta and asked him, "What are suffering and happiness ?" He replied, "Birth is suffering and non birth is happiness. When a being comes into existence, he is subject to cold, heat, hunger, thirst etc , and when a being does not come into

of beings, whether they had acquired arūpasamāpatti (meditation on formlessness). The bhikkhus answered these in the negative. The bhikkhus said that they were freed from sins by meditation on paññā (wisdom). The paribbājaka went to the Buddha for the explanation of paññāvimutti which the Buddha explained. Susīma begged pardon of the Buddha for his misconduct towards the bhikkhus and the Buddha pardoned him. (Samyutta N., II, 119-128.)

A paribbājikā named Sucimukhī went to Sāriputta and questioned him whether he used to take food with his head downwards, with his head upwards, by looking towards all directions or by looking to the corners. Sāriputta answered them in the negative. Sāriputta said "The samaṇas who earn their livelihood by telling the good and evil effects of the foundation of a building are said to take their food with head downwards; those who earn their livelihood by astrology are said to take their food by raising their heads upwards; those who earn their livelihood by being messengers are said to take their food by looking to all directions and those who earn their livelihood by foretelling good or evil by examining the signs of the body are said to take their food by looking to their corners." Sāriputta said that he did not lead any such livelihood. Sucimukhī being delighted proclaimed that the Sākyaputtiya samaṇas used to earn their livelihood by the right means and therefore the people should give them offerings. (Samyutta N., III, 238-240).

Nandiya paribbājaka went to the Buddha and asked him as to how many dhammas if meditated on and developed

would lead to Nibbānam The Buddha said, "They are eight in number, *e g*, Sammāditthi (right view), Sammāsamkappa (right determination) Sammāvācā (right speech), Sammākammanto (right action) Sammāājiva (right living), Sammāvāyāma (right exertion), Sammāsati (right recollection), and Sammāsamādhi (right concentration) (Samyutta N, V, p II)

Kundaliya paribbājaka went to the Buddha and said to him "I frequent the hermitage and attend the assembly of people and I hear there that some samanas and brāhmanas are praising the religious tenet handed down from generation to generation and I also hear that some samanas and brāhmanas are talking of various subjects" He asked Gautama as to what he liked The Buddha replied, "I speak highly of vijjā (knowledge), vimutti (emancipation), and phala (fruition of the noble path)" The Buddha also narrated the means of fulfilment of vijjā and vimutti The paribbājaka became pleased with him and became his upāsaka (Samyutta N, V 73 75)

In the Therigātha and its commentary

Sīmañnakāni was born as the son of a paribbājaka at the time of the Buddha Gautama He was converted to the religious life when he saw the Buddha performing the twin miracle He attained arahatship through jhāna A paribbajaka named Kātiyāna whom he knew as a layman lost all support from the laity when the Buddha arose This paribbājaka came to Sīmañnakāni and asked him the means of obtaining happiness in this life and the next Samañnakani told him about the noble eight fold path by which one may obtain salvation (Psalms of the Brethren p 40)

existence he is not subject to these.' The paribbājaka accepted this to be true

Again he went to Sāriputta and said, 'What are suffering and happiness according to the Buddha?' The Buddha replied, "Dislike of the Buddhasāsana is suffering and liking for it is happiness No happiness is obtained in sitting, lying, walking etc., if a person dislikes the Buddhasāsana" (Anguttara N., Vol V, pp 120 122)

The paribbājakas named Uttiya and Kokanuda went to the Buddha and asked him whether the world is eternal or not, infinite or not, whether a being is reborn after death or not, etc The Buddha replied, "I do not like to give any opinion about these" They questioned him as to what he explained The Buddha replied, 'The Dhamma which I have realised is taught to my disciples which will purify beings, remove their grief and lamentation, pain, bodily and mental, and lead to Nibbanam" The paribbājakas then questioned him, 'Will the whole world be led, or half or one third by the means pointed out by him?" The Buddha remained silent Ānanda answered this point by saying that those who would tread the right path must go by this way (Anguttara N V 193 198)

At the time of the Buddha Uttiya was born at Sāvatthi as the son of a Brahmin and leaving the world, he became a paribbajaka One day he came to the Buddha when the latter was preaching and entered the order The Buddha taught him a lesson Uttiya accepting the lesson called up insight but he fell ill In his anxiety he exerted much and attained arahatship (Psalms of the Brethren, pp 34 35)

A paribbājaka named Ajita went to the Buddha and told him that a brother brahmacārī named Pandita could think of five hundred thoughts and thus the heretics were greatly satisfied The paribbājaka heard Gautama preaching the (the bhikkhus that dhamma and adhamma, attha (welfare) and anattha (non welfare) should be realised by the bhikkhus and realising these they should practise the true law and do what would bring good (Anguttara N Vol V pp 229 231)

A paribbājaka named Timbaruka went to the Buddha and questioned him, "Are happiness and suffering self created or not, or created by others or not ? Are they neither created by one s self nor created by others ?" The Buddha answered them in the negative The paribbājaka then questioned him ' Do happiness and suffering exist ?' The Buddha answered it in the affirmative and spoke of the middle course which is the paticcasamuppāda (dependent origination) (Samyutta N , II, 22 23)

A paribbājaka named Susima dwelt at Rājagaha with a retinue of paribbājakas He was requested by his followers to go to the Buddha to listen to his instructions and to repeat the instructions to them so that they would obtain respect and honour from the householders by preaching what they would learn from Susima Susima went to Ānanda and both of them went to the Buddha and Susima received upasampadā (ordination) At this time many bhikkhus declared their attainment of arahatship before the Buddha Susīma hearing this went to the bhikkhus and asked them whether they had acquired supernatural power, power of knowing the thoughts of others power of remembering previous births, power of knowing birth and death

of beings, whether they had acquired arūpasamāpatti (meditation on formlessness). The bhikkhus answered these in the negative. The bhikkhus said that they were freed from sins by meditation on paññā (wisdom). The paribbājaka went to the Buddha for the explanation of paññāvimutti which the Buddha explained. Susīma begged pardon of the Buddha for his misconduct towards the bhikkhus and the Buddha pardoned him. (Samyutta N., II, 110-128.)

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Paviṭṭha was a wanderer at the time of the Buddha Gautama. He went to the Buddha, heard his teaching, put faith in him and was ordained. Very soon he realised arhatship. (Psalms of the Brethren, pp. 82-83.)

Migasira was reborn at the time of the Buddha Gautama in a Brahmin family at Kosala. He having acquired the Brahmin culture, practised the skull-spell so that when he muttered the spell and tapped the skull with his nail, he would declare, "This person is reborn in such a sphere, even with regard to those dead three years. He hated the domestic life, became a paribbājaka and through his art won favour and respect. He went to the Buddha and told him, "I can tell the destiny of dead persons." He was asked, "How do you tell it ?" He let a skull be brought and muttering his rune and tapping it with his nail, he asserted purgatory or some other place to be the place of rebirth. A skull of a bhikkhu was brought and he was asked to tell the destiny of the dead bhikkhu but he failed to do so. Migasira was struck dumb and was perspiring. He was afterwards ordained. He was well established in jhāna and abhiññā and he practised insight. He soon won arhatship (Ibid. 138-139.)

At the time of the Buddha Gautama, there lived in Sāvatthī a son of the valuer of the king of Kosala. He was known as Mālunkyā's son. When he grew up he left the world and became a wandering ascetic. He heard the Teacher teach, entered the Order and in due course won sixfold abhiññā. When he came to see his home out of compassion, he was persuaded by his relatives to lead a household life but in vain. (Ibid. 212-213.)

A certain paribbājaka went to the Buddha and put to him some questions which were answered by the Buddha who in return asked him, "Eka nāma kim (what is one)" The paribbājaka fled away not being able to answer the question

In the Dhammapada commentary

A paribbājaka named Sañjaya used to dwell at Rājagaha with a large assembly of paribbājakas at the time of the Buddha Kolita and Upatissa, sons of the headmen of Kolita and Upatissa villages being disgusted with the world, each went with five hundred followers to Sañjaya Both of them took ordination from Sañjaya with five hundred followers Since the time of their ordination Sañjaya acquired great gain and fame Both of them acquired as much knowledge as Sañjaya possessed Sañjaya admitted this fact It is to be noted that Kolita and Upatissa abovenamed were no other than Sāriputta and Moggallana, first disciples of the Buddha Gautama (Dhammapada Commentary, Vol I, pp 88 90) From the Sumangalavilāsini we learn that Suppiya was one of the disciples of Sañjaya (Vol I, p 35)

In the Sutta Nipāta commentary

In the Sutta Nipāta Commentary we read that there lived at Savatthi a paribbājaka named Pasūra who was a great disputant He planted a branch of a jambu tree declaring that he would hold discussion with him who would be able to uproot it Sāriputta did uproot it Pasūra had a discussion with Sāriputa about sensual pleasures and eye consciousness with the result that the paribbājaka went to Jetavana in order to be ordained by Sāriputta and to learn Vādasattam (*i e* art of disputation) He met Lāludayi at the Jetavana

vihāra. Thinking that this Lāludāyī must be greatly wise, he took ordination from him. He defeated Lāludāyī in disputation and made him a paribbājaka even while he was wearing the dress of a bhikkhu. Pasūra again went to Sāvatthī to hold discussion with Gautama but he was defeated. The Buddha then gave him instruction and he was converted into Buddhism. (Sutta Nipāta Commentary, Vol. II, pp. 538 foll.)

Sabhiya was the son of a paribbājikā who was the daughter of a Khattiya. He was called Sabhiya because his mother gave birth to him in a sabhā or assembly. As he grew up he became a paribbājaka and studied various arts and sciences. He became a great disputant. He wandered all over Jambudīpa and found none equal to him in disputation. He built his hermitage at the city gate and taught sippa to the Khattiya princes. Sabhiya was given some questions by a suddhāvāsa Brāhmana, [*e. g.*, who is a Buddha? Who is a Sarata (who has his sins removed?)] with the request that the latter would accept ordination from him who would be able to answer them properly. Afterwards Sabhiya received satisfactory answers to the questions from the Buddha and accepted ordination from him. (Sutta-Nipāta Commentary, Vol. II, pp. 421-422, cf. Psalms of the Brethren, p. 177.)

In the Jātakas

The Jātakas contain some account of the paribbājikās and paribbājakas. The daughters of a couple of Niganthas became paribbājikās. They were instructed by their parents that if defeated in arguments by a layman, they should become his wives and if by a recluse, they should become his pupils. Sāri-

putta defeated them in arguments and made them bhikkhunīs under the guidance of Uppalavannā (Fausboll, Jātaka III, pp 1 2)

A paribbājaka named Palāyi went to the Buddha at Jeta vana being desirous of holding discussion with him but he fled away from the Buddha being afraid of him (Fausboll, Jātaka, II, 216) Once again, he went to the Buddha who was then engaged in preaching dhamma to a large audience Listening to his discourse, the paribbājaka fled away from him being convinced of the fact that he would be defeated by the Buddha in argument and disputation (Ibid, p 219)

In the Tibetan Dulva

The Tibetan Dulva records that Subhadra was a paribbājaka who had seen many things during Buddha's life When he heard that the Buddha was about to pass away he went to see him and questioned him about the truth of the doctrine of Pūrana Kassapa, Makkhali Gosāla and others The Buddha replied "He who does not know the sublime eightfold path is not a true samana and he who professes the doctrine and discipline in which lies the sublime eightfold path is a man of saintliness" It is to be noted that Subhadra paribbājaka used to live in Kuśinārī He was old, well stricken in years decrepit and hundred and twenty years of age He afterwards became an Arahat (Rockhill, Life of the Buddha, p 138)

In the Mahavastu

At Rajagrha a paribrajaka named Sañjayi son of Vairati used to dwell in the hermitage of paribrājakas with five hundred disciples Sariputta and Maudgalyāyana went to the hermitage of the paribrājakas and accepted paribrajaka prabrajya from

Sañjayī. Sāriputta learnt the paribrājakaśāstra in a week and Maudgalyāyana did so in a fortnight. (Mahāvastu, III, 59.)

In the past at Benares the prince had a friend named Asthisena, son of a chaplain. Asthisena accepted the paribrājaka prabrajyā. He soon learnt the Vedas and the paribrājakaśāstra. The prince after having received the kingdom asked Asthisena to pray for something, but he did not pray for anything. (Mahāvastu, III, 419.)

CHAPTER V

MAHĀVĪRA AND BUDDHA

'How to emancipate Man from the trammels of the world has been the subject of a rational speculation to Indian philosophers from time immemorial The Jainas say that it was their first Tirthankara, Lord Rsabha who showed the Right Path to the suffering humanity at the very dawn of civilisation of karmabhumi—millions of millions years ago in the *present cycle of time in this part of earth called* Bharat ksetra [1] The Hindu Puranas too testify it [2] The Dharma thus preached by the first Lord of Mankind was soon lost in dark oblivion and the Tirthankaras one after another followed Him Not only Tirthankaras but many other philosophers also appeared, they held and preached their own peculiar views Most of these were from the Brahmanas And the Path first propagated by Lord Rsabha and other predecessors of the last two Tirthankaras Parsva and Mahavira, lost its dominant sway and the Brahmanical cult came into force The bloody sacrificial rituals were the marks of the period but soon followed a voice condemning them and the philosophical predominance again found its way in the fold of Goal Seekers Man was conceived by one and all as a being in bondage in his abode—the world, a pool of pain and misery, but people differed in tracing out the way to get out from it One sect mostly comprising

[1] Adipurana of Jinasena

[2] Bhagavata 5 4 5 6

Brāhmaṇa teachers of old, thought that the final emancipation is attainable only through true knowledge.[1] It ignored the direct utility of a practical aspect of the philosophy. While the other, which had unto its fold all the unorthodox brāhmaṇas and samaṇas, utilised the necessity of the same.[2] *It constituted that Right Knowledge and* Right Conduct together with Right Faith shall make us free. Thus it was eight or nine hundred years before Christ that India had a troop of philosophers or wandering sophists, who, in the language of Dr. Rhys Davids, "spent eight or nine months of every year wandering about precisely with the object of engaging in conversational discussions on matters of ethics and philosophy, nature lore and mysticism. Like the sophists among the Greeks, they differed very much in intelligence, in earnestness and in honesty."[3]

When such were the conditions in India and the philosophical controversy wrought a havoc, not only amongst wandering sophists but within all the social quarters also, then there appeared two heroes of the day. The darkness, in which the atmosphere plunged, took to its heels before these two luminous stars who came of Kṣatriya nobles. Buddha and Mahāvīra are both said to have flourished from amongst the Ikṣāku-Vaṁśīya-Kṣatriyas. Buddha's ancestors were known at the time as Śākyas, while those of Mahāvīra as Nāthas or Jñātris.[4] Suddho-

[1] Sāṅkhya Sūtras, 21 24, Nyāya Sūtras, 1, 1, 1, and Vaiśeṣika Sūtras, 1, 1; 4.

[2] To the Jains, Buddhists and other wandering Teachers it was a great necessity *to pass a practical life full of thought and true knowledge. Buddha's Norm Path* (Mahāvagga, 1, 6) and the following aphorism of the "Jain Bible" can be referred to in this connection "सम्यग्दर्शनज्ञानचारित्राणिमोक्षमार्गः" ।।१।। तत्वार्थसूत्र ।

[3] Buddhist India, p 141 [4] LB pp 5 10 and JS pt. I, p. 191

dana, the father of Buddha, was a democratic chief of the clan of the Śākyas; so was the father of Mahāvīra—Rājāh Siddhārta of the clan of the Jñātris [1] Buddha was born at Kapilavastu, the metropolis of the Śākyas; Mahāvīra in the city of Kundanagara, which was a flourishing suburb of Vaiśālī and an important seat of the Jñātri Ksatriyas. Buddha's mother died soon after his birth; Mahāvīra's parents lived to see him a grown up man; his birth caused an increment of their wealth, fame and merit (punya); so they named him as Mahāvīra Vardhamāna.[2] Buddha married a lady named Yaśodharā; Mahāvīra lived a householder's life in celibacy, practising the first vows of a Jaina layman.[3] Mahāvīra's parents professed the religion of Tīrthaṅkaras, similar seems to be the case with the parents of Buddha, though they are said to have been the followers of the previous Buddhas.[4] Buddha while enjoying the life of a worldly man got disgusted with it, seeing the misery

[1] B C Law, Some Ksatriya Tribes of Ancient India, p 123 [2] JS, pt I, p 192

[3] The Śvetāmbara Jains describe him to have married a princess by name Yaśo dharā, but the Digambaras flatly deny this. They say that the father of Yaśodharā wanted to give her in marriage to Mahāvīra, but he did not accept this offer, viz —

"भवान् किं श्रेयिकवेत्ति भूपति नृपेन्द्रसिद्धार्थ कनीयसीपतिं ।
इमं प्रसिद्ध जितशत्रु माख्यया प्रतापवन्त जित शत्रु मण्डलम् ॥६॥
जिनेन्द्र वीरस्य समुद्भवोत्सवे तदागत: कुण्डपुरं सुहृदवृत ।
सुपूजित कुण्डपुरस्थ भूभृता नृपोऽयथारमण्डल तुल्य विक्रम: ॥७॥
यशोदयायां सुतया यशोदया पवित्रया वीर विवाह मगलम् ।
अनेक कन्या परिवारय ऽरुद्वलभीच्चित तु गमनोरथ सदा ॥८॥ हरिवश पुराण: ॥"

[4] Jainism was prevalent before Mahāvīra is now a proved fact The references to the Jainas (Nigaṇṭhas) in Buddhist literature bear testimony to this as it is shown by Jacobi in the Introduction to the Jaina Sūtras It is well known that there were then mainly two opposite sects, i e, Samaṇas and Brāhmaṇas The Sutta Nipāta describes the samanas as of four kinds (vv 83 88) Really these with

and affliction of old age; he imbibed the spirit of renunciation and became an ascetic during the life-time and against the will of his father at the age of about 29; Mahāvīra while passing a pious householder's life and meditating upon the true nature of things, gained vairāgya and so doing adopted the vows of a Nirgrantha muni, with the consent of his parents, when he hardly completed 30 years of his age.[1] Buddha is said to have been born with the thirty-two lakṣanas or characteristics of a mahāpuruṣa and he had an amiable character;[2] Mahāvīra was born possessed of three kinds of knowledge, viz., the sensuous (mati), the scriptural (śruta) and the clairvoyant (avadhi); and from the very moment of his birth his body was perfectly pure; no stain, no sweating was ever found in it, rather it gave a sweet and fragrant smell; no excretions from his organs; the flesh and blood of his body were purely milk-white: his words and behaviour were always pleasing and beneficial to all the living beings; his beauty

the exception of the 4th kind, actually coincide with the living teachers of the Jainas whose religion is styled as samaṇa-dhamma, (Kalpa Sūtra p. 83), viz., (1) Arahat Jina, (2) Nirgrantha Ācarya, (3) Nirg Upādhyāya, and (4) Nirg Sādhu. These, with Siddhas, are styled as Pañca Parmeshṭis, whom the Jainas worship daily and the following ancient formula corroborates the existence of these FIVE GREAT BEINGS from the very beginning of Jainism —

"NAMO ARHANTĀ NAMA, NAMO SIDDHĀ NAMA, NAMO ĀYIRYĀ NAMA, NAMO UYAJJHĀYĀ NAMA, NAMO LOYE SABBA SĀHŪ NAMA" This coincidence, too, supports the pre Buddhistic existence of Jainism Siddhārta professed this religion The Lalitavistara describes that Buddha used to wear in boyhood some peculiar marks, such as, Śrīvatsa, Svastika, Nandyāvarta and Vardhamāna. The former three of these are the cihnas (marks) of Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras, Śri Śitalnāth, Supārśvanāth and Arahanāth and the last is itself the very name of the last Tīrthaṅkara Hence it makes us bold to guess the Jaina belief of Buddha's parents.

[1] JS pt I p 256, but here the Śvetambara author describes the parents of Mahāvīra to be dead, but the Digāmbaras say that they were alive at this time. See Guṇabhadra's Uttara Purāṇa.

[2] LB p 12 ff

was indescribable and incomparable; his bodily strength was great and no cut was ever possible to it, and his body was symmetrically built [1]

As an ascetic, Buddha's course of adherence was not a fixed one [2] He is said to have followed every cult of asceticism, prevailing at the time After giving up home, he walked off in search of a teacher and living a few days with the Vānaprasthas, he went over to ascetic Ārāda Kālāma, who was a professor of the Sānkhya views [3] But he thought, "What Ārāda has declared, cannot satisfy my heart" 'So he went to Rsi Udra Rāma *But once more leaving Udra Rsi he went on in search* of a better system and came at last to mount Kia-Kê (Gayā—the forest of mortification), where was a town called pain suffering forest (Uravilva [?]) Here the five Bhikkhus had gone before When he beheld these five, virtuously keeping in check their senses, holding to the rules of moral conduct, and practising mortification,'[4] he quietly gave himself up to thought And afterwards "having finished their attentions and dutiful services,"[5] he occupied a spot besides the Nairañjarā river and "with full purpose of heart (he set himself) to endure mortification, to restrain every bodily passion, and give up thought about sustenance With purity of heart to observe the fast rules, which no worldly man (active man) can bear, silent and still, lost in thoughtful meditation, and so for six years he continued "[6]

This course of Buddha's thoughtful mortification, for six

[1] JS pt I pp 206 257
[2] Ibid 131
[3] Ibid
[4] LB p 130 ff
[5] Ibid 141
[6] LB p 141

years, as described above, is in harmony with the penance given and thoughtful, (upavāsa and dhyāna mayā) silent and still (mauna and kāyôtsarga) life of a Jaina muni[1] and as such, it bears testimony to the Jaina view that Buddha was a Jaina muni at a certain stage of his ascetic life The Jaina author says that he was a great learned disciple of the Jaina saint Pihitāshrawa, who ordained him as Muni Buddhakīrti in the Sangha of Śrī Pārśva at the town of Palāsha near the river Sarayu, but after a time taking the food of flesh and dead fish and putting on the red cloth, he preached his own Dharma saying that there is no harm in taking such food[2] We cannot reject this statement of the Jaina author altogether The Jaina author points the place, where Buddha *first got ordained as a Jaina muni* quite accurately The Jaina and Buddhist both agree to it, for each names the place to be a forest town besides a river (See above) And the Buddhist author too, names his ordination as a Jaina muni in the form

[1] JS pt. I pp 39 41

[2] Devasenācarya of the 8th century A D describes it thus —

"सिरिपासणाहतित्थे सरयू तीरे पलासणयरत्थो।
पिहियासवस्स सिस्सो महालुद्धो बुड्ढकित्तिमुणी ॥७॥
तिमि पूरणासणीहि अहिगयपवज्जायापरिब्भट्ठो
रत्तंबरं धरित्ता पवट्टियं तेण एयंतं ॥८॥
मंसस्स णत्थि जीवो जहा फले दहिय दुद्ध सक्करए।
तम्हा तं भक्खिता तं भक्खंतो ण पाविट्ठो ॥९॥
अण्णो करेदिकम्मं अण्णो तं भुंजदीदिसिद्धंतं।
परिकप्पिऊणवयणं वसिकिच्चाणिरयमुववण्णो ॥१०॥ दर्शनसार ॥

In the last gatha the Ksanika Vada of Buddha is referred to and as such it is clear that the Jaina author is writing precisely about Buddha

of finishing "attentions and dutiful services." But however the latter assertion of the Jaina author demonstrates no historical fact, rather it points to the Buddhist belief[1] which, according to the Jainas, is not a right path.

Furthermore there remains no doubt about this assertion of the Jaina author, when we find Buddha himself declaring to have practised the very preliminary austerity of a Jaina muni,[2] i.e., the practice of uprooting and pulling out the hairs of beard and head, which is the keśa-lôñca-kiriyā of a Jaina samaṇa[3]. Thus Buddha followed no fixed course of samanaship. At a time he was a Vānaprastha, and at another a Jaina muni.

Mahāvīra, on the other hand, followed the course of a Nirgraṇtha Sādhu, as it was prevalent at the time. The Digambaras say that the eternal and natural attire of a Jaina muni is nothing besides nakedness and Mahāvīra adopted it; but the Śvetāmbaras dissent from it, though they ascribe nakedness to the first and the last Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras, after a year and a quarter from the date of their respective renunciation.[4] But a thoughtful glimpse at their sacred literature induces us to believe that their Ācāryas, too, prescribed nudity as an essential step towards goal.[5] In their Ācāraṅga Sūtra it is praised in nice words and not only Ṛṣabha and Mahāvīra are said to have practised it, but all the Tīrthaṅkaras are described to have borne its

[1] Fish and flesh, if not specially procured, were acceptable to Buddhist monks is apparent from these passages: Mahāvagga VI, 31, 11 and 14; VI, 23, 2; VI, 25, 2; Mahā-pari-nibbāna Sutta IV, 17-18, and Sutta-Nipāta 241 (p. 40)

[2] See The Discourses of Gotama tr. by Silācāra, 1, 97-99 quoted by Mr K. J. Saunders in his "Gotama Buddha" p. 15.

[3] See The Mūlācārā I, 29, and the JS. pt. I. p 56.

[4] JS. pt. I., p. 79.

[5] Ibid., p. 56.

troubles[1] In fact the Svetāmbara author exhorts the clothed monk to adopt nakedness He says, ..." one should be clad with one or no garment—aspiring freedom from bonds"[2] Only for that novice, who cannot bear the troubles of nakedness, a clothed course is allowed, according to Svetāmbaras,[3] otherwise the same author exhorts the adoption of nakedness again and again Obviously the freedom from bonds is only attainable, when one has no connection with external things as well A Jaina muni must completely subdue all his emotions and desires for worldly things—shame amongst others In the words of the Irish author "being rid of clothes, one is also rid of a lot of other worries too more important to a Jaina, *no water is needed in which to wash them*" Really our knowledge of the sensual perception of good and evil keeps us away from salvation 'To obtain it we must forget nakedness The Jaina Nirgranthas have forgotten all knowledge of good and evil'[4] Therefore they require no clothes to cover their nakedness This is the apparent reason, why the Svetāmbara author supports nakedness Rather the Jina-kalpi[5] and Sthavira-kalpi divisions of the Nirgranthas by the Svetāmbaras bear testimony to our argument, if we take these words into consideration in their literal sense And it is obvious that the Jaina technical words are moreover used in their literal sense[6] Hence it could not be ignored in this case parti

[1] JS pt I p 57 [2] Ibid, p 71
[3] Ibid p 73. [4] The Heart of Jainism p 30
[5] JS pt. I. p. 57 f n In the original texts of the Śvetambara Āgama no such division is found Thus its authenticity is open to doubt
[6] ERE. Vol. VII., p. 472.

cularly. These words signify their literal meaning respectively, (1) of the kalpa of Jīnas and (2) of the kalpa of Sthaviras. In other words, they denote that Jīnakalpi (naked) Nirgranthas are to be found in the kalpa of Jinas, viz., 4th. era of Awasarpinī and Utsarpinī divisions of time and the Sthavira-kalpi (clothed) ones in the periods void of Jinas—Tīrthaṅkaras. Hence Mahāvīra and his predecessors, who flourished in the 4th. era, cannot be said to have passed the life of a clothed monk. Rather Mahāvīra adopted the Nirgranthadīkṣā (nakedness) from the very day of his renunciation.[1]

As to the nakedness of the Nirgrantha sādhus at all times, it may be pointed out that Buddhist and Brahmanical Sanskrit literatures abound with refrences to Jaina munis as naked monks.[2] Of course the Buddhist names the 'one-cloth-wearing' and 'white-clothed' niggaṇṭha—sāvakas as well.[3] But quite wonderfully, this, too, coincides with the Digambara śāstras, which describing the eleven stages of character development and self-realisation for a layman, treat the layman of the eleventh stage as

[1] The Śvetāmbaras say that a celestial robe was given by Indra and Mahāvīra wore it (garment of gods) for a year and few months more, but wearing it, he looked like naked and after that period he threw away even that On this, Rev Dr Stevenson comments that the Śvetāmbara "Jainas do not understand properly what it means, or do not wish to explain it It might have meant he became a Digambara, had this not been opposed to what follows" (Kalpa Sūtra, p 85 f n) Thus to a rational mind, it gives no reliable explanation, rather encourages us to say that Mahāvīra became a naked muni from the very day of his renunciation. The meaning of Jinakalpi and Sthavirakalpi are different with the Digambara Jainas from the above.

[2] Buddhist references are Divyāvadāna p 165, Jātaka mālā, S B B Vol I, p 145, Visākhā vatthu, Dhamma padaṭṭha kathā (P T S), Vol I, pt II, p. 38; 4 Dialogues of the Buddha, pt III, p 14, Mahāvagga, 8, 15, 3, 1, 38, 16, Cūllavagga, 8, 28, 3, Samyutta nikāya, 2, 3, 10, 7

And the Brahmanical references are Varahamihira Samhitā, 19, 61 and 45, 58, Mahābhārata, 3, 26 27, Rāmāyaṇa Bālakāṇḍa, 14, 22 commentary by Bhūsaṇa

[3] Ind Antiquary, Vol 43

an 'Eka-vastra-dhārī' (wearing-one-cloth); while all the Vratī-srāvakas are enjoined to wear the white clothes[1] Moreover Buddhists' knowledge of their contemporary niggaṇthas does not end here, but curiously they also describe their important ascetic practices quite correctly.[2]

[1] 'सदृशा प्रथम: सन्नु मूर्धजान अपनायेदने ।
सित कौपीन स आन: कतरियावाच्चुरेण 'वा ॥३८॥
तद्वत् द्वितीय: किन्त्वार्यिसञ्ज्ञामुच्चसोकवान् ।
कौपीनमात्र युग्धत्ते यतिवन्नति भाषनम् ॥३८॥ सागर धर्मामृत ॥

"उत्कृष्ट: श्रावको भवेत् द्विविध वस्त्रैकधर: प्रथम: कौपीन परिग्रहोऽन्यास्तु ॥" स्वामिकीर्ति केयानुप्रेक्षा ।

[2] "Dialogues of the Buddha" (S. B B) in its "Kassapa-sihanāda sutta" gives a list of ascetic practices, which the author says, are 'in the opinion of some samaṇas and Brāhmaṇas, as samanaship and Brahmanaship" Really these are intended for the Jaina nirgranthas, as will be apparent from their comparison with the practices given for the Jaina monks in the Jaina śāstra Mulācāra of early centuries of Christian era, viz

Buddhist Author	Jaina Author
1 He goes naked	It is one out of the 28 root characteristics of a Jaina muni and is described thus — 'वत्थाजिणवक्केण य अहव पत्तादिणा असरण । णिब्भूसण णिग्गं य अचेलक जगदिपूज्ज ॥३०॥'
2 He is of loose habits (performing his bodily functions and eating food in a standing posture, not crouching down as well bred people do)	This constitutes the 24th (Non bathing) 26th (Non brushing of teeth), and 27th (Taking meal in a standing posture) (31 3° 33) mūla guṇas
3 He licks his hands clean, etc	It is known that Jaina muni takes food in the hollow of his hands and sips the placed food without taking it into morsels and turning it from jaw to jaw (JS, pt I, p. 57) The Buddhist author here seems to point this practice
4 When on his rounds for alms, etc	It is described in full in commentary on Aishana samiti, viz — 'भिक्षावेलायां प्राप्तो प्रशान्ते धर्म मुखलादि शब्दे गोचर प्रविशेन्मुनि: । तत्र गच्छन्नाति द्रुत, न मन्द, न विलम्बित' गच्छेत् ।

In view of these facts it would not perhaps be sound to accept Mahāvīra as an exception to this important practice of Jaina munis.

5 He refuses to accept food brought (to him, before he has started, etc)	In Aishana samiti the recluse is allowed to take only pure food, void of 46 dosas (defilements) and in procuring it he will have no concern of mind, speech and body and it must not be specially prepared for him. If he accepts food brought to him, he will be taking it, knowing that it has been specially prepared for him and thus cause defiling . So it is not allowed (śloka 13)
6. He refuses to accept (food, if told that it has been prepared) especially for him	In it too the Kanta and Anumodanā dosas are apparent
7 He refuses to accept any invitation, etc	The same is the case here
8 He will not accept food taken from the mouth of the pot or pan, etc	It is "Sthāpita or Nyasta doṣa "
9 He will not accept food within the threshold, (lest it should have been etc)	These are ' *Prādushakara* Doṣa "
10 He will not accept food placed among the sticks, etc	
11 (He will) not (accept food) placed among the pestles (lest it should etc)	It is the Unmisra Ashana Doṣa
12. When two persons are eating etc	It is Aneshwara Vyaktāvyakta Aneeshārtha Doṣa
13 He will not accept food from a woman giving suck, etc	These are described among 35 Dayaka-Ashana Doṣas
14 He will not accept food from a woman in intercourse with a man etc.	It seems Abhighat Udagama Doṣa.
15 He will not accept food collected	It seems Pādantara Jiva sampata or Daushaka Dosha
16 He food where a dog is standing	It seems Pāni-Jantu Badha Doṣa
17 He..food where flies are swarming	
18 He fish, nor meat, nor strong drink, nor intoxicants, nor gruel	It requires no corroboration, viz :— "खीरदहिसप्पिलेन गुडलवणाण खज्जं परिचयण । तिलाकट्ठ कसाय विलय घरसाण चज चयण ॥१५॥ चत्तारि महाविगइओ होंति णवणीद मज्जमांस मधु । कखापसंगदप्पासंजम कारीओ एदाओ ॥१६॥
19 He is a "one houser', etc , etc	It is the Vrata Parisankhyata Practice.
20 He takes food only once a day, or once every two days etc., etc	It is the Sāhankṣanakṣhana vrata

For a full comparative treatment of the subject, see the Jaina Hostel Magazine, Vol. VI, No 2, and the Vira., Vol II, pp 580 588, and the Indian Historical Quarterly Vol II pp 702 704 as well

Really it seems to be a fact that nakedness was held necessary for the attainment of samanaship in ancient times all over the world In Hindu sāstras, too, it is not less highly spoken of Śukācārya on whose arrival at the court of Parikṣit all the many thousands of Ṛṣis including his father and grand father stood up, was a Digambara [1] Śiva is a Digambara and so has been said the god Dattātrya [2] The Greeks, too, worshipped a certain kind of naked deities The Holy Bible, too, describes nudity as a mark of saintship, as is apparent from the following passages —

'And he stripped off his clothes also, and prophesied before Samuel in like manner, and lay down naked all that day and all that night Wherefore they said, 'Is soul also among the Prophets' ?" (Samuel, xix 24)

"At the same time spake the Lord by Isaiah, the son of Amoz, saying, go and loose the sackcloth from off thy loins and put off thy shoe from thy foot And he did so, walking naked and barefooted "—(Isaiah xxi 2)

"Nudity was also a sign of world renunciation amongst the Arabs about whom Washington Irving says in his 'Life of Mahomet' (Appendix)

'The Towaf, or procession, round the Caaba was an ancient ceremony observed before the time of Mahomet and performed by both sexes entirely naked Mahomet prohibited this exposure and prescribed the Ihram or pilgrim dress' .The seamless coat of Christ (St John, xix, 23) is suggestive of bare skin esoterically' [3] Hence in the light of these

[1] The Jaina Itihāsa Series pt I p 13 [2] Ibid
[3] Supplement to the Confluence of Opposites p 27

facts it must be admitted, that at a certain time nakedness was held to be a mark of saintlood among the ancient people of different creeds and countries In India at the time of Mahāvīra, the Ājīvika and Acelaka recluses, too, went naked [1] Even to day the Jaina Nirgrantha sādhus discard all clothes and there are nangī (naked) sādhus also amongst the Hindus

Hence it is significant that Mahāvīra renounced the world, in the manner of a naked nirgrantha muni, and instead of wandering about in search of a teacher or a course of samanship, as Buddha did he instantly began to practise the rules of a nirgrantha monk after paying obeisance to the previous Siddhas (Liberated Ones) and pulling out his hairs into five handfuls After this he remained two days absorbed in deep thought and then he had his first meal, as a samana, at the hands of a certain Kula nrpa of Kulanagara [2] There after wandering about in silence, one day he resolved to practise penance for full twelve years [3] Accordingly he gave himself up to deep meditation and during that period he swerved not in the least from his position And the second month of summer during the thirteenth year of his penance, brought forth the ripe and unique fruit of his hard perseverance Mahāvira became a Jina a Tathāgata, a Tīrthankara, or an omniscient Teacher [4] This blessed thing happe

[1] See Dr Barua s The Ājīvikas pt I

[2] For a full view on the point please refer to my books Bhagavana Mahavīra and Bhagwana Mahavira aur Mahatma Buddha It is too probable that the kula might mean the kula (family or clan) because Mahavira renouncing the world remained for two days in the Vanakhanda forest adjoining his birth place Hence a Raja (Feudatory Chief) of his own clan (kula) might have entertained him in his own birth place (kulanagar Kşatriyakhanda of Kundanagara)

[3] JS pt I p 200 [4] *Ibid p 201*

ned on the northern bank of the river Rjukūlā, outside the town of Jṛmbhakagrāma, under a śāl tree. Now he was a Kêvalin, omniscient and comprehending all objects, He knew all conditions of the whole world of all living beings. Then as a profound Teacher he preached the ancient truth all round.[1] Indrabhuti Gotama, a renowned orthodox Brāhmaṇa, was first converted and acquiring the Manahaparya-jñān, he became the first and foremost apostle of Lord Mahāvīra. The Jainas say that he composed and kept in his memory the Teachings of Mahāvīra.[2] The thing noteworthy in this connection is that not only Buddhist canon speak in good and reliable terms about the omniscience and teachings of Mahāvīra, but Hindu literature also corroborates the fact.[3] Buddha has also given his assent to this fact in pleasing words. On one occasion he said :—

"There are, brethren, certain recluses (Acelakas, Ājīvikas, Niganṭhas, etc.,) who thus preach and believe : whatsoever an individual experiences, whether it be happy, or painful, or neutral feeling, all has been caused by previous actions. And thus from the cancelling of old actions by *tapas*, and by abstaining from doing new actions, there is no influx into future life ; by this non-influx *karma* is destroyed, and so ill is destroyed, and so feeling is destroyed, and so all pain will become worn away. This, brethren, is what the Niganṭ-

[1] JS pt 1, p. 201

[2] JS, pt II, p 41, n 2 And Uttarapurāṇa, pp 614-616.

[3] Buddhist references are Majjhima, I, 238, and 92 93, Aṅguttara, III, 74 ; 'Buddhist scholar and saint of the standing of Dharmakīrti, actually cites the instances of Śrī Rsabhadev and Śrī Vardhamana Mahāvīra, the Ist and the last of the Jain Tīrthaṅkaras, as endowed with omniscience, while illustrating some of his syllogistic propositions.' (The Nyāyabindu, Ch III, quoted in the 'Science of Thought") Brahmanical references : Pañcatantra, ed Keilhorn, V. 1.

ṭhas (Jains) say Is it true, I asked them, that you believe and declare this ?.....They replied....Our leader, Nātaputta, is all-wise.....out of the depth of his knowledge he tells us : Ye have done evil in the past. This ye do wear away by this hard and painful course of action. And the discipline that here and now, by thought, word, and deed, is wrought, is a minus quantity of bad *karma* in future life.... thus all *karma* will eventually be worn away, and all pain. To this we assent. (Majjhima, ii, 214 ff. cf. i. 238)"—ERE. Vol. II. p. 70.

Similar were the teaching and assertion of the Jainas, as is evident from the Jaina śāstras[1]. But 'notwithstanding the abovementioned assent when faced with the severity of—*parīṣā-jaya* (mortification), which signifies cheerfully enduring all kinds of hardships incidental to asceticism, and finding them only leading to enfeeblement and emaciation, but not to the enlightenment that he sought, Buddha declared :—

"Not by this bitter course of painful hardship shall I arrive at that separate and supreme vision of all sufficing, noble (Aryan) knowledge, passing human ken. Might there be not another path to enlightenment ?"—ERE. Vol. ii, p.70.

'He thenceforth began to look after the welfare of the body once more. At last the middle course that he was looking for occured to him under the famous Bo tree.'[2] The Buddhists say that he gained a full sight of the supreme knowledge and became a Tathāgata then and there. According to these assertions, India at that time possessed these two luminous stars who made her rejoin with a rational

[1] JS., pt. II., Intro. p. xv.

[2] Confluence of Opposites, p. 14.

theme While Buddha caused a necessary reform in the social conditions of the country in general and among the wandering ascetics in particular and founded a religion of his own, with the sole object of relieving the humanity of the apparent misery [1] Mahāvīra, quite in reverse to this, founded no religion or creed of his own, but he preached the self same ancient Truth, which was preached by his twenty three predecessors, and demonstrated every question pertaining to the material as well as spiritual elevation of all the living beings in a scientific light The Truth, thus propagated, got home in the hearts of all the Goalseekers and they were successful in sinking their differences easily The Jainas say that even the beasts were given place in the preaching hall of Mahāvīra A glimpse at the mode and course of their respective preachings and teachings will convince one of the credibility of this position of ours and also, that of the fineness and quality of their acquired knowledge It is admitted that both the Teachers were possessed of supernatural powers,* but while Buddha had recourse to them in converting his early disciples and wrought miracles [2] Mahāvīra never sought aid of the kind in his preaching Besides he never let go any kind of point whatsoever without full elucidation, but Buddha, on the other hand, evaded even such important questions as the existence of world and soul which are quite essential in a rational speculation [4] Taking these into our consideration

[1] BP p 62 [3] BP pp 30 31

[2] Mahāvagga I 7 8 I 15 20 and BP p 29

[4] The Dialogues of the Buddha—Poṭṭhapada Sutta—(S B B I p 254 and BI pp 36 and 61.

and examining the quality of Buddha's knowledge, we can easily proceed on, with our position thus made clear As for this we will have to content ourselves with the following passage from the orthodox Buddhist canon like 'Milinda-Pañha' There in reply to the question about the omniscience of the Buddha, the Buddhist author says that "the insight of knowledge was not always and continually (consciously) present with him The omniscience of the Blessed One was dependent on reflection But if he did reflect he knew whatever he wanted to know "[1] Thereupon King Milinda tells him that "Buddha cannot have been omniscient, if this all embracing knowledge was reached through investigation" And the Buddhist author acknowledges it to a degree, saying "If so, Great King, our Buddha's knowledge must have been less in degree of fineness than that of other Buddhas And that is a conclusion hard to draw "[2] Hence it is clear that an omniscient knowledge should be all comprehensive and ever present with its possessor, and as such we should say for the sake of simple truth that Buddha's knowledge could not compete with this . Consequently this seems to be the evident reason why Buddha himself did not accept to be the foremost Arahat (Omniscient Teacher) Rather he simply evaded the question in his usual way, when asked or ascribed so at occasions[3] But after all it is a fact that Buddha got a certain kind of inner knowledge under the Bo tree From the Jaina point of view, it was most probably

[1] Questions of King Milinda iv 1 29 SBE, Vol xxxv p 154 [2] Ibid
[3] Samyutta Nikaya pt I 1 p 78 79 and Mahaparinibbana Sutta SBE Vol xi p 14

a kind of Avadhijñāna (vibhangā one perhaps), while that of Mahāvīra was full Kevalajñāna (omniscience), as we have seen above.

Well, any how after this famous event in the life of Buddha, he was styled by his votaries, as Tathāgata, Buddha, or the Blessed Arahat. So the titles or epithets of Buddha and Mahāvīra are almost the same but Mahāvīra's epithe of Tīrthankara is peculiar to him. The Buddhists use it fo a heretic teacher.[1] Further we know about Buddha tha after his "sambodhi," he did not begin to preach at once, fo he was in fear of his doctrine not being accepted by people, so he decided to remain quiet and enjoy the peace of mind in silence for a time.[2] But in the end he became victorious over his weakness and resolving to preach his 'Dharma' far and wide, he started at once for Benares.[3] There he met the former ṛṣis of his acquaintance. At first they believed him not and addressed him in the familiar term, 'Friend.' Buddha assured them of his Buddhahood and asked them to call him with the epithet, "Tathāgata."[4] Thereupon they acknowledged him as their teacher.[5] And Kaundinya Kulaputra, the foremost among them, first acquired the inner sight in the 'Norm', and became the first apostle of Buddha.[6]

Buddha's Norm, which he preached for the first time at Benares, was most probably nothing else than 'a protest against the caste system of the Hindus and the severe asceticism of the Jainas, not as a new metaphysical system,

[1] JS, pt. I., Intro xx.
[2] LB, p 188
[3] Ibid, I, 6, 47
[4] Mahāvagga, I, 5, 1.
[5] Mahāvagga, I, 6, 9-15.
[6] LB, p. 172

But in fact, Buddha was trying to perfect himself in *sannyāsa* without ever having passed through the prescribed stages of a householder's preparatory course and as such, it must have never led him to the desired goal If he had known it and would have comprehended the necessity of a ladder to reach the top, we might have expected something else from him than the above condemnation Mahāvira sought the goal by gradual steps and he got it Really Mahāvīra, too, had condemned such asceticism as, in the absence of faith and knowldege of right sort, only led to distress and pain [1] He had styled it as a foolish and childish practice, for he knew quite well that the observance of vows and the suffering of hardships in asceticism were essential to separate the Karmic filth from the soul Of course this course seems irksome and unpleasant only when looked at from a distance But when one is imbued with the right Faith one realises at once the necessity of a well-regulated life and actually longs for the perfection of character through suffering and self denial [2] Buddha too was not inclined to give it up in whole He has also prescribed it, but in a very loose form [3]

In this way the early events of the lives of Buddha and Mahāvīra differed quite widely and their after life as Teachers, also does not point any similarity Buddha began to preach when he was thirty five years old and abhorring

[1] परमट्ठिम्मिय अठिदो जो कुणदि तव वद च धारयदि।
त सव्व बाल तव 'बालक' वि'ति सव्वण्हू ॥१४॥
वदणियमाणि धरता सीलाणि तहा तव च कुव्वता।
परमट्ठबाहिरा जे ते णहि अण्णाणी ॥१६०॥ श्रीकुन्दकुन्दाचार्य।

[2] Divine Discourse p 8

[3] These passages from the Buddhist Canon speak for themselves Suttanipata pp 60 63 and 146 148 Dhammapada Ch I etc

philosophical discussions, he exerted great force to root out the craving of desire and care for nothing else, as is pointed above Mahāvīra, on the other hand, preached his 'Samana Dhamma' at the age of forty-two [1] And the course of their wanderings, too, was different Finally Mahāvīra got his *mukti* at Pāvā,[2] during the life time of Buddha,[3] at the age of seventy-two Buddha, on the contrary, lived a few years after him and is said to have died at Kuśīnārā, when he was eighty years old [4] Dr Hoernle says that Buddha lived after Mahāvīra about five years more [5] Accepting it as such, we find that Buddha was born three years before Mahāvīra and when he began to preach his Norm, Mahāvīra was a novice and of about thirty-three years of age The reliability of the fact is already evident from the calculations of Dr Hoernle, still it can be proved further, when the reason for a gap of events between fifty and seventy years of Buddha's life is traced out Rev Bigandet styles this period as almost completely blank [6] Hence let us try to find out the obvious reason which caused this gap Knowing that Mahāvīra began to preach when Buddha was already in the field as a Teacher and was about forty five years of age, according to above calculations it is quite probable that within the rest five years Mahāvīra's preaching would have predominated that of Buddha, because we have already noticed that the knowledge

[1] JS pt I p 269

[2] Sāmagama Sutta M N V I II (P T S) p 243 and Pat ka sutta of Dīgha Nikaya III p 1

[3] Ibid

[4] LB p 283 ff or Buddhist Suttas pp 99 101

[5] Ājivikas Hastings ERE

[6] Life and Legend of Gautama quoted in Saunders Gotama Buddha p. 54

(omniscience) of Mahāvīra was of a finer and greater degree than Buddha's, and as such, his teachings were all profou Really quite in accordance with this the Jaina author, t describes this fact.[1] But Buddhist author also says t before the rising glory of Buddha all the other teach lost their predominance[2] though at the same time acknowledges the predominating glory of Mahāvīra.[3] So seems to be true that as the faith of the Buddha v patronised afterwards by King Ajātaśatru, perhaps j at the time of or after the great Decease of Mahāvīra,[4] a at a later period Niganṭhas were persecuted by King Padı of Ājīvikas,[5] the Order of Mahāvīra must have suffer and its glory of the time of Mahāvīra must have faded t degree. Hence the Buddhist author's statement, too, hol water along with that of the Jaina author, i.e., before t unique dazzling glory of Mahāvīra's omniscience all oth creeds were lost. Thus the apparent reason for the gap events between fifty to seventy years of Buddha's life the surpassing glory of Mahāvīra as an omniscient Teache The Buddhist canon also bears testimony to it. The schisı caused by Devadatta in the Buddha's Order was solely

[1] "तव जिन शासन विभवो जयति कलावपि गुणानुशासन विभव:।
दोषकशासन विभव: स्तुवति चैन प्रभा कशासन विभव:॥१२७॥
अनवद्य: स्याद्वादस्तव दृष्टेष्टा विरोधत: स्याद्वाद:।
इतरो न स्याद्वादोमहिम विरोधान्नौश्वराऽस्याद्वाद:॥१२८॥
त्वमसि सुरासुर महितो मुक्तिकमस्तामय प्रधमा महित:।
लोकत्रय परम हितोऽनावरण ज्योतिरुज्वलुद्धाम हित:॥१२९॥

—बृहद् स्वयंभूस्तोत्र

[1] Fausboll's Jātaka, Vol III, p 128
[2] Historical Gleanings, p 78
[3] Jaina Gazette, Vol. XXI, pp 254
[4] The Ājīvikas, pt I, p 58

demand for a more restrained and strict ascetic life and avoidance of meat diet [1] Nevertheless it is a truth that there was no other rival of Buddha than Mahāvīra, who did hold the importance of and preached the doctrines of Asceticism and Ahimsā, just since a decade before this schism, which occured when Buddha was of about seventy two years,[2] and Mahāvīra of about sixty-nine years And it follows from the evidence of Abhayarājakumāra Sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya that Mahāvīra was aware of the fact of dissension between Buddha and Devadatta [3] Jaina śāstras, too, support this view inasmuch as they describe that just after the death of Śrenika Bimbisāra, Ajātaśatru became an adherent of the creed of Mahāvīra and his mother Cellanā went to the samosarana of Mahāvīra, where she took the vow of a nun and remained under the guidance of Candanā [4] This shows that Mahāvīra was still in the field as a Teacher and the Buddhist schism occured at this very time, and this coincides with the opinion of Dr Kern as well [5] Therefore it is significant that at this time the teachings of Mahāvīra must have predominated amongst the people around [6] Hence Devadatta demanded for a reform which was necessary according to time Besides, when Mahāvīra breathed his last at Pāvā, we see that the disciples of Buddha rejoiced at the event and thought it most important [7] They hurried at once to Buddha at

[1] K J Saunders Gotama Buddha pp 72 73
[2] Historical Gleanings p 25. [3] Ibid p 79
[4] Śrenika Caritra [5] Kern s Indian Buddhism pp 38 39
[6] In Cullavaga (vii 3 14) it is accepted in these words that the people believe in rough measures and so they condemned Buddha with luxury and abundance (viii, 3 16)
[7] Pasadika Suttanta The Dialogues of the Buddha pt iii p 112

Sāmagāma, who seeing that much benefit could be acquired then, delivered a sermon. And actually Buddha and his disciple Sāriputta derived much benefit out of this important event in the annals of the Jainas.[1] This, too, corroborates the fact that Mahāvīra's appearance in the field as an omniscient Teacher caused the gap mentioned above. Of course in one passage of Buddhist canon we find Buddha described as the youngest among the living teachers[2] but in another we see that Buddha evades the question and gives no definite reply.[3] This might mean that as in age he was really older than Mahāvīra at least, but as a teacher he was younger, because all other prevalent schools of thought were pre-Buddhistic in their existence. Hence judging from these documentary evidences, the above relations between the lives of Buddha and Mahāvīra would seem to have substantial historical accuracy.

Now there remains the question of the date of the Great Decease of Mahāvīra. There are two prominent opinions about it One assigns it to 527 B.C.[4] and the other to a later period of 468 B.C.[5] The first is accepted by all the Jainas as well, but the latter has no place elsewhere than the fold of scholars We think the prevalent date of 527 B.C holds much credit, when it is evident that Buddhists ascribe the event in the life-time of Buddha[6] But even in this there seems to have crept a mistake owing to miscalculations The documentary evidences in support of this opinion are said to be (1) Gāthā No 850 of Śrī Trilokasāra of the

[1] Some Ksatriya Tribes of Ancient India p 154
[2] Historical Gleanings p 24
[3] Sutta Nipata S B E Vol X p 87, and Jb, pt II, Intro
[4] Life of Mahāvira by Matukchand Jain
[5] Indian Antiquary, Vol 43
[6] Majjhima Nikāya, II, p. 143

Digambaras, (2) Āryavidyāsudhākara, (3) The introduction of the Pattāwali of Sarasvatī gaccha, and (4) The introduction of Gurwāwali 'A', of the same as examined by Dr. Hoernle in the Indian Antiquary. Now in the latter two evidences of the above, it has been established in clear words that after 470 years since the Nirvāna of Mahāvīra, King Vikrama was born, viz सत्तरिचदुसदजुतो तिणकालाविक्कमो हवइजम्मो'। And it is quite well known that the date 527 B C has been arrived at by assuming the beginning of Vikrama era after 470 years from the Nirvāna of Mahāvīra, but in fact the matter is that Vikrama's era dates from his ascension to the throne at the age of eighteen, after subduing the Sakas [1] Hence eighteen years should be added more in the prevailing era of Mahāvīra Dr Jacobi also draws our attention to this fact, in a private letter, and says "the Vikrama era does not date from the जन्म of Vikrama, but from the राज्य of Vikrama, or from the eighteenth year after his birth By this reckoning the Nirvāna should be placed eighteen years earlier or 545 B C" The former two evidences of the above do not also hinder us in any way from forming this correct and more sound opinion, because in them it is not said that the era of Vikrama began after 470 years since the Nirvāna, rather they denote the existence of King Vikrama at the time Hence taking the date of Nirvāna to be 545 B C, we find it to coincide with our above data of the relations of Buddha's and Mahāvīra's lives, as well, because the orthodox Ceylonese date of Buddha's demise rightly falls later than Mahāvīra's and is 543 B C, which has, also become more reliable under the new light of the Khārvela Inscription [2]

[1] 'Madanakosa and Bharata ke Prācina Rajavamśa

[2] Bharata ke Prācina Rajavamśa pt II I 34; JBORS, IV 364ff, Ind Ant, xlviii, 25 ff 29 ff and xlix 43 ff

Hence it is safely conceivable that the accurate date of Mahāvīra's Nirvāna, which has been accepted by and is prevailing amongst the Jains is 545 B C The date o Buddha's demise can also be taken safely as 543 B C

In this way by looking side by side at the events of Buddha's and Mahāvīra's lives, we have demonstrated their differences fully, and now we can easily form a safe idea about their separate identities and mutual connections as contemporaries *The acquaintance with the above facts will also* dispel the false notion about the origin of Jainism from Buddhism, which still prevails in certain quarters

Now so far having dwelt on the lives of the Buddha and Mahāvīra, we shall now proceed to consider the aspect of *their respective teachings*

Inquiring at the very outset about the Dharma of the Buddha, we find that, "it denotes the Laws of nature man s body falls under the rule of decay , it equally applies to the law of impermanence enunciated by the Buddha , whatever comes into being is subject to the law of destruction "[1] Mahāvīra, also, proclaimed the Dharma to be the very nature of things Vastu svabhāvo dharmaha "[2] Though these definitions are somewhat similar yet in fact they are applied by both the Teachers in different senses At the hands of Buddha it had not that full treatment which it enjoyed near Mahāvīra Truth compels us to admit that the philosophical conceptions of Buddha are lacking both in system and maturity Rather he took the philosophical dis

[1] BP pp. 69 70

[2] "धम्मोवत्थुसहावो खमादि भावो य दसविहो धम्मो ।
रयणत्तयं च धम्मो जीवाण रक्खण धम्मो ॥ ४७९ ॥ स्वामीकार्तिकेयानुप्रेक्षा ।

cussion to be a cause of further bondage[1] Hence scientific answers to such questions are quite far from him They were styled by him as Indeterminates When he is asked 'Is the world eternal ? Is this alone the truth and any other view mere folly ? He quite definitely replied that 'that Potthapāda is a matter on which I have expressed no opinion" 'Then in the same terms Potthapāda asked each of the following questions (1) Is the world not eternal ? (2) Is the world finite ? (3) Is the world infinite ? (4) Is the soul the same as body ? (5) Is the soul one thing and the body another ? (6) Does one who has gained the truth live again after death ? (7) Does he not live again after death ? (8) Does he both live again and not live again after death ? (9) Does he neither live again nor not live again after death ? And to each question the Exalted One gave the same reply[2] Consequently whenever such a critical position arrived Buddha gave no elucidation on the point And Dr Keith makes us believe that his refusal is perfectly categoric he insists that he made no undertaking to instruct his disciples in these matters He is instead a physician who gives such instruction as leads to the freeing of man from bondage[3] Really by leaving these matters unexplained he allowed the people to frame their own conceptions And such a position was quite necessary for a 'Norm preacher

It seems that Buddha looked at the nature of things from only the particular aspect of their empiric existence He clearly asserts that there are no eternal substances in the world nor are there substances which perish utterly but that

[1] Buddhism Its History and Literature p 39
[2] Dialogues of the Buddha S P B II p 2 4 [3] BP p 69

the whole world is a process of becoming anything in tim could not be the true reality '[1] And there is also no suc thing as soul [2] Even the material phenomenon has not bee fully explained by him [3] But we are, however, made t understand that there are four material elements, earth, fire air, and water The ether, also at times is counted i the list [4] Still the manner in which Buddha conceive these elements is not explained and 'what is clear is tha every material thing is a compound (saṁkhāra) whic may, as in the case of body, endure for a long time but wil nevertheless ultimately pass away Things are impermanen (anicca), in early Buddhism they are not literally momentary a refinement of later thought '[5]

Moreover the world was a matter of mere experience t Buddha He declined to answer the speculative question on its infinity and duration But it is evident that in admitt ing the above four material elements Buddha had to accep the realistic aspect as well [6] And so we may safely assume the indefiniteness of his position

Besides these four elements Buddha included in them the Nirvāna element (the state of release) and the conception of consciousness, to subsume under it pleasure and pain, and thus began his philosophical career with a doctrine of six elements all real whose interaction explained the existence of world [7]

Herein the influence of Brahmanical and Jaina doctrines is quite evident for both the systems were already in exis

[1] B P p 64
[2] Ibid. p 92
[3] Ibid
[4] BP p 13 and Milinda Pañha II 1 1 p 40
[5] Ibid
[6] Ib i. p. 95
[7] Ibid pp 94 9.

tence at the time of the advent of Buddhism[1] The four material elements were accepted from the Brahmanical tradition,[2] and they were framed in such a way as to resemble the Jaina conception of the universe Jainas, too, describe six substances to constitute this universe, but these are quite different from the above, as we will see below Besides, we already know that Buddha's definition of Dharma, also, possesses a degree of resemblance with that of the Jainas Its division into internal (ajjhattika) and external (bāhira) aspects[3] is also outwardly synonymous with the niścaya (real) and vyavahāra (material) aspects of Dharma as accepted by the Jainas[4] But herein too the difference is apparent inasmuch as the Buddhist division has its connection only with the outer and mental conditions of the empiric world[5] and the individual, that of the Jainas along with these, with the real aspects of the things, as well Hence it is obvious that Buddha only endeavoured a little to explain his position about the conception of the universe in the vyavahāra (material) dharma of the Jainas

Mahāvīra in accordance with his definition of Dharma demonstrated the eternal truth about all the existing things He said that this universe is eternal, without beginning and end[6] It is nothing but the sum total of substances which have been existing from eternity and shall remain so for ever In this universe nothing new is created nor is anything destroyed Only there are modifications of substances

[1] JS Vol I xxxiv Historical Gleanings p 76 Buddhist India p 143
[2] BP p 92 [3] Ibid p 74
[4] Tattvartha-Sutram S B J II p 15 [5] BP p 74
[6] In Buddhist book Sumangala Vilasinī (P T S p 119) this belief of the Jainas is described and ascribed to them

which cause the beginning, duration and end of a particular condition of the universe.[1] Hence there is no need of any creator. The Jaina thinker, Prabhācandra expressly condemns the assumption of a creator in the following way :—

"The theists maintain that God as the Creator has knowledge, will to act and active effort, that He need not be an embodied Being. But this is impossible. One who is a disembodied Being cannot know through senses, etc.,—as for instance an emancipated Soul (who although emancipated is never a creator).

"It is not proper for a kind Being to be an author of pain and to furnish animals with bodies for feeling them."[2] (Prameya- Kamala-Mārtanda).

Further the substances of this eternal universe are primarily described as jīva (soul) and ajīva (non-soul). The laksana or differentia of living substance (soul-jīva) upayoga, attention, consciousness, attentiveness.[3] And non-living substance (Ajīva) is all the rest, which is void of this differentia and is of five kinds: (1) Matter—pudgala, (2) Space-ākāsa, (3) Time-kāla, (4) Medium of motion—Dharmāstikāya, and (5) Medium of rest-Adharmāstikāya. Thus in all Mahāvīra made us enumerate six kinds of substances, which compose this universe. With the lengthy descriptions of these six substances the whole Jaina Canon is filled, but here viewing them in short, we find that the (1) conscious immaterial substance is soul and

[1] Tattvā : Sūt · SBJ II, pp 120 121.

[2] The Buddhist book 'Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī" describing Jain beliefs, corroborates this differentia of soul, viz., "Arūpī attā saññī," (P T. S 119)

[3] See also JS, pt II, p 244

is in infinite number, (2) matter is rūpī (material) and its special attributes are touch, taste, smell, and colour Its atoms and molecules are infinite and distinct, but they are found in numerable and innumerable numbers as well, (3) space is one grand infinite immaterial and indispensable substance Its function is to provide place to all other substances Its two divisions, Lokākāśa (Universe) and Alokākāśa (Non universe), are based on Dharma and Adharma Souls and matter move on and rest up to the confines of the universe only, because Dharma and Adharma, which are respectively causes of motion and rest, do not exist outside Lokākāsa, (4) time is an immaterial and immovable substance, which is an auxiliary cause in bringing about modifications of and in all the substances The being or continuing to exist, i e , the continuous change in the attributes of substances at every moment is done by niścaya kāla (real time substance) and the modifications, their movements and long and short duration are the bases of vyavahāra kāla, *i e* , of time, from a practical point of view, which is based upon the motion of matter, Sun, Moon, earth, etc , in space The number of time-units or instants or time atoms (kālānus) is innumerable Each time atom occupies one point of space, thus the space of the universe which has innumerable spatial points, covered entirely by time atoms,' (5) the medium of motion is one immaterial substance, co extensive with the universe Its function is to support the motion of souls and matter, and (6) the medium of rest is also one immaterial substance and co extensive with the universe It is an auxiliary cause for the rest of souls and matter [1]

[1] Umasvami s Tattvartha Sutra Ch V

Among these, only soul and matter are the chief factors and the rest follows them We are told that "they perform mainly four actions viz , they occupy space, undergo change, and are at motion or at rest Every action must have two causes, one principal, primary or root-cause, and the other the auxiliary cause The primary and essential cause of a gold-ring, is the gold of which it is made , but the auxiliary or secondary causes are several, e g , fire, the goldsmith's tools, etc , etc So the primary causes of these above four actions of soul and matter are the soul and matter themselves, but the auxiliary causes are the abovesaid four immaterial substances Thus this universe is composed of six real, uncreated substances (*dravyas*) and all the manifestations of this universe are due to modifications of soul and matter with the help of the other four substances "[1]

Obviously we can now easily see the wide differences in the primary teachings of Mahāvīra and Buddha Though the latter's mode of expression and systematising his creed generally resembles those of Mahāvīra's, still Buddha's teachings were based on Non self (Anattā) system, while Mahāvīra preached the very Dharma of the previous Tīrthankaras who held the necessity of the soul conception, *i e*, Ātma or Anekānta Vāda But on the other hand, the five samkhāras of Buddha could not be found anywhere in the teachings of Mahāvīra

Buddha declared that these samkhāras are produced by the ignorance of four noble truths of pain or misery, its origin, its destruction and the way to that end[2] As regards the differentia and function of samkhāra, Dr Keith rightly holds that 'samkhāra, like the sanskrit

[1] The Principles of Jainism p 4

[2] SN ii 4

Saṁskāra, is a term of varying, but consistent and intelligible meaning; it denotes the making ready or complete something for an end—an idea emphasised in the compound Abhisaṁkhāra, and also the result of the activity when achieved. Hence it has no exclusive application to the psychical sphere; the movement given to a potter's wheel is styled an Abhisaṁkhāra; the wheel rolls on so long as the impression thus communicated lasts. Hence Saṁkhāras may be divided, as often, between those of the body, speech or thought; expiration and inspiration are Samkhāras; when Buddha decides to attain Nirvāna he lets go his Āyusaṁ-khāra, his disposition to live, and the motive force which but for his decision would have continued to keep alive his mortal frame; it is inconceivable that nothing more is meant than that the Buddha laid aside merely a subjective process. The same point arises regarding the Saṁkhāras which affect the form of rebirth of the dead, a monk who forms a resolve to be born in a noble family achieves this result from the Saṁkhāra thus framed, here again we cannot believe that the rebirth is a pure figment of the creative imagination, just as little as it is credible that a man who has the disposition to pay a visit (gamikābhisamkhāro) has merely the idea of himself as on a journey Such a conception is clearly far from the texts, which frankly tell us that a man forms the Samkhāra of the body when a body exists, and it is incredible that the body, which is described as the ancient deed made ready (abhisamkhatam) and made real by mental activity (abhisamcetayitam), is really to be understood as merely the ancient act conceived or presented to consciousness as existing. The difficulty of Franke's view appears still

more clearly when it is remembered that the Samkhāras are one of the five Khandas which constitute the individual of Buddhism, they rank alongside of material form (rūpa) or body, feeling (vedanā), perception (saññā), and intellect or consciousness (viññāna), and there is clearly no room here for the concept of ideas, rather they are the dispositions which lead to rebirth, precisely parallel to the Samskāras, which in the Sānkhya system represent the predispositions of the individual resulting from the impressions left by former thoughts and deeds In the chain of causation the Samkhāras play the same rôle, they are not the creation of ignorance of the illusory character of the world, something much simpler is meant, by reason of his ignorance of the doctrine of misery as taught by the Buddha, the unfortunate man commits action and so produces dispositions which lead on to fresh birth "[1]

Hence the Buddha is reported to have said —"Ajñāna (ignorance) begets Samskāra (tendency), this leads to Vijñana (apprehension), from it emerge Nama (name) and Bhautika Deha (material body), from them come the Ṣat Ksetra (six spheres or centres), these generate Indriya (the senses) and Visaya (the objects), from the contact of the senses and their objects, there arises Vedanā (affection), Vedanā leads to Trsnā (longing to get), this to Upādāna (appropriation), this to Bhava (being), this to Jarādhakya (old age), Marana (death), Dukkha (pain), Anuśocanā (remorse), Yātanā (misery), Udvega (anxiety) and Nairāśya (despair) Thus flourishes the kingdom of Pain "

[1] BP pp 50-51

Consequently the samsāra-pravāha of the Buddha is apparently based on the law of cause and effect Hence there are unbroken and eternal cognitive series in the world, and so, it can be styled to be an idea of transmigration theory which is accepted in the Jaina philosophy as well The difference is evident that according to Buddhists, in beginning, if there be any, there everything in form and mode was ignorance,[1] but no such thing has been accepted by the Jainas

Here if we try to know what takes birth, when there is no such thing as soul, we unfortunately find that this, too, has been left unsolved by the Buddha What he points out is that an individual takes birth This individual is only an aggregate of material form (rūpa), or body, feeling (vedanā), perception (saṃjñā), dispositions (samkhāras), and intellect or consciousness (vijñāna)[2] It is not a person (satta)—no permanent individuality in the least Just as it is by the condition precedent of the co existence of its various parts that the word 'chariot' is used, so also is the individual Individual is not a real thing in itself As chariot is an aggregation of its wheels, axles, etc , so is the individual.

Now in accordance with the above chain of causation becoming continues , and in a true sense there is no being or individual, except a becoming[3] And to connect the link between all old and a new becoming the descent of the consciousness into the womb of the mother, perparatory to rebirth, is accepted in the Mahānidāna Sutta[4] Dr Keith,

[1] Milinda Panha II 33 (S B E) p 81
[2] Milinda Panha II 1 e SBE V I xxxv p 45
[3] Buddhism Its History and Literature pp 120 124 [4] Digha Nikaya II 63

too, supports it and says that "the phrase 'descent of consciousness' certainly implies a continuity of consciousness between the old and the new lives, and it may imply that this consciousness was accompanied by some form of body, if we take the word 'descent' literally, in fact the schools differed on this point and Buddhaghosa is consistent with his own view in negativing the question of a corporeal accompaniment of consciousness. But this has nothing to do with the far more important animistic implication, namely, that there is a continuity of consciousness, which the Buddha seems frankly to admit."[1]

In this way though the Buddha tried to work out his position without a permanent real 'being,' assuming the consciousness to appear itself in the aggregates in the manner of the Sāṅkhya system, but ultimately he had to accept the continuity of the consciousness in the series of becoming. Thus the absurdity of the point is quite apparent. Without any real basis, the castles are being built in the air. Still the Jaina idea is quite evident in this conception as well. According to the Jainas, desire is the sole cause of bondage which has its origin from karmic delusion.[2] Consequently the real being (soul) whose differentia is consciousness suffers worldly pain and misery and being in bondage transmigrates. In this transmigration it carries with itself a subtle material body of karmic molecules, which cause a new birth of the embodied conscious being. Thus apparently a similarity seems to find a place here too.

[1] BP., p 80.

[2] Buddha, too, accepts it, though the meaning of delusion is different with Him. Further the number and characteristics of the senses, he gives the same as are in Jainism His definition of mind, also, bears a resemblance to that of Jainas Cf. Tattvārtha Sūtra, Ch VI.

Now the thing which derives consciousness to its new birth and determines its form, said Buddha, is that of action Dr Keith again assures us that "on this topic the Canon is emphatic and as clear as the nature of the subject permits, the force of action cannot be evaded by any device, excuses are vain, punishment is certain and inevitable, save only if the necessary intuition is found to break the chain of existence, then, though the law of action is broken for the future, the deeds of the past must be worked out in a form in which their seriousness is lost, the man guilty of many murders is repaid by a few blows[1] This suggests that between consciousness and dispositions there is a transition from the old to a new life "[2]

Hence obviously misery arises from action (karma) and it from passion or infection[3] Thus "thirst is the Upādāna when consciousness passes to a new existence and in this sense we have the doctrine that the five aggregates constituting the individual are the objects grasped "[4] All foolish individuals who always take pleasure in their thirst pursuits, remain entangled in the pool of misery But it must be remembered that the chain does not explain fully the working of action (karma) It is also one of the Indeterminates of Buddha Buddha only asserts the operation of karma, but shows no way about its actual working[5] And this seems to be the apparent reason that conflicting views are found on the point, even in such an orthodox work as Milinda Pañha At one place its author clearly asserts that 'No, O

[1] This seems to be another version of Jaina conceptions of Samkramana Atikramana etc of the Karmas [2] LP 1 10-
[3] Ibid p 105 [4] Ibid pp 103 104 [5] Ibid. p 109

King, it is not all suffering that has its root in karma There are eight causes by which suffering arises, by whic many beings suffer pain. And what are the eight? Super abundance of wind, and of bile, and of phlegm, the union c these humours, variations in temperature, the avoiding o dissimilarities, external agency and karma. From each o these there are some sufferings that arise and these are th eight causes by which many beings suffer pain. And therei whosoever maintains that it is karma that injures beings, and besides it there is no other reason for pain, his pro position is false."[1] But at another he conflicts it saying: "It is precisely the effect of karma, which overcomes all the rest, and has them under its rule; and no other influence is of any avail to the man in whom karma is working out its inevitable end."[2] But this much, however, is clea that saṁsāra, according to Buddha, is a continuous flow without any beginning and end and is unsubstantial dependent on action (karma). And action itself has not been described as merely an ethical or moral act done by a person; it is a Law Universal. It requires no foreign intervention to produce its phala (effect). It is independent. Hence the necessity of a Creator found no place even near Buddha.

Thus apparently the Karma theories of Mahāvīra and Buddha, with regard to their nature and operation, are wonderfully the same. But this similarity, too, is, however, in words only. There lies a fundamental difference between the both. According to Mahāvīra, the karma is a real and material thing—the cause of the bondage of an unemancipated

[1] Milinda, iv., 1, 63 [2] Ibid., iv., 4, 3.

soul But Buddha thought it to be the ethical act of a person and an unsubstantial law Thus it seems quite evident that Buddha borrowed this theory from the Jainas and used also their technical terms Āśrava and Samvara, but not in the same literal sense, as found in Jainism [1]

Mahāvīra, contrary to Buddha, preached the theory of Ātmavāda He said, "the soul is in combination with matter from time immemorial Though in its pure essence the soul is an independent personification of Perfect Knowledge, Perfect Perception, Perfect Power, and Perfect Bliss, but this combination has caused its delusion and impurity, which make it transmigrate in many different mundane existences from eternity The souls, thus, involved in transmigration suffer a multitude of afflictions This association with matter makes them burn with the unquenchable thirst of sense-produced desires and infatuations They have got with them a subtle karmic body of meritorious and demeritorious karmic matter, in which every moment karmic molecules inflow, according to the activities of mind, speech and body,[2] and at the same time, old ones are cast off. The karmic matter is inhered in the soul but for a time only As soon as the embodied soul sees the true nature of the things and acquires Bheda Vijñāna (Discriminating Inner Sight), it gives up all attachment to the worldly affairs and false delusions and becomes absorbed in self-concentration and penances Thus it gets itself freed from the bonds of karma" The famous Jaina saint Kundakundācārya asserts it so and says —

[1] ERE., Vol VII, p 472 [2] Cf Majjhima Nikāya Vol I p 372

"The Soul and the Karma Matter permeate each other through and through At the proper time they separate up till that they generate pleasure and pain which are experienced by the souls "[1]

Hence it is the karma, which causes all activities in the cosmic phenemona [2] What a being soweth, so he reapeth And as this embodied being is working together with the rest five substances, all conditions of the universe are dependent on it Its operation extends throughout the universe and the flow of samsāra also, depends on it Its effect is, also, irresistible It could not be maintained otherwise even accepting the apparent fruitlessness of karma, seeing that a sinful man is prosperous and that an honest man suffers untold miseries The Jaina Thinker has already said that "the prosperity of a vicious man and the misery of a man devoted to the worship of the Arahat are but respectively, the effects of good and bad deeds done previously-The vice and the virtue of their present lives will have their effects in their next lives In this way, the law of causality is not infringed "[3]

Really Mahāvīra gave an elaborate and scientific discourse on the Law of Karma and the same is well described in the

[1] जीवा पुग्गल काया अण्णोण्णा गाढगहण पविद्धा।
कालेविजुज्जमाणा सुहदुक्खं दिन्ति भुञ्जन्ति ।६८॥
—पञ्चास्तिकायसार।

* The Buddha a chain of Causation on the contrary gives no idea about the physical aspects of the world It is essentially an explanation of misery BP p 112

[3] 'या हिंसावतोपि समृद्धिः अर्हत् पूजावतोपि दारिद्र्यादिः साक्षमेव प्रागुपात्तस्य पापानुबन्धिनः पुण्यस्यपुण्यानुबन्धिनः पापस्य च फलम्। तत् क्रियोपात्तस्तु कर्मजन्मान्तरे फलिष्यतीतिनाव नियत कार्यकारणभाव व्यभिचारः॥'

Jaina metaphysical books like Gommatsāra and Pañcāstikāyasāra, etc The rationality of its operation and nature cannot be denied in the least It is a natural Law of Cause and Effect But it should be remembered that the soul operates in its own nature and causes its own Bhava or state It is not the direct cause of the modifications in the karma And the "Karma also is the cause of its own state or modification, working in and through its own nature "[1] Ācārya Nemicandra has made their mutual relationship quite clear, saying that "from the practical or empirical stand point (vyavahāra) the soul is the cause of karma modifications From the imperfect ontological stand point (asuddha niścaya naya), the soul is the cause of its own conscious dispositions According to the purely metaphysical view (śuddha niscaya naya), it is the cause of its own pure, essential states "[2]

Thus observation shows that the soul involved in impurity is unable to enjoy its attributes of perfect nature In its impure state the dispositions—attachment, envy, etc , arise in it and further cause its bondage Saint Kundakunda points so and says that "Bondage is due to bhāva (dispositions) and the bhāva which is attended with lust (rati), attachment (rāga), repulsion (dvesa), and stupefaction (moha) "[3]

So it is clear that what causes the attraction of the

[1] Pañcastikayasara (1 62 In Ishtopadesa t) we find that karma works for its own cause, the soul works for its own good who is there in the world that will not work for his own good when he has the power to do so 31

[2] पुग्गलकम्मादीण ' कत्तावव्हारदो दुणिच्चयदो चेदण कम्माणदासुद्धणया सुद्धभावाणम्
॥८॥ द्रव्य स ग्रह

[3] भावनिमित्तोबन्धोभ वोरदिरागद्द पमोहजुदो – पञ्चास्तिकायसार ।

karmic molecules, which are filled in this universe, are the dispositions (bhāva), viz, wrong belief (mithyādarsana), unrestraint (avirati), recklessness (pramāda), intense passions (kashāya) and the activity of body, speech and mind (yoga)[1] These dispositions according to good and bad actions attract the meritorious or demeritorious karmic matter Consequently there are two kinds of Karma —Bhāvakarma and Dravyakarma The dispositions are the former and the karmic matter which is attracted is itself the Dravyakarma[2] This inflow of karmic matter is styled Āsrava and is the third tattva (principle) of the Jainas— the first two being Jīva and Ajīva which constitute six dravyas

Now the fourth Tattva Bandha, too, naturally arises in this rational speculation It is nothing else than the union of attracted karmic matter with the Soul, which will automatically get combined with it[3] The duration of this combination is for a limited time according to the intensity of passions present at the time of inflow During this period of duration the karmic matter produces good or bad effects according to its nature, and having borne its proper fruit it falls off gradually

So far the attraction and operation of Karma is defined but the next Tattva announces the motive of getting rid of these notorious karmas For this, it is quite essential that the channel through which the karmic inflow is caused should be barred This barring prevention is the Samvara—

[1] Tattvartha Sutram SBJ Vol II 1 150 Cf Yoga with Majjhima Nikaya Vol I p 372

[2] Dravya-Samgraha, 2,29

[3] Tattva t Sutr p 157 ff.

the fifth Tattva [1] Control of mind, speech and body with their objects, sensual desires and passions, etc, stop the further inflow Hence there remains only the necessity of getting rid of those karmas which are in bondage with soul, before their maturity This shedding off is the sixth Tattva, Nirjarā[2] and it is a kind of artificial and premature fruition of karmas It is achieved by means of giving up desires and practising penances, producing pure self realization and concentration thereby Finally the total freedom from the karmas is the *summum bonum* the true state of the soul It is moksa—liberation, the last Tattva [3] The liberated soul reaching a pure and blissful abode (Siddha śilā) at the farthest end of the universe remains for ever pure and absorbed in its own true and perfect nature—All Knowledge, All Perception, Infinite Power and Infinite Bliss [4]

The Karma matter which plays such an important part is mainly divided into following eight kinds —

(1) Jñānāvarnīya or the knowledge obscuring karma, it suppresses the power of cognition

(2) Darsanāvarnīya or Perception obscuring karma, it obscures the power of Perception

(3) Mohanīya or Deluding karma, it undoes the right faith and right conduct of a soul

(4) Antarāya or opposed karma, it interferes with the free functioning of a soul

(5) Vedanīya or Affective karma, the result of it is the feeling of either pain or pleasure

[1] Tattvartha Sutram p 175
[2] Ibid
[3] Ibid, X 2 S B J Vol II p 194
[4] Ibid p 108

(6) Nāma or State-determining karma; it gives the soul the various factors of its objective individuality—celestial beings, man, animal body, voice, etc.

(7) Gotra or Family-determining karma; this brings the soul into a high or low family and determines its surroundings.

(8) Āyu or Age-determining karma; it determines the span of a soul's particular life.

These eight are again sub-divided into different sub-classes and there are 148 sub-classes in all.[1] The inflow of any particular sub-class will account for the state or condition of a soul at the time; even the very bones of an animal's body are determined by a karma, called Asthi-Nāma-karma. For a full description of these, reader is referred to the aforesaid Jaina metaphysical books.

Further these embodied souls migrating in this world, pass through four grades of life. These are Deva, Manuṣya, Triyañca and Naraka and are styled Gatis.[2] The Deva-gati is the condition of existence in heavens, where the embodied souls enjoy great felicity and pleasure; though they are not quite rid of pain and misery. The second is the existence in human life. The lot of human beings is both pleasure and pain, but the pain has a great proportion with them. The Triyañca-gati embraces all such other forms of life as birds, brutes, insects. plants, metals, water,[3] fire, air, etc. This gati is more full of pain and misery.

[1] Tattvārtha-Sūtram, S B. J Vol. II pp. 159 169 [2] Ibid. p. 57.

[3] The Buddhist books, viz., Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī. p 168 and Milinda-Pañha, IV, 6, 54, too, make mention of this belief of the Jainas.

The last Naraka-gati is the life in hells, where the intolerable sufferings pervail all the time. Again these are all divided into sub-classes and have birth and death for their characteristics. The meritorious and demeritorious deeds of a soul in any of the above grades do follow it automatically in the next incarnation. Thus there is no fear of loosing the 'pūnya' acquired in the present life.

However the inmates of heaven and hell enjoy the full spans of their lives, as determined by their Āyukarma.[1] The bodies of hellish beings though cut into pieces and destroyed under the influence of hell-tortures, yet they *are not totally destroyed.*[2] *They continue in the same* form until their Āyukarma is fully worked out and sheded off. Among the Triyañcas, there are two kinds of beings; viz., (1) Amanaska—without mind and (2) Samanaska —with mind.[3] These, again, into the movables and immovables. The souls embodied in the form of water, fire, air, earth and vegetable are immovable They cannot move from the objects of their fear and are only one-sensed. The movables are birds, brutes, etc.[4] *The Manusyas* are broadly divided into Āryas and Mlecchas.[5]

All the embodied beings have a certain kind of vitality, according to their grades of life. This vitality is a form of consciousness as manifested through the body of a mundane

[1] Tattvā Sūt p 78 [2] Cf Buddhist view expressed in B C Law's Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective, p 102 [3] Tatt Sū S B J Vol II p 62 मन Mana (mind) is the faculty of distinguishing right and wrong It is styled as द्रव्यमन objective mind and is in the region of the हृदय heart, like an eight petalled-flower, made of very fine mind molecules भावमन, subjective mind is the Soul's capacity to make use of the objective mind

[4] Ibid. [5] Ibid , p. 92.

soul and is of ten kinds, i e, the five senses (touch, taste, smell, sight, hearing), three powers of mind, body and speech, age and respiration [1] Thus the embodied souls are capable of accumulating the quantity of karma and of creating the intensity of passions only in accordance with their vitalities And so there are designed six kinds of thought-colours which denote the intensity of passions and the worldly natures of karmic influence on the souls, known as khata lêsyas [2] These could not be compared with the six Abhijātis, i e, division of souls according to their colours, of Makkhali-Gosāla In Jainism no colour has been accepted to have risen in a mundane soul All souls in their true nature are homogeneous and of same stuff Hence it should not be confused with the above conception of Ājīvikas

Buddha, on the other hand, has described six kinds of the existence of individuals [3] They are the inmates of heaven and hell, men and animal, and pretas and asuras The souls in the form of water, fire, wind and earth have no place in Buddhism, though life in vegetable form seems to have been accepted [4] But a detailed scientific account of any of these is not available This much we know that meritorious and demeritorious deeds done through ignorance cause the aggregation of individual in these existences to undergo pleasure or pain

As to the spheres of situation of these existences Buddha said that this universe consists of innumerable world systems

[1] Tattva Sut S B J Vol II p 64
[2] B C Law, Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective, p 92
[3] Ibid p 57
[4] Milinda Panha IV, 3 7

with their earth, sun, moon, heavens and hells.[1] Mahāvīra, too, maintained that there are innumerable world systems, with their earth, sun and moon; but the hells and heavens are the same for them all; because according to him, the universe, wrapped in with three kinds of air (vapourous, gross and thin), is divided into three regions, upper (ūrddhva), middle (madhya), and below (adha),[2] as shown in the opposite diagram The middle region possesses all these world systems, while the upper and lower regions are heavens and hells respectively. Buddha's division of Universe into three regions (avacaras), worlds (loka) or layers (dhātu), being the realms of desire (kāma), material form (rūpa) and that of absence of form (arūpa),[3] emboldens us to assume the probability of its formation under the influence of Jaina tradition. Besides the situation of hells and its description, tortures, no total-destruction of its inmates, Vaitarni, Simbali tree, etc., and styling it as Duggati and the layers of pretas and asuras are described mostly in accordance with the Jainas.[4] But, of course, that number of them differs in each system. According to Mahāvīra, they are seven and their regions are called .—

[1] B C Law, Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective, p 93

[2] Tatt · Sūt SBJ Vol II p 83 and Dravya Samgraha. SBJ Vol I

[3] B C Law, Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective, p 93

[4] Cf Buddhist tradition (Ibid. p. 92) to Jaina one (Tattvā Sūt SBJ Vol II p. 79 ff)

* Nigoda is that place, which is filled with the infinite number of the Nigoda Jivas The Nigoda Jivas, in the Jaina theory, is that form of life, which is lower and more miserable than even that of single-sensed beings Here even the sense of touch is not manifest, and the souls inhabit a part of another's body The span of their life is very short, they are said to undergo eighteen births and deaths in one śvāsa or breath These Nigoda Jivas supply souls in place of those, who have reached Nirvaṇa For a full view of them the Jaina books, e g. the Pañcastikāya Sara, etc, should be consulted

(1) Ratnaprabhā in hue like jewels and is hot.
(2) Sarkarāprabhā in hue like sugar and is hot.
(3) Vālukaprabhā in hue like sand and is hot.
(4) Paṅkaprabhā in hue like mire and is hot.
(5) Dhūmaprabhā in hue like smoke and is hot only in its 2 lacs hell layers and rest is cold.
(6) Tamahprabhā in hue like darkness and is cold.
(7) Mahātamahprabhā, in hue like pitch darkness and is cold. In all these there are in different numbers 84 lacs huge holes known as Vilās, in which hellish beings are born and live.[1]

While Buddha held them broadly-speaking to be eight, though he maintained many minor hells besides them as well. Perhaps they might have been sub-hells of the following eight, in identity with those of Mahāvīra's, as described above:—

"Sañjīva, Kālasūtra, Sanghāta, Raurava, Mahāraurava, Tapana, Pratāpana and the very deepest, Avīci." In the old system of the Northern Buddhists, there are, besides the eight hot hells, as many cold hells also.[2]

Thus we see that Buddhist and Jaina conceptions of hell have much in common and this might be due to the early belief of Buddha as a Jaina muni.

Happily the descriptions of the heavenly beings and their abodes also differ very slightly in both the systems. Mahāvīra says that there are four kinds of Devas: Bhavanvāsī (Residential), Vyantara (Peripatetic), Jyotiṣka (Stellar) and Vaimānika (Heavenly).[3] Every class has ten grades:

[1] Tattvārtha Sūtram SBJ. Vol. II pp 79 81
[2] B C Law, Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective, p 94
[3] Tattvārtha Sutram, SBJ Vol. II p 96.

Indra, Sāmānika, Tryāstrimsa (minister, priest, etc), Pārisada (Courtiers), Ātma-Rakṣaka, Lokapāla, Anika (Army), Prakīrnaka (People), Abhiyogya (that grade of celestial beings who form themselves into conveyances) and Kilbhiska (the servile grade).[1] In Buddhist Canon, too, the first kind is known as Bhummadevas,[2] second as the Pretas and Asuras of Apāyas,[3] third as the sun, moon, etc.[4] and the fourth the residents of seven abodes of gods in Kāmāvacaraloka and others.[5] The last named are the heavenly beings in true sense according to the Jainas. Their vimānas are situated just above the mount Meru in couples and are sixteen in all.[6] Above these are Graiveyaka, Anudisa, Anuttara and Sarvārtha-Siddhi heavens[7] The residents of these are males and have no sexual desires. These are called Ahamindras. Buddha's heavens of Rūpaloka had the same meaning with him.[8] The Laukāntika-devas of the Jainas, who have their abode in the Brahmaloka situated in the highest part of the fifth heaven and who have elevated their souls so high on the Right Path that they shall attain Liberation (Nirvāna) in their very next incarnation of human being,[9] seem to be quite identical with the Buddhist gods of Brahma-loka, who reach this abode after practising a great meditation.[10] But the number of the abodes of

[1] Tattvārtha Sūtram, SBJ Vol II p 97 Buddhists, too, describe a certain kind of grades in heavenly beings and they have a separate heaven of the name of Trayastrimsa (Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective, p 14ff)

[2] Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective, p 7

[3] Ibid p 2 [4] Ibid p 93 [4] Ibid p. 31

[5] Tatt Sūt SBJ Vol II p 101 [7] Ibid. p 102

[8] B C. Law, Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective, p 90 ff

[9] Tatt Sū SBJ Vol II p 104 These are of eight classes Sāraswat, Āditya, Vahni, Aruna, Gardatoya Tusita Avyabadh and Arista

[10] Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective, p 2

(1) Ratnaprabhā in hue like jewels and is hot
(2) Sarkarāprabhā in hue like sugar and is hot
(3) Vālukaprabhā in hue like sand and is hot
(4) Pankaprabhā in hue like mire and is hot
(5) Dhūmaprabhā in hue like smoke and is hot only in its 2 lacs hell layers and rest is cold
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[1] Tattvartha Sutram SBJ Vol II pp 79 81
[2] B C Law Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective I 94
[3] Tattvartha-Sutram SBJ Vol II p 96

Indra, Sāmānika, Tryāstrimsa (minister, priest, etc.), Pārisada (Courtiers), Ātma-Raksaka, Lokapāla, Anīka (Army), Prakīrnaka (People), Abhiyogya (that grade of celestial beings who form themselves into conveyances) and Kılbhıska (the servile grade).[1] In Buddhist Canon, too, the first kind is known as Bhummadevas,[2] second as the Pretas and Asuras of Apāyas,[3] third as the sun, moon, etc.[4] and the fourth the residents of seven abodes of gods in Kāmāvacaraloka and others.[5] The last named are the heavenly beings in true sense according to the Jaınas. Their vimānas are situated just above the mount Meru ın couples and are sixteen in all.[6] Above these are Graıveyaka, Anudısa, Anuttara and Sarvārtha-Sıddhi heavens.[7] The resıdents of these are males and have no sexual desires. These are called Ahamindras. Buddha's heavens of Rūpaloka had the same meaning with him.[8] The Laukāntika-devas of the Jaınas, who have their abode in the Brahmaloka sıtuated ın the highest part of the fifth heaven and who have elevated their souls so high on the Right Path that they shall attain Lıberation (Nirvāṇa) in their very next incarnation of human being,[9] seem to be quite identical with the Buddhıst gods of Brahma-loka, who reach thıs abode after practısıng a great meditatıon.[10] But the number of the abodes of

[1] Tattvārtha Sūtram, SBJ Vol. II p 97 Buddhısts, too, describe a certaın kınd of grades ın heavenly beings and they have a separate heaven of the name of Trayastrimsa (Heaven and Hell ın Buddhıst Perspective, p 14ff).

[2] Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective, p 7

[3] Ibid p. 93 [4] Ibid p. 31 [5] Ibid. p 2

[6] Tatt Sūt. SBJ Vol II p 101 [7] Ibid p 102

[8] B. C. Law, Heaven and Hell ın Buddhıst Perspective, p 90 ff.

[9] Tatt Sū. SBJ Vol II p 101 The e are eight classes Sāraswat, Āditya, Vahnı, Arunı, Gardatoya, Tusıta Avyabadh and Arıṣta

[10] Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective, p. 2.

heavenly beings in Buddhist Canon, however, is not a fixed one. We find it even seven, eight, sixteen and seventeen as well.[1] Now leaving it, as it may be, we see without any doubt that apparently a great resemblance, also, pervails between them and those of the Jainas. A full justice to them cannot be expected here for the sake of brevity. Still it is clear that the Buddhists and the Jainas both agree that individuals have birth in heavens in consequence of their meritorious deeds done previously; but the Jainas deny the fact that the heavenly beings could attain Nirvāṇa from their various abodes.[2] But the meritorious deeds even of a soul in lower grades of life will entitle it to attain heaven. We are told a frog in its deep devotion to Mahāvīra breathed its last under the feet of King Śrenika's elephant and attained Devagatī.[3] A similar parable is narrated in the Buddhist book, "Visuddhi-Magga."[4] It is also co-extensive in both the religions that heavenly beings suffer pleasure and pain according to their good or bad dispositions; but those gods, who are in a way free from attachment, do not feel any grief, though they are conscious of it.[5] Besides, both agree as to the Devas' having the power of changing their form but the Buddha seems to deny the Avadhijñāna in them.[6]

Thus the embodied souls suffer pleasure and pain again and again through delusion in the above grades of life. The adoration of Truth and Self-contemplation shall make them

[1] B C Law, Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective, p 34.
[2] Tatt. Sut; SBJ II. pp. 199 200
[3] Śrenika-Carit
[4] Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective, p. 19.
[5] Ibid p 12, and Tattvārtha Sūtram, SBJ. II p 97
[6] In Buddhism no such division of jñana is found

acquire the discriminating sight (Bheda-Vijñāna) And that once acquired, the soul will remain making its progress on the Right Path Truly the Jaina thinker says —

> "He, who has acquired discrimination between the Self and not-Self, through the teaching of the perception, by repeated meditation on the nature of things, or by direct inner Self perception, that great soul enjoys the happiness appertaining to salvation constantly "[1]

Mahāvīra has declared the three fold Path of Right Belief, Right Knowledge and Right Conduct, for the release of embodied souls from transmigration which path is styled as 'Ratna traya' (Three Jewels) Dharma in the Jaina Sastras[2] Right Belief, according to the vyavahāra naya (practical view point, for there are described two points, real and practical, of looking at things, the latter being an auxiliary cause for the real),[3] is the belief in the aforesaid Tattvas Knowledge of the aforesaid Tattvas is the true Practical Knowledge Due observance of the prescribed vows and rules is the Practical Right Conduct[4] While these abovementioned three jewels from the real view point are respectively the belief, knowledge and attainment of the true and pure nature of soul itself Real Right Conduct is nothing other than Self absorption

Practical Right Conduct is twofold (1) less rigid for householders and (2) strictly austere, the direct cause of liberation, to be pursued by ascetics and saints[5] The

[1] Divine Discourse p 24
[2] Tattvartha-Sutram SBJ II p 1
[3] Ibid p 45
[4] Ibid p 4ff
[5] Ibid p 137

householder begins with the acquisition of Right Faith and Knowledge and takes to the partial observance of five vows of Non-Injury (Ahiṁsā), Truthfulness (Satya), Non-Theft (Acourya), Chastity (Brahmacarya) and Non-Attachment (Aparigraha).[1] Then he gradually improves his observance of the vows, step by step, through what are technically known as Pratimās, till he also becomes a saint (Śramana). These Pratimās are eleven in number and mark the spiritual progress made by the soul from time to time and signify the improvement made in the next step from the preceding one.[2] These constitute various kinds of rules such as Guṇavratas (observance of making perpetual and daily vow to go to certain directions and to certain distances only[3] and avoidance of useless talk, act or thought of sinful things), Śikṣāvrata (limitation in the articles of diet and enjoyment for the day, worship at fixed times and charity), Sāmāyika (regular meditation), Prosada (fasting on the 8th and 14th days of lunar fortnight)[4] etc., etc. After completing these Pratimās the householder reaches the state of sainthood and then he begins the practice of Mahā-Vratas. He observes all the above vows in full. And we are told that for self-realisation

[1] Tatt - Sūt , p 137. These are also ascribed to Jainas in the Buddhist book, Majjhima-Nikāya, Vol. II, pp 35 36

[2] Ibid. pp. 142 143

[3] The Buddhist Canon, too, mentions this practice of Jainas, followed by a Jaina layman (savaka) at the time of Buddha. See the Aṅguttara-Nikāya, III, 70, 3.

[4] Prosada is also referred to in the above passage of Aṅguttara Nikāya and it runs thus : On the Uposatha day they exhort a Savaka thus : "Well, Sir, take off all your clothes and declare : I belong to nobody, and nobody belongs to me "—It agrees with the Jaina view on the point, and it means that he becomes quite naked. Of course the laymen are enjoined to put off all their garments, and to remain in a Pratimāyoga ; but during the period of night only. See The Sāgāra-Dharmāmrata 7. 7. p. 421.

both saints and laymen, follow their respective six essential daily duties For the saints, they are —

"Equanimity, i e, the condition of mind free from worldly love and hatred, penitence for past faults, intention not to commit faults in future, praising the Holy Person, bowing to the Holy Ones, and renunciation of bodily attachment"

And for laymen, they are described as follows —

"(1) Worship of the Holy Ones—the Conquerors of Karmas—by their name and representations and by praising their spiritual qualities The idols of Arhats represent the feature of self contemplation, thus impressing on the worshipper's mind the pure nature of the Self, (2) Service to the Preceptors and listening to their preachings, (3) Some minor vows for control of mind and senses such as —To-day I shall refrain from going to the theatre, I shall have only two meals during the day, shall not use scents, etc, etc These are small self denials to strengthen self control and to speed one on to the realisation of self absorption, (4) Reading Holy books, (5) Contemplation—i e, twice a day, morning and evening or only once, sitting in a lonely place and meditating upon the nature of Holy Ones, or one's own soul, thereby acquiring equanimity by renouncing attachment and hatred to worldly things during the time devoted to contemplation, (6) Charity—practise charity of food, medicine, knowledge and fearlessness The six daily duties induce pure thought in

saints and laymen and enable them to reach Self-absorption—a state where real Right Belief, Right Knowledge and Right Conduct are present in one interfused condition. It is the path of shedding off much karmic dirt and making the soul pure and free."[1]

The progress towards Self-absorption is technically styled as Gunasthānas[2], which are 14 in all. In the 13th stage (Gunasthāna) the saint destroys those of his four karmas—Jñānāvarṇīya, Darśaṇāvarṇīya, Mohanīya, Antrāya—which obstruct the true nature of soul and attaining Omniscience he becomes an Arahat—Sayogakevalī or Sakalparmātmā, i.e., Vibrating Perfect Soul or Living God.[3] These are of two kinds, Sāmānyakevalī and Tīrthaṅkara.[4] The Sāmānyakevalīs effect their own salvation and preach and tour in an ordinary manner, without any samosarana of 12 sabhās (preaching hall) while Tīrthaṅkaras have the samosarana and from there, teach the afflicted people the way to their deliverance from the pangs of the world and address the Tīrtha, or the assembly of the four great groups of people—the monks, the nuns, the householders and ladies[5] Nemicandrācārya says, "One who is an Arhat, has destroyed the four kinds of the Ghāti Karma. He is possessed of the four Infinites, viz., of Perception, of Knowledge, of Happiness and of Power.

[1] The principles of Jainism, pp. 12 15
[2] Tattvārtha Sūtram, SBJ, Vol II. p 194
[3] Ibid, p 197. [4] Divinity in Jainism, p 37.
[5] These householders and ladies are not to be understood as the ordinary followers of Mahāvīra, rather they are the Vratī-Srāvakas, who follow the preparatory stages of a layman, and always remain with the Order of Lord—even on his preaching tours King Śrenika and many thousand believers in Dharma were quite separate from them.

He is embodied in a glorious body He is pure "[1] He is free from the eighteen faults,—hunger, thirst, fear, envy, attachment, delusion, thought, old age, disease, death, sorrow, sweating, pride, langour, surprise, birth, sleep and grief[2] His body shines like the brilliance of a thousand suns He is free from all desires, utterly pure and absolutely spotless He is the first among the five Great Beings whom the Jainas worship daily[3]

Now when the visible Lord reaches the 14th stage He becomes Ayogakevalī—Non vibrating Perfect Soul, Perfect God 'This is attained when there is before the Sayogakevali's liberation just enough time to speak out the five letters अ इ उ ऋ ऌ In this stage—a very brief one indeed—the vibration of the holy body ceases, and the soul attaining peace and bliss becomes one with itself and leaving the body is called Siddha'[4] The Siddha never returns to world, but remains absorbed in his own essence for ever

The Siddha is an adorable God Though he has nothing to do with the world and its activities, yet he is a source of goodness and self contemplation to the aspirants The Ācārya says —

"The Siddha has no body which is constituted of the eight modes of karma He sees and knows the Loka (the Universe), and the Aloka (the Non Universe) He is really completely disembodied, but (from the practical point of view) he is supposed to have a size of his soul (slightly less than his last corporeal frame) He stays at the summit of

[1] Dravyasamgraha 50
[2] Ibid
[3] Divinity in Jainism p. 38.
[4] Tattvartha Sūtram SBJ II p. 197

Lokākāsa."[1] After getting freed from the karmas he naturally proceeds into an upward motion, in the same manner as a clay-coated gourd, being washed off, bobs to the surface.[2]

In this way Mahāvīra prescribed the scientific path for the release of embodied beings. To sum up, he declared that the soul suffers pain and misery in this world, owing to its own delusion and folly, under the influence of karmic matter, which is assimilated with it since eternity. And when it discriminates its own nature and that of not-self, real and unreal, it realises the Truth, and starts to tread on the threefold Right Path, with such perseverance that at a time all misery and pain are left behind and it becomes a perfect Master to enjoy the bliss of final Beatitude. Thus the independence of the Soul is quite evident in the system of Mahāvīra.[3]

Turning to Buddha, we find him declaring that :—

"All foolish individuals, O King, take pleasure in the senses and in the objects of sense, find delight in them, continue to cleave to them. Hence are they carried down by that flood (of human passions), they are not set free from birth, old-age and death, from grief, lamentation, pain, sorrow and despair—they are not set free, I say, from suffering. But the wise, O King, the disciple of the Noble Ones,

[1] Dravyasamgraha, 51 [2] Tattvārtha-Sūtram, SBJ. II. p 198

[3] Cf स्वस्मिन्सदभिलाषित्वादभीष्ट साधकत्वत: ।
स्वयं हितप्रयोक्तृत्वादत्र च गुरुरात्मन: ॥३४॥ दृष्टोपदेश:

i.e. "Because of its internal longing for the attainment of the highest Ideal, because of its understanding of that Ideal, and because of its engaging itself in the realisation of its Ideal, because of these the soul is its own preceptor" Divine Discourse, p 25

neither takes pleasure in those things, nor finds delight in them, nor continues cleaving to them And inasmuch as he does not, in him craving ceases, and by the cessation of craving, grasping ceases and by the cessation of grasping, becoming ceases and when becoming has ceased birth ceases and with its cessation old age, death, grief, lamentation, pain, sorrow and despair cease to exist Thus the cessation brings about the end of all that aggregation of pain Thus is it that cessation is Nirvāna "[1]

Hence Buddha's highest aim was complete passing away and for this very end he preached his norm path of renunciation[2] which constituted the eightfold path of right views, right aspirations, right speech, right conduct, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness and right rapture, that is, mental tranquillity[3] Thus this eightfold path is intended to stop the wheel of Life and is prescribed for monks and nuns only In it are included various rules and vows for the Sākyan Samanas The most important Silas too, find place in it, which are somewhat identical with the twelve sīlas of the Jainas (5 Anuvratas, 3 Gunavratas and 4 Śiksāvratas) The eight śilas (precepts) of the Buddhist ascetics are —(1) non injury, (2) non stealing (3) abstinence from impurity and unlawful sexual intercourse (4) truthfulness, (5) abstinence *from intoxicating drinks, (6) not to eat at forbid-* den time and at night, (7) refraining from dancing singing,

[1] Milinda Pañha III 4 5 SBE V I XXXV p. 106.
[2] Ibid II 1 5 p. 49 [3] B P p. 119

and using garlands, scents, ornaments, etc., (8) to sleep o mat spread on ground.[1] The first four of these quite agre with the first four Anuvratas of the Jainas, but their fifth precept is more comprehensive than the corresponding one of the Buddhists. And the rest three, also, appear as an abridged shape of the four Śikṣāvratas of the Jainas. This agreement is so striking that we cannot doubt, if the Buddha have borrowed them from the Jainas, who were already in existence at the time of the foundation of Buddhism[2]. It is supported by the narration of the formation of Buddhist precepts and the rules of Order, as given in the Mahāvagga and Cūlavagga. It is obvious from this that they were framed as necessity arose. And such rules as abiding at one place during the rainy season (vassā) and the appointment of the Uvājhyāyas and Ācāryas, etc., are clearly stated to have been adopted under the influence of the Titthiyas, which include the Niganṭhas (Jainas) too.[3] Besides it is notable that the division of ascetics into Uvājhyāyas and Ācāryas, etc., is only traceable in the Order of Niganṭhas (Jaina ascetics) and the observance of vassā rule is a distinct feature of them [4] Hence the Buddhist author here apparently had the meaning of Niganṭhas in using the word Titthiyas. Thus it is conceivable that the Buddhists

[1] Rhys Davids' Buddhism, p. 139 The first five of these are binding on the Buddhist layman too

[2] Jacobi has made it known in his Introduction to the Jaina Sūtras, that Mahāvīra and Buddha, both borrowed these precepts from the Brahmanical sources But it is an open question still, that the Brahmanical cult predates Jainism So far the documentary and all other evidences corroborate the existence of Jainism alongside of Brahmanism. (See The Jaina Svet; Conference Herald—Vol X. pp 252 253.)

[3] Mahāvagga, I. 25, 6 ff.

[4] JS. I. p. 262.

borrowed materials from the Jainas in framing the rules and precepts of their Order

It should, however, be remembered that though the above precepts of both the systems bear a resemblance, yet they are not so comprehensive in Buddhism as in Jainism and so they cannot be compared with the Mahāvratas of a Jaina muni Hardly they cope with that much field as is covered by the Anuvratas of a lay Jaina A comparative account of them will leave no doubt about it, but owing to the scarcity of space at our disposal, we confine ourselves only to compare the Ahimsā vow of the both Apparently it has the same meaning with them both, but a Buddhist Samana, even observing it, will not hesitate to take meat and fish if offered to him [1] A Jaina layman, on the contrary, will not touch them, though he observes this Ahimsā vow in a less rigid manner than a Jaina muni [2] This also bears out the credibility of the view expressed above for we know that Buddha aimed at making his "Norm" less rigid than that of the Niganthas Thus Buddha's moral code is viewed in short

The aspirant, who acquires faith in Buddha, Dhamma, and Sangha (particularly in Buddha) and shakes off his delusion of egoity, he gains inner sight and becomes an Arahat, as is apparent from the facts of first converts of Buddha [3] And having become an Arahat, he continues his pursuit of the eightfold path Rhys Davids assures us that "the victory to be gained by the destruction of ignorance (of Individuality) is, in Gotama's view, a victory which can be gained and

[1] Mahavagga VI 31 11 and 14 VI, 23 2 VI 25 2
[2] The Householder s Dharma pp 25 26
[3] BP p 122

enjoyed in this life, and in this life only. This is what is meant by the Buddhist ideal of Arahatship—the life of a man made perfect by insight, the life of a man who has travelled along the "Noble eightfold path" and broken all the "fetters" and carried out in its entirety, the Buddhist system of self-culture and self-control."[1]

Now when the aspirant has fully mastered the noble eightfold path and has elevated himself in meditation, etc., Buddha said, to him appears the light of the best of Aryan knowledge. This is the Nirvāṇa of Buddha and is attained before the bodily death of sage. It brings with it happiness of the highest order.[2] But Buddha is silent about the state after it. If ever he breaks his silence on the point it is not definite—sometime quite nihilism and on others something real; but the former holds the foremost ground,[3] as we have seen in the aforementioned quotation from an orthodox Buddhist book.

Apparently the Arahatship and the Nirvāṇa of Buddha are identical with Kshāyika-Samyaktva and Arahatship of the Jainas respectively but in an outward shape only. The Arahat of the Buddhists has not the same identity as the Arahat of the Jainas. Rather it is comparable with the Nirvāṇa of the Buddhists, which seems to coincide outwardly with the Jaina description of the Sayogakevalī, though there also lies a great difference between them. Therefore it is certain that the Arahatship is the highest aim of old

[1] Buddhism: Its History and Literature, p. 163. [2] BP. p. 61.

[3] Cf: Buddha's assertion: "He who has overcome doubt, is without pain, delights in Nibbāna, is free from greed, a leader of the world of men and gods, such a person Buddhas call, a maggajina (that is, victorious by the way)"—Sutta Nipāta, SBE. Vol. XII. p 16

most revered by a Jain aspirant, while the Buddhahood is the same for a Buddhist follower In Buddhism Arahat ship has not the same place and meaning as in Jainism.

In this manner we have attempted to get a glimpse of the respective lives and teachings of Buddha and Mahāvīra, and we find that a wide gulf of dissimilarities divides them to a great distance from each other Mahāvīra's life is a model of perfect and ideal man and his teachings are more sys tematic and rational, appealing to the heart and intellect alike Buddha's life is however, of that of a healer and reformer of mankind only and his teachings have no foremost value with his votaries [1] But a great noteworthy thing is that though Buddha aimed at bringing into his fold all the different sects and creeds and constituted his systems after taking something from, and resembling to a degree, all the prominent schools of thought of the time, and even paid no heed to its validity,[2] but still it gave not the true healing balm to the suffering humanity and a principle of adversity in diversity Yet it should not be oversighted that Buddha had a very clear perception of the misery of unemancipated life, of which he drew in words a most faithful picture

Mahavīra aimed at defining the very nature of things and a true path for the emancipation of all living beings of any grade quite in a scientific way And as such his principle of

[1] BP 1p 14 15

[2] This is the obvious reason that a great cha ge took place afterwards in Buddhism. Rhys Davids remarks that the soul theory ste by step gained again the upperhand. The caste system was gradually built up into a completely organised system The social supremacy of the Brahmans by birth became accepted as an incontrovertible fact And the inflood of popular superstition (The Dialogues of the Buddha SBB p 142)

Syādvāda was quite peculiar to him and was a very successful attempt to explain the exact reality of an object. The universe being itself a complex of innumerable elements and aspects and our knowledge being imperfect, we cannot grasp the whole of it from our limited standpoints. Hence ours are the only partial side-views and could not be relied upon. Therefore Jain thinker has propagated the seven modes of speech, viz., "from some point of view a substance is,[1] is not,[2] is and is not,[3] is unpredicable, and again[5] is and is unpredicable,[6] is not and is unpredicable,[7] is and is not and is unpredicable."[1] These seven modes of speech describe the relations between a substance and its conditions according to their various aspects.

For a full description of this important principle of Jainism a study of Āpta-mimāṁsā, Syādvādamañjarī and Saptabhaṅgitaringinī is necessary. Thus it is an omniscient teacher who attributes to the substance impartially. Hence the necessity of Syādvāda is quite obvious. But the Nyāya of Buddha contains no such thing. And owing to the lack of this very important principle, the Buddhist idea of entire impermanence could be styled only one-sided, as we have already pointed above. However here again viewing it comparatively, we find Buddhists saying that there is everything impermanent in this world ; and he exhorts :—

"Look upon the world as a bubble, look upon it as a mirage ; the king of death does not see him, who thus looks down upon the world."—(Dhammapada, xiii, 170).

Further it is said emphatically :—

"All created things perish, he who knows and sees this

[1] Tattvārtha Sūtram, SBJ. II p 16.

becomes passive in pain, this is the way to purity"—(Ibid xx, 277)

But in the system of Syādvāda no such thing could be found Mahāvīra rightly warned his disciple that —

"He should not believe that (this world) is without beginning, or without end, eternal or not eternal, according to the argumentation (of heretics)"—(JS Pt II p 405)

All such questions, He declared, must be decided with the help of the Syādvāda, "which in an admirable way removes all difficulties, e g, the world is eternal as far as that part is concerned which is the substratum of the idea (sāmānya) 'world', it is not eternal as far as its everchanging state is meant" (Ibid f n) Hence the substance is defined as "Sadḥ dravya laksanam 29 Utpāda vyaya dhrouvya-yuktam sat 30 5 Tattvārtha Sūtra" It means that the substance is that which is eternal, and the eternal is that in which are found the conditions of birth, decay and duration at every moment The Jaina Canons give a full explanations to these views and so they should be studied for a thorough elucidation Herein a full justice cannot be done to them It is enough to point out that in the teachings of Mahāvīra things are viewed and explained in all their aspects, which is quite necessary and natural in a scientific treatment of the things In the similar way the position of Self is defined In this system of Syadvāda no such teaching finds place solely from a single view point, as Buddha taught —

"Look upon the world as void, O Mogharagan, being always thoughtful having destroyed the view of oneself (as really existing), so one may overcome death, the

king of death will not see him, who thus regards the World." —(Sutta-Nipāta, Vol. X. p. 208).

Quite in reverse to this Mahāvīra taught that :—

"the Self is ever One, Eternal, Pure, and All-knowing in its essence. The rest are all outside the Self, non-eternal and brought about as results of action."—(Saint Amitgati's Samayika. 20).

Hence, "the Self encased in the body undergoes various sorts of sufferings, because of this connection ; therefore those who desire Deliverance of their Selves should avoid this corporeal contact either through mind or speech or action." —(Ibid. 28).

Thus the Self though unperishing and eternal, yet passes away on death, owing to its association with the karmas, into some other form of life and continues to suffer pain and misery until its emancipation. Now no such assertion is found in Buddhism. So rightly the Jaina saint Mallisena praised Mahāvīra :—

"अन्योन्यपक्षप्रतिपक्षभावात् यथा परे मत्सरिणः प्रवादाः ।
नया न शेषानविशेषमिच्छन् न पक्षपाती समयस्तथाते ॥"

i. e., "Showing how the same thing may be viewed equally from innumerable standpoints, your position is not partial like that of those who are rancorous of each other, because their position happens to be opposed."

Now Syādvāda, if rightly applied to life, stands firmly for religious tolerance, too, along with the intellectual impartiality. And it is not curious that after the preaching of Mahāvīra, most of the prevailing creeds disappeared. Thus we reach to the end of our treatise.

ABBREVIATIONS

LB.—Beal's Life of Buddha, S.B E , Vol XIX.
JS —Jaina Sūtras, ed by H. Jacobi, S B E , Vols XXII & XLV
CO.—C R. Jain's Confluence of Opposites
BP.—A. B Keith's Buddhist Philosophy (Oxford)
SBB —Sacred Books of the Buddhists
SBJ —Sacred Books of the Jainas
SBE —Sacred Books of the East
ERE —Hastings' Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics

CHAPTER VI

THE QUEST OF THE HISTORIC ŚĀKYA-MUNI

After nearly a century of Western scholarship the quest of the historic Śākyamuni still goes on, and controversy is vigorous. Of no historic figure are so many divergent views held and defended. Nor is Eastern thought less at variance. Buddhists themselves hold many different views about their Master. "The diamond-throne of the original enlightenment", says Okakura Kakuzo, "is now hard indeed to discover, surrounded as it is by the labyrinths of gigantic pillars and elaborate porticoes which successive architects have erected, as each added his portion to the edifice of faith."[1] That is true as well as beautiful. And it is not only because of the elaboration of Buddhism by later sects that it is hard to find the Founder: it is because those who claim to be nearest to him are themselves widely divided in their attitude towards him. Not only is there the wide gulf between the so-called "Mahāyāna" and "Hinayāna,": between Sanskrit and Pāli versions: in the Pāli Canon itself there are several stages of Buddhology which await critical evaluation; and until we have some clear evidence as to what was central in the Founder's person and mission the whole question remains in confusion. *Was* the house of Buddhism a "House of Faith"? To Mrs. Rhys Davids and to many a modern Neo-Buddhist it was a house of scientific thought; and the Buddha is revealed sitting upon a diamond-throne of dialectic. "Surely a notable milestone in the history of human ideas,"

1 The Ideals of the East, p. 60

says Mrs Rhys Davids (in commenting upon the Buddhist formula of causation 'that being *present this becomes*, that being absent this does not become,') "That a man reckoned for ages by thousands as the Light not of Asia only but of the world, and the Saviour from sin and misery, should call this little formula his Norm or Gospel, or at least one *aspect of that Gospel*' [1] This view, which clearly is only one phase of Mrs Rhys Davids' interpretation, has been lately attacked by Dr Berriedale Keith who maintains that "given the psychological conditions of the time, it would have been a miracle had the Buddha been capable of the rationalism imputed to him It was the age of the growth of the great gods Śiva and Visnu in their various forms, and Buddha's success was due to the fact that he either had claims to divinity or his followers attributed it to him, and won general acceptance for the view It is conceivable that divinity was thrust upon him against his will, but every ground of probability supports the plain evidence of the texts that he himself had claims which necessarily conferred upon him a place as high as the rank of the greatest of gods' [2] These two positions may be said to express the extremes of Western scholarship *in its attempt to discover the historic* Śākyamuni For one he is Rationalist, for the other Deity The one emphasises reason as essential to his disciples, the other faith

These views are not new but they are here more emphatically stated than has been usual and the issue is joined It is long since Kern insisted that Buddhism 'is professedly

[1] Buddhism p 89
[2] Buddhist Philosophy p 29

yāna recognizing it as the essence of Buddhism—call Śūnya the Void, the Ineffable It is the language of all Mysti from Śākyamuni to Eckhart

It is in other words as a Yogī who grasps things by intu tion that Śākyamuni claims originality , and yet if we are t accept the passage in *Majjhima Nikāya*, II 19, as early an authentic he calls himself a Vibhajjavādin, that is an Analyst rather than an Ekamsavādin or Synthetist This also ma be true For the Mystic may also have in him somethin of the rationalist , and if he is to communicate his experienc he must seek at any rate to make it intelligible to others The age was not as Dr Keith allows himself to argue "a barbarous age", it was one of mystical seers like those o the *Upanishads*, and of a vigorous dialectic like that of the sixty two schools mentioned in Buddhist texts The Indian Renaissance was at its height Some, at any rate, of these were philosophers and some were rationalists Dr Keith is the last scholar to ignore such rationalism as that of the Sāmkhya Senart's view that Śākyamuni was an early Yogī has long been before us in 1889 he said emphatically "Buddhism is not a philosophic sect it is a system of Yoga "[1] And in 1900 he worked out this view,[2] and showed that we have in the four Dhyānas of Buddhism (a central doctrine and practice common to Northern and Southern Buddhism and therefore very old) an even older Indian practice, which is of the essence of Yoga The famous Buddhist practice of Brahma Vihāra carries in its very name the proof of its origin, and Patañjali in his *Yoga Sutras* uses the very words

[1] Revue *des Deux Mondes*
[2] See Bouddhisme et Yoga *Revue d'Histoire des Religions* 1900 volume II p. 345

of the Pāli texts a proof that he looked upon these practices of Mettam-Benevolence, Karunā Compassion, Muditā Sympathy, and Upekhā Balance or Detachment, as common property, not distinctively Buddhist, but belonging to Yoga as such

The four stages, again, by which the Buddha analyses the disease of the world, and lays down the essential treatment known as the "Four Noble Truths" of Buddhism, are the old stages of medical diagnosis which we find coming up again in the *Yoga Sūtras*, and as the technique of meditation leading to ecstasy is the same, so are the powers of Iddhi to which they lead, remembrances of past lives, power to pass through space, and so on

Much might be said on this subject, but here it may suffice to note that in the great works of art of the Andhra and Gupta periods exemplified in the solitary Buddha in the jungles of Anurādhapura and in the even more deserted Dear Park at Sārnāth, the artists have left to us the clear proof that they thought of him as a Yogī, seated with eyes closed, regulating his breath, with head and trunk in one line and with hands folded in meditation Here in fact is Samādhi, which is the crown and goal of the Eight fold Noble Path This Path, though it begins with right views, is in fact a Path for the Mystic, and ends in right ecstasy It is in fact a rational Mysticism

And as these old masterpieces of Buddhist art may be looked upon as strong rocks amidst the shifting sands of the Texts and the surging waves of the Schools, so when we look at the modern practice of the Buddhist Monk, whether in Ceylon with its strange meditation upon skeletons, or in

no rationalistic system but a super human law founded upon the decree of an omniscient and infallible Master "[1] And recently L de la Vallee Poussin has argued that 'Buddhism, which does appeal to reason and which will later reason freely, places intuition, Jñāna, above all It is in ecstasy that one sees things truly '[2] "Buddhism," says Dr Sten Konow, 'is essentially a Jñāna mārga "

The confusion of thought in which Western scholarship finds itself may be partly explained by the misinterpretation of Jñāna, and partly by the statement of Hermann Oldenberg who said nearly fifty years ago 'The Indian mind was wanting in that simplicity which can believe without knowing, as well as in that bold clearness which seeks to know without believing, and therefore the Indian had to frame a doctrine a religion and a philosophy combined and therefore perhaps if it must be said, neither the one nor the other Buddhism '[3]

Buddhism is, in fact, a Middle Path in this as in every thing else Not only is it a Middle Path between the way of the world and the way of the ascetic it is also a Middle Path between the way of the rationalist and the way of the man of faith, and in placing the emphasis most truly we shall probably do well to follow the clue given us by Senart—a view held by Sankara and familiar to Indian thought—that Śākyamuni was essentially a Yogi an early Mystic who because he himself had realised the ineffable experience of the conquest of Tanhā, spoke with authority to the conscience and heart of man and because he was also a thinker seeking to explain this great experience and an ethical teacher

[1] Indian Buddhism p 50
[2] Nirvāṇa p 15
[3] Buddha F T p 6.

seeking to reform men, explained it as the cessation of Tanha, and went on to the further interpretation that it means also Bhava Nirodha, or escape from Samsāra Himself more interested in the experience of Nirvāna than in the explanation, he was yet an Indian teacher seeking to lead others to *Moksa* If they were to share his great experience he had necessarily to use the categories of Indian thought, and to set forth Nirvāna as freedom from Samsāra What is central there is Jñāna, intuition, mystical experience of Truth and Sākyamuni is the great Yogī

Many Western writers have trembled on the verge of this interpretation Most of them have fallen back upon the conclusion that here was an early Socrates, or an early Hume There is truth in these positions, what makes them false is that inveterate tendency of the "either or" With one recent Indian statement, that of Dr B Barua, that Buddha was essentially a philosopher, some may be found to agree, but Dr Barua[1] himself goes on to quote that very vital passage in which the Teacher says "There are things profound, hard to realise, hard to understand, yet tranquilising, sweet, not to be grasped by logical reason, subtle, intelligible only by the wise It is for these things that the Buddha must be rightly praised "Here then is a key passage it is not for his morality or moral teaching, not for his use of logical reason, not for his philosophical achievements that the Founder is to be praised, it is for that apprehension of mystical truth which is the Buddhist equivalent of the Neti, neti of the *Upanishads*, an expression "from which words turn back"—and which later Buddhists of the Mahī

[1] Prolegomena to A History of Buddhist Philosophy, quoting *Dialogues of the Buddha* II 37 36

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[2] See Boudhisme et Yoga *Revue d'Histoire des Religions* 1900 volume II p. 345.

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some Zen temple in Japan, or in the Chan meditation school of China and Korea, we find that the living heart of Buddhism, amidst much that is dead and corrupt, is this practice It is this and this alone which keeps alive the old faith which, because it is essentially Yoga, is able to attach to itself almost any outward observance Yoga is in fact, as Poussin has said, a technique "in itself strange to all morals as to all religions and philosophic theory, but from this technique there can be separated out, and to it there can be added, morals, theology and devotion "[1]

At the core then of early Buddhism was the Solitary, the great Seer, the Yogī Śākyamuni surrounded by a small group of others who had caught his spirit, and entered into some of these difficult practices At the circumference were all sorts of lay people, to whom he could not communicate even an idea of such things For them he had a different teaching, a different technique and to them he offered a different goal "Whatsoever householder desires to be reborn in a heaven let him attach himself to me with faith and devotion," says the *Majjhima Nikāya*, "but whatsoever monk would realise Nirvāna let him tread the noble Eight fold Path ', for the way of the Mystic is a difficult and elusive way, open only to those who have the original spiritual genius to tread it, and who are prepared to give their whole time and attention to its pursuit The layman *may* attain Nirvāna it is very unlikely that he will ever attempt it That his interpretation of this profound experience of Nirvāna is what it is, is due to the fact that Śākyamuni was an Indian of the Sixth Century before Christ, and

[1] Nirvāṇa 1 1'

could only explain it in terms of current thought, that he was a great original thinker is evidenced by the fact that he had the courage to interpret it ethically rather than metaphysically, and to urge upon men that what mattered was the moral emancipation rather than the monistic interpretation And even to the laity like Sigālo, whom we find worshipping the gods of the four quarters, he insists that the true worship of the gods is righteous living, to honour Mother and Father; to treat one's household aright, this is to pay respect to the gods To the specialist to meditate upon the great virtues or graces of Kindness, Compassion and Sympathy, this is the true Mysticism, and it will lead on to that Upekhā, or Yoga, which is Balance, Harmony and Poise The world is out of joint because men are following false views, and obsessed with false pursuits This is the meaning of Dukkham, and over against it Śākyamuni holds out the alluring vision of that Yoga—Calm, Sānti, Peace, which he has himself experienced This and this alone is Sukkham—Joy, Harmony From the ordinary Yogī this great one differed in that his experience was profound and ethical—and that he established the practice on a rational basis From the seers of the *Upanishads* he differed in bringing into daily life some of the glamour of the Ineffable and in insisting more strongly that the way of salvation is a Way of Purity

CHAPTER VII

SOME ANCIENT INDIAN KINGS

An attempt has been made here to give a brief but interesting account of the life and career of some kings of Ancient India The materials gleaned from Pāli books throw a flood of new light on the social, religious and political aspects of the period in which these kings lived and worked

BIMBISĀRA

Bimbisara,[1] according to the Sumangalavilāsinī, a commentary on the Digha Nikaya, was so named because his appearance was like that of gold (bimbi golden) He was also called Seniya because he had a large army (Mahatiya Senāya Samannāgatā) The Mahāvamsa[2] states that Bimbisāra was anointed king by his own father when he was only 15 years old A mention is made of Bhatiya as the name of the father (Dīpavamsa, 3,52) who was defeated by Brahmadatta, king of Anga But this defeat was, later on, avenged by Bimbisara The Mahāvagga (S B E, XVII, p 1) offers a reasonable evidence to prove that the kingdom of Anga came under Bimbisāra's sway The Sonadanda Suttanta of the Digha Nikāya while mentioning the bestowal of Campā, the capital of Anga, as a royal fief on the Brāhmana Sonadanda, indubitably proves that Anga was annexed by Bimbisāra The annexation of Anga was indeed a turning point in the history of Magadha It marked "the first step taken by the kingdom of Magadha in

[1] The Tibetan Dulva says that Bimbisari was so called because he was the son of Bimbi Queen of King Mahapadma of Rajagrha (Lockhill Life of the Buddha p 16)
[2] Geiger's Translation p 19

its advance to greatness and the position of supremacy which it attained in the following century, so that Bimbisāra may be regarded as the real founder of Magadhan imperial power "[1]

The Mahāvaggā of the Vinaya Pitaka (II p 1) tells us that Bimbisāra was the lord of 80,000 townships, the overseers of which used to meet in an assembly held by the king Bimbisāra strengthened his position by matrimonial alliances with the two neighbouring States, *viz*, Videha and Vaisālī He took one consort from the royal family of Kosala and another from the influential Licchavi clan at Vaiśalī[2] A third queen of Bimbisāra as mentioned in the Therīgāthā commentary (p 131), was Khemā, daughter of the king of Madda in the Punjab *The Mahāvagga says that Bimbisāra had 500* wives (VIII 1 15) The Jātakas[3] tell us that Bimbisāra married Mahākośala's daughter, Kośaladevī who was given by her father a village of Kāsī yielding a revenue of a hundred thousand for perfumeries used in baths Thus it is reasonable to hold that these diplomatic marriage relations were of great political importance for the history of Magadha They paved the way for the expansion of Magadha and enabled Bimbisāra to add a part of Kāsī to his dominions

Seniya Bimbisāra was a righteous man and righteous king (Dhammika dhammarajā, Dīgha Nikaya, I, p 86) He was benign to priests and laymen, to town folk and country folk alike (Ibid, II p 202) He had the rare power of understanding the character of men by their voice Once the king

[1] V A Smith Early History of India 4th Ed p 33

[2] For a detailed critical account of Bimbisara's marriage with a Licchavi girl and the parentage of the mother of Ajatasatru see my *Some Kshatriya Tribes of Ancient India* Ch I § VI pp 106 107 & Ch III p 136

[3] Nos 239 283 & 492

heard the voice of an ill clad man named Kumbhaghosaka who earned his livelihood by working for hire and remarked that he must be a rich man But the royal servants ascertained from the man that he was poor Whenever the king saw the man, he remarked that the man was wealthy but the royal servants learnt from the man himself that he was poor One day a maid servant told the king that she would find out the mystery Accordingly with her daughter she went to Kumbhaghosaka's house and by employing tricks she succeeded in causing Kumbhaghosaka to part with a few pieces of the buried treasure which ultimately came to the hand of the king Bimbisāra summoned Kumbhaghosaka and caused him to tell the king that he had 40 crores of wealth which his father had kept buried underground The king then had this buried treasure brought to his royal court by carts and bestowed high honour upon Kumbhaghosaka The king appointed him to the post of treasurer and gave his daughter in marriage to Kumbhaghosaka (Dhammapada Commentary, Vol I, p 232 foll)

GAUTAMA BUDDHA AND BIMBISĀRA

The account of Bimbisāra's conversion, as given in the commentary on the Tirokudda Suttam in the Khuddakapātha, reveals the fact that Buddhism conveys the idea of salvation from preta life by the giving of offerings to bhikkhus This Buddhist idea brought about a change which was injurious to the brahmins inasmuch as people began to make offerings to the bhikkhus and the brahmins could no longer get their dues which they used to enjoy until Hinduism was partly

overshadowed by Buddhism [1] We read in the Paramatthajotikā on the Khuddakapātha that certain pretas finding their confrères to attain salvation from the spirit life due to the offering of gifts to bhikkhus by their relatives, appeared before Kassapa Buddha and enquired when they would be relieved of the preta life Kassapa Buddha prophesied that they would be released of the preta life on the offering of gift for their sake to the bhikkhus by one of their relatives who would be reigning in the time of Gautama Buddha as a king named Bimbisāra These pretas awaited the advent of Gautama Buddha In course of time Gautama Buddha came of the noble Śākya family In his youth, he renounced the world and turning from door to door he gradually came to Rājagṛha and one day on his begging round in the city he was seen by certain royal officers who informed the king of the arrival of an ascetic of charming deportment The king sent for the ascetic who declined to come to the king Thereupon the king himself came to the ascetic, was pleased to see his deportment and having learnt that he was a prince of the noble Śākya family and son of Śuddhodana his father's friend, he tried to induce him to give up the ascetic life and to accept half of his kingdom Gautama refused the offer and told the king that he had renounced all for the sake of attaining Supreme Enlightenment The king then had the promise from Gautama that the latter would see the king just after his attainment of bodhi A few years after Gautama attained Sambodhi and about six months after his attainment of

[1] The Petavatthu and its commentary also furnish us with an account of the spread of Buddhism and its influence over Brahmanism in the time of the Buddha Brahmins began to give offerings to the bhikkhus for the sake of their dead relatives in the expectation of enabling them to obtain freedom from the spirit life

Buddhahood he entered Rājagrha The king being informed of the arrival of Gautama Buddha left the palace with 1,20,00 Brahman householders to receive the Buddha The Buddha delivered a sermon King Bimbisāra and the Brahmin listened to the Buddha's teachings and then and there they attained the first stage of sanctification The king invited the Buddha to take food in the palace the following day and came back to the palace and made every arrangement for delicious food and drink The next morning the king informed the Buddha that everything was ready for him The Buddha and his disciples came to the palace and were offered delicious food and drink by the king himself Meanwhile the pretas in accordance with the prophecy of Kassapa Buddha, came to the spot (where the Buddha with his disciples was being fed) in the expectation that the offerings by the king would be given for their sake, but the king in his anxiety to select a suitable place for the Buddha and his disciples forgot to mention "Idam vo ñātinam hotu, sukhitā hontu ñātayo" (Let the merit of this offering be beneficial to my deceased relatives and let them be happy) The pretas were disappointed and made a troublesome sound round the palace at night The king was frightened and the following morning he came to the Buddha who told him that he should not be afraid and that the sound was caused by his deceased relatives who were disappointed for not having received the merit of the royal offerings which, they were told by Kassapa Buddha, would relieve them of their preta life The Buddha advised the king to make another offering for their deceased relatives The king did so The pretas were relieved of their preta life and received heavenly enjoyments Thereafter the king selected

Veluvana pleasure garden as the most suitable residence for the Buddha and the bhikkhus He offered the Veluvana to the Buddha who accepted it (Commentary on the Tirokuḍḍa Suttam of the Khuddakapātha) Bimbisāra had a deep regard for the Buddha who was five years older than the king[1] Along with his children, wives, people and courtiers, he put his faith in the Samana Gautama ("Samanam khalu bho Gotamam rājā Māgadho Seniyo Bimbisāro saputto sabhariyo saparisso sāmaccopānehi saranam gato"[2]) He became a stern adherent of the Buddhist faith and staunch follower of the Buddha Once the Buddha while staying at Rājagaha intended to visit Vaiśālī The king caused the ground from Rājagaha to the Ganges, a distance of five leagues, to be made smooth and a rest house to be constructed at the end of each league He caused flowers of the five colours to be spread knee deep, and flags and banners and standards to be set up, he caused two white parasols, a lower and a higher to be held over the head of the Exalted One, likewise he caused a white parasol to be held over the head of each monk Along with his retinue he honoured the Teacher with flowers and perfumes and lodged him for one night in each rest house, giving rich offerings to him In five days he conducted the Blessed One to the bank of the Ganges and got the Buddha boarded on a boat well adorned (Dhammapada Commentary, Vol III, p 439)

Bimbisāra had many sons of whom we get the names of five in literature, namely, Kuṇika Ajātasattu, Abhaya,[3]

[1] Dipavamsa III ver e 59 [2] Digha Nikaya I p 116

[3] For an account of the birth of Abhaya, son of Bimbisara by a Licchavi woman vide my work 'Some Kshatriya Tribes of Ancient India' Ch I § VI pp 108 110 The son of Bimbisara by Ambapali a courtesan of Vaisali is called Vimala Kondanna in Pali literature and not Abhaya

Vimala Kondañña,[1] Vehalla and Sīlavat,[2] but he was not at all happy in his old age. He passed his last days in deep misery. He was so very unlucky that he had to lose his l at the hand of his son Ajatasattu *begotten on the Kosal* princess. He had, we are assured by some of the Buddhist writers, a *premonition that his end would be brought about* by his own son, but out of affection he could not take any step to avert this evil. Buddhaghosa in his commentary on the Digha Nikāya has conjured up a myth to explain the *conduct of the parricidal prince. He avers that Ajātasattu was even before his birth an enemy of his father, King Bimbisāra. The circumstances that preceded Ajatasattu's* birth and augured the impending evil, were appalling. When the would be parricide was in his mother's womb, the queen, it is said, felt a craving for sipping blood from the right arm of the king. She, however, dared not speak out her inhuman desire. Worried by this, she looked pale and emaciated. The king asked her the cause of her getting weak. At last she spoke out and the king then sent for his surgeon who drew blood out of his right arm for the queen. The blood was diluted with water and the queen was asked to drink up the horrible potion. The soothsayers however, warned that the child would be an enemy to the king and would kill him in consequence of the queen's drinking the king's blood. The queen horrified at the prospect tried to effect miscarriage but she was prevented by the king who urged that such a sinful act would be abhorred by the people of Jambudipa, in fact voluntary abortion was against all

[1] Psalms of the Sisters, p. 129. [2] Psalms of the Brethren, p. 65.
[2] Psalms of the Brethren, 209.

national tradition of India The queen again, it is said, thought of destroying the child at the time of delivery The attendants took away the child as soon as it was born When the child had grown up, he was presented before the queen whose maternal affection towards the lad got the upperhand and she could no longer think of killing the lad In due course the king made him his vicere gent Not long days passed when the prophecy of the sooth sayers was fulfilled Ajātasatru deposed his father and kept him confined in a room which was very hot and full of smoke and none else was allowed to enter into that room except Ajātasatru's mother who used to take some food for the unfortunate king but she was afterwards prevented from doing so In spite of this she used to bring food for Bimbisāra concealing it in several parts of her body but she was found out and was ordered not to enter the room with any kind of food Thenceforth she used to enter the king's apart ment with her body besmeared with a mixture of honey, butter, ghee, and oil Bimbisara got some sustenance by licking her body Thus too was detected by the ever vigilant Ajātasatru and she was forbidden to enter the room and asked to see the king from outside The queen now reminded Bimbisāra that it was she who had requested him to kill Ajatasatru while in the womb She further told him that it was the last occasion on which she would be permitted to meet him and she begged his pardon and took leave Bimbisāra was now prevented from taking any food but he was still alive and the commentator informs us that the inhuman practices of Ajātasatru increased in their barbarity Bimbisara, it is said, was meditating on the fruition of the path and was walking

up and down and his appearance became very bright Ajātaśatru was informed of this and he ordered that his walking up and down must be stopped and ordered his barber to go and cut the feet of his father and put salt and oil thereupon and then to heat them on the fire of Khadira charcoal The barber went to Bimbisāra who thought that his son had realised his folly and had become kind to him The barber when asked by the king about his mission, intimated to him the order of king Ajītasatru The barber carried out, we are told, the ghastly operations required by the royal order Bimbisāra breathed his last with the words, "Buddha Dhamma and Samgha" (Sumangalavilāsinī pt I pp 134 137) The Vinaya Pitaka gives a short account of an attempt made by Ajātaśatru to kill his father with a dagger Persuaded by Devadatta, the recalcitrant brother of the Buddha, Ajātasatru entered with violence at an unusual hour the king's chamber with a dagger fastened on his thigh to kill his father, but the ministers who were in attendance in the private chamber saw that and seized him On searching his person they found a dagger and asked him the reason of his running apace with a dagger to the royal chamber The prince told the ministers that he was going to kill his father The matter was brought to the notice of the king who asked his son the reason of his being ready to take away the life of his father The prince said that he had coveted the throne The king then handed over the kingdom to prince Ajatasatru (Vinaya Texts III, pp 241 243) The concluding portion of the Sāmaññaphala Suttanta says that Ajātaśatru deprived his father of his life (pitaram jivitā voropesi, D N , I, p 85) The details may or may not be true but the fact that Bimbisāra was put to death

—y —y...aśatru is an historical truth, the tradition is so very strong and persistent with regard to this matter According to the Ceylonese chroniclers, this event took place eight years before the death of Buddha, at the time when Bimbisara had been on the throne for fifty-two years (Dipavamsa, III, 56 60 , Mahāvamsa, II, 29, 30)

AJĀTAŚATRU

Ajātaśatru according to the Sumangalavilāsinī, the Commentary on the Dīgha Nikāya, was an enemy to King Bimbisāra while yet in his mother's womb (Ajātaśatru literally means an enemy unborn) Ajātaśatru while in the womb desired to suck the blood of the right arm of King Bimbisāra From this fact it was inferred that he was so called because he was an enemy of the king before his birth (Ajātaśatru) While Ajātasatru was a prince, Devadatta intended to win over the prince to his side and to lower the Blessed One in the estimation of the people With this end in view he "folded up his sleeping mat, and set out, fully bowled and robed, for Rājagaha , and in due course he arrived at Rājagaha Then he laid aside his own form, and took upon himself the form of a child clad in a girdle of snakes, and appeared on the lap of prince Ajāta satru " The prince got frightened and was alarmed Then the figure spoke out that it was Devadatta The prince asked Devadatta to appear in his own form Devadatta laid aside the form of the child, appeared there before the prince with his inner and outer robes on, and with his bowl in his hand The miracle pleased the prince so much that he became a devout follower of Devadatta One day Devadatta said to prince

Ajātaśatru, "In former days, prince, people were long live but now the span of their life is short It is quite possibl therefore, that you may die while a prince So kill your fathe and become the Rājā" (Vinaya Texts III p 241, cf Dham mapada Commy I, pp 139 140) Ajātasatru succeeded i occupying the throne after killing his father The firs thing that Ajātasatru did just after ascending the throne wa to fulfil his desire while a prince to take the great palace o the treasurer Jotika which he saw with his father King Bimbisāra from the lowest to the topmost storey The palace was entirely made of seven precious minerals which illumined it so much that there was hardly any use of the light of a lamp or the light of fire The unique beauty of the palace pleased the prince so much that he thought lightly of his father for dwelling in a house of wood and resolved then and there to be a possessor of this jewelled palace in the near future (Dhammapada Commy , Vol IV, p 217 foll) To achieve his object Ajātasatru marched with his retinue The jewelled walls of Jotika's palace reflected Ajātaśatru and his retinue But Ajātasatru misunderstood the reflection and took it to be a reality thinking that the treasurer was also ready with his men to fight with him He did not therefore venture to approach the palace He was seen and disbanded by the guard of Jotika's palace Ajātasatru fled and took refuge in a monastery in which he found to his utter surprise Jotika listening to the Buddha and asked him how it was that after giving orders to his men to fight with him (Ajātasatru) he had come to the monastery The treasurer enquired whether the king had set out to take his house The king replied in the affirmative The treasurer

told him that a thousand kings could not take his house against his will The treasurer tested the king's weakness in taking off the rings on his fingers He then took off the rings himself and gave them to the king Afterwards Jotika intended to retire from the world and asked the royal permission to become a monk The king permitted him to become a monk with the thought that it would be an easy matter for himself to get possession of his palace —(Dhammapada Commy , Vol IV, pp 221 223)

On the day Bimbisāra died, a son was born to Ajataśatru Two reports conveying the news of the death of his father and the birth of his child were received by his ministers at the same time The ministers first of all handed over the letter conveying the news of the birth of his child to King Ajātaśatru On receipt of the letter the king's mind was filled with filial affection and at that moment all the virtues of his father rose up before his mind's eye and he realised that similar filial affection had filled his father's mind when his father received the news of his own birth Ajātaśatru at once ordered the release of his father but it was too late The ministers handed over the other letter and on hearing of his father's death, he cried and went to his mother and asked her whether his father had any affection for him The mother replied, 'When a boil appeared on your finger, you were crying and none could pacify you and you were taken to your father when he was administering justice at the royal court Your father out of affection put your finger with the boil into his mouth and the boil was burst open Out of filial affection he swallowed up the blood and pus instead of throwing them away" Ajāta śatru heard this and wept hot tears The dead body of his

father was burnt Shortly afterwards Devadatta went to Ajātaśatru and urged him to order his men to go and kill the Buddha also Devadatta sent Ajātaśatru's men to kill the Buddha and himself took several steps to bring about his death He himself went to the top of the Gijjhakuta mountain and hurled at the Buddha a big stone, then he set the mad elephant Nālagiri against the Buddha but all his attempts were baffled All his gain and fame were lost and he became very miserable (Sumangalavilāsinī, pt I pp 138-139) After Ajātaśatru murdered his father, Kosaladevī died of grief On her death Ajātaśatru continued to enjoy the revenues of the Kāśī village But Pasenadi, king of Kośala, determined that no parricide should enjoy a village which was his by right of inheritance and made war upon Ajātaśatru The result was that sometimes the king of Kośala won, and sometimes the king of Magadha Once the Kośalan monarch was defeated and had to save his life by fleeing away from the field of battle At last as the result of another combat he succeeded in taking Ajātasatru prisoner and gave his daughter Vajirā in marriage to his captive nephew The Kāśī village was given to Vajirā Thus Kāśī once again came under the sway of Ajātaśatru, and the two kingdoms, Magadha and Kosala, were once more closely united by matrimonial alliance (Samyutta Nikaya, I 82 85) [1] Afterwards Ajātaśatru felt that the Licchavis had formed the greatest bar to the realisation of his idea of Magadhan expansion and we find him taking the dreadful resolve, 'I will root out these Vajjians, I will bring out these Vajjians to utter ruin" (Buddhist

1 Cf Vaḍḍhakisukara Kumma Saṃuja Taccha Sukara and the Bhaddasala Jātakas

Suttas, S B E, Vol XI, pp I & 2) (Ajātasatru was not on friendly terms with the Licchavis) He was under the impression that his foster brother, Abhaya son of Bimbisāra by Ambapālī (a courtesan of Vaiśālī) had Licchavi blood in him and he liked the Licchavis very much At this time, the Licchavis were gaining strength day by day, and Ajāta śatru thought that if Abhaya sided with them it would be very difficult for him to cope with the Licchavis So he made up his mind to do away with them (In the Sumangalavi lāsinī, we read that there was a port near the Ganges extending over a yojana, half of which belonged to Ajātasatru and the other half to the Licchavis, and their orders were obeyed in their respective yojanas) There was a mountain not far from it, and at the foot of the mountain, there was a mine of precious substance (*mahogghabhanda*) Ajātaśatru was late in coming there and the avaricious Licchavis took away the precious substance When Ajātaśatru came and learnt that all the precious substance had been taken away by the Licchavis, he grew angry and left the palace This happened also in the succeeding year Having sustained a heavy loss he thought that there must be a fight between him and the Licchavis (He realised, however, that the Licchavis being numerically stronger, he would fail to carry out his purpose So he conceived the design of destroying the independence of the Licchavis by sowing seeds of dissension Formerly the Licchavis were not luxurious but very strenuous and exerting so Ajātaśatru could not get an opportunity of subdu ing them He sent Vassakāra, one of his ministers, to the Buddha, who predicted that in future the Licchavis would be delicate, having soft hands and feet, would use very

luxurious and soft beds with soft pillows made of cotton, would sleep till sunrise[1] and further declared, 'By no other means will the Vajjians be overcome but by propitiating them with tributes or dissolving the subsisting union" Vassakara returned from the Buddha and stated to the king what the latter had said about the Licchavis The rājā did not agree to propitiate the Vajjians with tributes as that would diminish the number of elephants and horses So he decided to break up their union and Vassakāra advised him to drive him (Vassakara) from the kingdom so that he might tell the Vajjians *that in defending the cause of the Vajjians he had* been driven off by Ajātasatru A meeting was convened and Vassakāra interdicted royal discussion The king drove him off He came to the Licchavis who appointed him to the post of Judicial prime minister Very soon he acquired a reputation for his able administration of justice and in no time by employing various tricks he succeeded in bringing about a complete disunion among the Licchavis so much so that none of them turned up when the tocsin was sounded Vassakara informed Ajatasatru of the disunion of the Licchavis and asked him to attack the Licchavis at once Ajātasatru marched with his army The Licchavis disregarded the call of tocsin and offered no resistance to the king Ajatasatru entered Vaisāli by the wide open gates and went back after putting the Licchavis to great calamities He seems to have succeeded in causing the Licchavis to accept his suzerainty and to pay him revenue leaving the internal management to themselves In the Uvasagadasao, Ajatasatru is said to have made use of two deadly weapons the Mahasilakantaga

1 Samyutta Nikaya (P T S) pt II p 268

of the moon lit night He declared that the moon lit night was really very pleasing He thought of approaching a Samana or a Brāhmana who could bring solace to his perturbed mind (cf Sumangalavilasini I, 141 142) He asked his ministers to name a recluse or a brahmana who would be able to pacify his disturbed mind His ministers mentioned one after another with eulogistic remarks the names of Pūrana Kassapa Makkhali Gosala Ajitakesa kambali Pakudhakaccāyana Sañjaya Belatthiputta and Nigantha Nathaputta But Ajatasatru said nothing to his ministers He asked Jivaka the physician who took his seat not far from the king the cause of his silence Then Jivaka spoke out in praise of the Buddha Ajatasatru was greatly moved to hear of the virtues of the Buddha In royal pomp he came to the Mango grove and enquired of the Buddha about the effect of leading the life of a recluse The Buddha gave a long discourse on the subject Ajatasatru was sorely penitent to hear it so much so that he confessed his parricidal sin Then on the assurance of the Blessed One that he (Ajatasatru) would attain self restraint in future for his having looked upon his fault as fault and rightfully confessed his guilt Ajatasatru left the mango grove (See also Sumangalavilasini pp 198 foll) The Blessed One passed away as Buddhaghosa informs us in his commentary on the Vinayapitaka in the eighth year of Ajatasatru's reign, (*Samantapasadika I p 72*) After the Buddha's parinirvana in the forest of the Mallas between the twin sala trees his relics were distributed as we learn from the Maha parinibbana *Suttanta* Ajatasatru sent a messenger to the Mallas saying The Exalted One was a Ksatriya and so am I

I am worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Exalted One Over the remains of the Exalted One will I put up a sacred cairn and in their honour will I celebrate a feast" (D N. II p 164, cf Paramatthadīpanī on the Petavatthu, pp 212 215) Ajātaśatru received a share and made a cairn over the remains of the Exalted One and celebrated a feast (Dīgha Nikāya, II, p 166) Ajātaśatru built Dhātu caityas all round Rājagaha, his capital city (Mahāvamsa, p 247). At his own cost he repaired eighteen Mahāvihāras at Rājagaha, deserted by the bhikkhus after the parinirvāna of the Buddha (Samantapāsādikā, I, 9 10) He erected a pandal at the entrance of the Sattapanni cave near the Vebhāra mountain for the bhikkhus taking part in the First Buddhist Council He supplied the bhikkhus with requisites (Samantapāsādikā, Vol I, p 10) Like his father Bimbisāra, Ajātaśatru too had a firm faith in the Buddhist doctrine Once some thieves employed by some naked ascetics struck the Elder Moggallāna to death Ajātaśatru who was a stern adherent of the Buddhist faith had the murderers captured by his spies, placed them waist deep in pits which he had dug in the palace court, caused their bodies to be covered over with bundles of straw, and then caused the bundles of straw to be lighted When he knew that they had been burnt to a crisp, he caused their bodies to be 'plowed with iron plows and thus caused them all to be ground to bits" (Dhammapada commy, Vol III p 67) The punishment inflicted on the criminals, while showing as it does Ajātaśatru's respect towards the Buddhist Elders gives us a picture of the administration of criminal justice by Ajātaśatru The principle of "Life for life and limb for limb" was adopted by

Ajātasatru in a way which was more inhuman than hang Ajātasatru, as we learn from the Samantapāsādikā, a commentary on the Vinaya Pitaka reigned for twenty four years (Vol I, pp 72 73) He had to share the same miserable fate with his father As he put his father to death so was his life taken away by his own son Udāyi Bhadda (Mahāvamsa ch IV)

The Dīgha Nikāya indubitably asserts that Udāyi Bhadda was the son of Ajātaśatru and probably also his successor (Vol I, p 50) The Ceylonese chronicles[1] inform us that Udāyi Bhadda succeeded his father on the throne This is confirmed by the Samantapāsādikā (p 73), and the Sumangalavilāsini (I 153 154) In the face of so much clear evidence, it is reasonable to hold that Udāyi Bhadda was the son and successor of Ajātasatru He reigned for sixteen years (Samantapāsādikā, pp 72 73, Mahavamsa Ch IV) That he was very wicked is apparent from the fact that his father Ajātasatru wished that his son Udayi should be quiet and restrained like the Bhikkhusamgha (Digha N, Vol I, p 50) He was killed by his son Anuruddha who too had to share the same miserable fate at the hand of his own son Munda Anuruddha and Munda reigned for 18 years Munda's son Nāga Dāsaka slew his father and reigned for 24 years He was banished by the citizens who anointed the minister known as Susunāga king Susunāga reigned for 18 years His son Kalāsoka reigned for 28 years (See Mahāvamsa Ch IV, Samantapasadika I 73)

1 Dipavathsa V 97 Mahavathsa IV I

ASOKA

Aśoka was the grandson of Chandragupta He was the foremost of his hundred and one brothers in virtue and power [1] He reigned without coronation for four years [2] He was at first called Candāsoka on account of his evil deeds, later on he became known as Dhammāsoka on account of his meritorious deeds Like his father he used to give alms to sixty thousand brahmins, but soon he became disgusted with them on account of their disorderly conduct He fed religious mendicants of different sects to test their conduct [3] A oka fell in love with a girl named Devī, daughter of a setthi of Vedisā He had, by her, a son named Mahindra and a daughter named Sanghamittā [4] Both the son and the daughter obtained ordination after hearing the dhamma practised by Nigrodha [5] Aśoka received a very great shock when he lost his devoted wife Asandhimittā in the twelfth year of his reign Four years after her death he married a girl named Tisyarakṣī [6]

Aśoka obtained some miraculous power, e g, his power was extended to one yojana under the earth and to one yojana in the sky Gods used to bring sixteen pots of water for him from the Anotatta lake, out of these, he used to distribute eight pots among the bhikkhus, two pots amongst the bhikkhus versed in Tipitaka and two pots to the chief queen Asandhimittā, and four pots he kept for his own use Gods used to bring for him celestial drink [7] Aśoka followed the

[1] Mahavamsa ch V
[2] Samantapasadika Vol I p 41
[3] Mahavamsa ch V
[4] Ibid Ch XIII
[5] Ibid, Ch V
[6] Ibid Ch XV
[7] Samantapasadika Vol I p 49

doctrine of the heretics for three years and in the fourth year of his reign, he was established in the Buddhasāsana His father Bindusāra was devoted to the brahmins [1] Arittha was sent to Asoka by Devānampiyatissa, king of Ceylon to bring Sanghamittā and a branch of the Bo tree The mission of his taking Sanghamittī to Ceylon was to give ordination to the females of the palace of Ceylon [2] Asoka was greatly mortified after giving a branch of the Bo tree to Arittha [3] He sent the following presents to Devanampiyatissa (1) Chattam (umbrella) (2) Camar (a tail fan) (2) Khagga (sword) (4) Moli (helmet) (5) Ratana (jewel), (6) Padukam (slipper) and many other articles necessary for the coronation ceremony, e g, conch, Ganges water, water pot palanquin, sandal, etc [4]

It is to be noted that Asoka came from Ujjain where he was a sub king to Puspapura when he heard of his father's illness He brought Puspapura (Patalıputra) under his sway [5] Asoka's income from the four gates of Patalıputra was great The king used to get 4 00 000 kahapanas daily from the four gates From the Sabha 1,00 000 kahāpanas were daily received thus 5 00 000 kahāpanas in total he used to spend for the Buddhasasana [6]

Heretics entered the bhikkhusamgha in disguise and the bhikkhus failed to bring them under their control Hence the bhikkhus neither performed uposatha ceremony nor the Pavāranī ceremony for seven years Knowing this Asoka requested the bhikkhus dwelling in the Asokārāma to perform uposatha ceremony The bhikkhus refused to do so with

[1] Samantapasadika I 11 44 45
[2] Mahavamsa Ch 18
[3] Mahavamsa Ch V
[4] Samantapasadika I p 73
[5] Samantapasadika I p 70

the heretics An officer was sent by the king to the bhikkhus and he knowing this grew angry and killed many bhikkhus The king was informed of this and became very sorry The king was doubtful as to who would be responsible for this great misdeed Aśoka brought Moggaliputtatissa with great honour who removed his doubt by saying that the king would not be responsible [1] Asoka received his ordination from a Sāmanera named Nigrodha with whom he came in contact Daily he used to give him food sufficient for eight bhikkhus [2] Nigrodha offered this food to his preceptor and Asoka further promised to supply food sufficient for thirty two bhikkhus Nigrodha established the king in three refuges and five precepts Aśoka offered four kinds of requisites to sixty thousand bhikkhus at Aśokārāma in a grand scale [3] He built 84,000 cetyas in 84,000 towns to show reverence to 84,000 dhammakhandas praised by the Tathāgata [4] In his reign the third Buddhist Council was held at Pataliputra with Moggaliputtatissa as its President In it the whole Tripitaka except the Kathāvatthu was recited and Moggaliputtatissa compiled the Kathāvatthupakarana It was Moggaliputtatissa who told Asoka that he was the foremost amongst the Paccayadayakas but later on he became the foremost of the Sāsanadāyakas after making his son bhikkhu and daughter bhikkhunī in the ninth year of his reign Aśoka made arrangements in his kingdom to provide medicines for the bhikkhus so that they might not die for want of medicine [5] *It is a well known fact that Asoka sent*

[1] Samantapasadika I pp 33 34 cf Mahavamsa ch V
[2] Samantapasadika p 47
[3] Ibid p 48
[4] Ibid 49
[5] Ibid, p 52

missionaries to the various countries, e g (1) Majjhantika Thera to Kāshmir and Gandhāra, (2) Mahādeva Thera to Mahimsakamandala, (3) Rakkhita Thera to Banavāsi, (4) Yonakadhammarakkhita to Mahārattha, (5) Mahārakkhita to Yonakaloka, (6) Majjhima Thera to Himavantapadesa, (7) Sona and Uttara to Suvannabhumi and (8) Mahinda, Itthiya, Uttiya, Sambala and Bhaddasāla to Tambapanni [1]

PASENADI

Pasenadi was the son of Mahākosala, king of Kosala He was educated at Taxila, Mahāli, a Licchavi prince, and a Malla prince of Kusināra were his class mates (D C, pt I, pp 337-338) Pasenadi ascended the throne of Kosala after the death of his father Bāvari who was the son of the chaplain of Pasenadi's father, became Pasenadi's chaplain The king bestowed on him honour and wealth In his youth the new king had learnt sippa from Bāvari who informed his royal patron that he would renounce the worldly life He took ordination and lived in the royal garden Many brāhmanas became his disciples Pasenadi served *him morning* and evening with the four requisites Afterwards Bāvari with his disciples went to the Dakkhināpatha as he was unwilling to stay in the royal garden any more (S N Commentary, II, pp 379 foll)

The Sākyas became the vassals of King Pasenadi of Kosala who received homage from them and they treated him in the same way as the king treated the Buddha (Digha Nikāya, III, p 83) King Pasenadi had a great admiration for the Buddha The Jātaka commentary furnishes us with

[1] Samantapasadika pp 63 64

an account of the matrimonial relation established between Pasenadi, king of Kosala and the Sākyas of Kapilavastu It says that at Sāvatthī in the house of Anāthapindika there was always unfailing food for five hundred Brethren and the same with Visākhā and the king of Kosala But in the king's palace, 'various and fine as was the fare given,' no one was friendly to the Brethren The result was that the Brethren never ate in the palace, but they took their food and went off to eat it at the house of Anāthapindika or Visākhā or some other of their trusted friends

One day the king said, "A present has been brought, take this to the Brethren," and sent it to the refectory An answer was brought that no Brethren were there in the refectory "Where are they gone ?" asked he "They were sitting in their friends' houses to eat," was the reply So the king after breakfast came to the Buddha and asked him, "Good sir ! What is the best kind of food ?" 'The food of friendship is the best, great king,' said he , 'even sour rice-gruel given by a friend becomes sweet ' 'Well, Sir, and with whom do the Brethren find friendship ?' 'With their kindred, great king, or with the Sākya families ' Then the king thought what if he were to make a Sākya girl his queen consort then the Brethren would be his friends as it were, with their own kindred (So rising from his seat, he returned to the palace and sent a message to Kapilavatthu to this effect, 'Please give me one of your daughters in marriage for I wish to become *connected with your family* ' *On receipt of this message* the Sākyas gathered together and deliberated 'We live in a place subject to the authority of the king of Kosala , if we refuse a daughter, he will be angry and if we give her, the custom of

our clan will be broken What are we to do ?" Then Sākya chief named Mahānāman said to them, ' Do not troul about it I have a daughter named Vāsabhakhattiyā who mother is a slave woman, Nāgamundā by name , she is son sixteen years of age, of great beauty and auspicious prospect and by her father's side noble. We will send her, as a gi nobly born." The Sākyas agreed, sent for the messengers, an said that they were willing to give a daughter of the clan, an that they might take her with them at once The messenge knew that the Sākyas were very proud of their buth so the could not believe their words They told the Sākyas tha they would take one who would eat along with them (Sākyas) The Sākyas assigned a lodging for the messengers and the wondered what to do Mahānāman told them not to wor about it but to get the dish ready and to bring Vāsabhakha tiyā dressed in her finery and to produce a letter as soon a he would take one mouthful saying that such a king had sen this letter which would require your immediate attention The Sākyas did so The messengers saw Vāsabhakhattiyā eating with Mahānāman and were firmly convinced that she was his daughter for they could not divine the secret So Mahānāman sent away his daughter in great pomp The messengers brought her to Sāvatthī and said that this maiden was the true-born daughter of Mahānāman The king was pleased, caused the whole city to be decorated and placed her upon a pile of treasure, and by a ceremonial sprinkling made her his chief queen She became dear and beloved to the king (Fausboll, Jātaka, Vol. IV. p 144 foll.)

In course of time, a son was born to Pasenadi and Vāsabhakhattiyā This son was named Vidudabha who massacred

the Sākyas later on when he knew that they had deceived his father by giving him a slave girl to marry

Pasenadi had a fight[1] with Ajātaśatru for the village of Kāśī At first Pasenadi was defeated but later on he succeeded in defeating his sister's son Ajātaśatru and having him captured. Then he married his daughter Vajirā to Ajāta śatru and gave her the Kāśī village for bath and perfume money

The Dhammapada commentary gives us a glimpse of the administration of criminal justice by Pasenadi Once some thieves were caught and brought before the king of Kosala He ordered them to be bound in ropes and chains and kept in prison[2] In the Dīgha Nikāya we read that Pasenadi, king of Kāsi-Kosala, used to collect taxes from the inhabitants of Kāsi kosala He used to enjoy the income not alone but with his subordinates[3]

On a certain festival day King Pasenadi while marching sunwise round the city seated on the back of an elephant, saw the beautiful wife of a certain poor man who was looking down on the royal pomp from the top of a seven storied palace The king was fired by lustful desire for the woman He had the husband of the woman summoned before him appointed him a servant and gave him a shield and a sword The king tried to find faults with him so that he might punish the man with death and could have his wife But the man used to discharge his duties so satisfactorily that it was scarcely possible for the king to punish the man At last he ordered the man to bring

[1] Samyutta Nikaya I 82 85 [2] pt IV pp 74-5
[3] Digha Nikaya I pp 228 29

red earth, which are to be had of the dragons only Before attending to the royal requisition the servant came home took his meal and gave the choicest portion of the meal to a traveller Then he cast a handful of rice into the water while rinsing his mouth The fish partook of the handful of rice By offering food to a traveller and the fish, the servant acquired merit He stood on the bank of the pool and addressing the dragons, he said that he would transfer the merit to the white and blue The king of the dragons appeared in the guise of an old brahman *He was assured of the merit*, he then brought red earth and water lilies both white and blue to the servant who transferred all his merits to the king of the dragons The servant came back to the palace with red earth and water lilies He found the doors closed, threw the red earth on the threshold and hung the flowers over the door He shouted loudly asking the citizens to witness that he had executed the royal order Then he left the royal service and took refuge in the monastery But that very night Pasenadi heard a terrible sound, "Du sā na so" and had not a wink of sleep The following morning he enquired of a brahmin as to the significance of the sound The brahmin frightened the king by saying that it signified death But he assured the king at the same time that this danger could be averted if the king would sacrifice one hundred of every description of living beings The king, afraid of death ordered his men to arrange for a sacrifice *All sorts of living beings were got ready*, meanwhile Queen Mallikā seeing so many living creatures, enquired of the matter and learnt every thing The queen reprimanded the king for his foolishness in relying on the brahman's words and told him that it was impossible for one

to save one's life by sacrificing other lives She took him to the Buddha who explained the meaning of the sound The king was satisfied with the answer, paid obeisance to the Teacher, came back to his palace and ordered the release of these *living beings got ready for sacrifice* (*Dhammapada* Commy II p I foll)

Many a tale is told in the Pāli literature about Pasenadi's dealings with Buddha and his disciples The Samyutta Nikāya tells us that Pasenadi before accepting Buddha's discipleship saw Buddha at Jetavana Pasenadi asked him thus, "Six heretical teachers, e g , Pūrana Kassapa and others, who are senior to you in age and in point of the time of ordination, do not care to call themselves Buddhas How is it that you though younger in age call yourself a Buddha ?' Buddha replied, "A Ksatriya, a serpent, fire, and a bhikkhu though younger in age should not be disregarded " Pasenadi heard this reply and became his disciple (S N Vol I, pp 68 70) Pasenadi was a king of charitable disposition He gave two towns known as Ukkattha and Salavatikā respectively to two brahmins named Pokkharasādi and Lohicca, as royal *gifts with power over it as if they were* kings (Digha Nikāya I, pp 87 and 224) He made an incomparable gift and thus became famous for his charity Once while the Buddha was residing at Sāvatthī in the arāma of Anāthapindika at Jetavana, Pasenadi made gifts for a week on an immense scale not to be compared with the charity practised by any body in his kingdom These gifts were known as 'asadisadana' (incomparable charity) (Vimānavatthu commentary, pp 5 6) Pasenadi had religious instructions from the Buddha on several occasions He was

told that one who is born must meet with decay and death [1] that the self of one who commits three kinds of sin is unprotected [2] and it becomes an enemy to him [3] that one who is in possession of great wealth often becomes attached to world [4] that lobha (avarice) dosa (hatred), and moha (delusion arise in a person and trouble him and that earnestness is the only virtue which gives happiness in this life as well as in after life [5] Pasenadi used to take a pot of rice which was sufficient to hold sixteen seers of rice He reduced his meal to one nāli under Buddha's instruction [6]

CANDA PAJJOTA AND UDENA

Canda Pajjota was the king of Ujjain He was a contemporary of Gautama Buddha Beal points out in his Romantic Legend of Sakya Buddha (p 29) that Pradyota was called bright lamp his son was named Purna and the king's personal strength was very great We learn from the Theragatha commentary that Mahakaccayana was the chaplain of King Canda Pajjota who asked him to bring the Buddha Mahakaccayana went to the Master who taught him dhamma with such effect that at the end of the lesson he with his seven attendants was established in Arahantship with thorough grasp of letter and meaning Thus accomplished he invited the Buddha on behalf of the king saying Lord! King Pajjota desires to worship at your feet and hear Dhamma The Buddha told him and his seven attendants to satisfy the king by their mission Thus bidden they returned to the king

1 Samyutta Nikaya I p 71
2 Ibid pp 71
3 Ibid p 70
4 Ibid p 3
4 Ibid pp 3 74
5 Ibid pp 86-87
6 Ibid pp 81 8-

satisfied his desire and established him in the Buddhist faith Since his conversion to the Buddhist faith Buddhism became the State religion of Avanti.

The Dhammapada commentary furnishes us with a romantic story of the manner in which the matrimonial alliance was established between the two royal families of Kausāmbi and Avanti

Once Udena, king of Kosambī was informed by a woodman that a white elephant was moving on the bank of a lake Udena versed in the art of charming elephants desired to capture the elephant He set out with his men to capture it He recited his spell, played his lute but in vain Udena pursued the elephant He could not understand that it was not a living being but a wooden elephant containing armed men inside its belly The more he pursued the elephant the more the latter continued its flight Thus King Udena was disbanded from his men and was easily captured by the men of King Canda Pajjota of Ujjain King Udena was imprisoned On the third day, Udena said to the keepers, "Where is your king ? Why is he acting like a woman ? He has captured a royal adversary and he should either release him or kill him " The keepers said these to their king who came to Udena and questioned him whether he had said so King Udena answered in the affirmative Then Canda Pajjota said that he would release him provided he would teach him the art of charming elephants King Udena consented to teach the art to any body who would be agreeable to pay homage to him The king of Ujjain declined to pay homage to the king of Kosambī and asked the latter to teach the art to a hunchbacked woman who would pay homage to him King Udena agreed

King Canda Pajjota asked his daughter to sit inside a curtain Thus arranged Pajjota's daughter Vāsuladattā began to learn the art from Udena who remained outside the curtain A few days passed but Vāsuladattā could not learn the art One day Udena rebuked her saying "You hunchbacked woman! You have no intelligence You won't be able to learn it" What do you mean by a hunchbacked woman you wretched leper?" asked Vāsuladattā Udena lifted the curtain and saw the beautiful girl and fell in love with her The girl too fell in love with Udena at first sight Then they decided to leave the palace Vāsuladatta deceived her father by exacting from him the permission of going out of the palace at night to obtain medicinal herb that would facilitate the learning of the art One night Vāsuladattā eloped with Udena Who brought her to Kosambi and made her his chief consort (Dhammapada commentary, I, 191 foll.)

The Dhammapada commentary narrates the account of the birth and the attainment of sovereignty of Udena son of Parantapa king of Kosambi One day Parantapa and his queen who was then pregnant, were basking themselves in the rays of the newly risen sun The queen put on the crimson blanket of the king and had a royal signet on her own finger A monster bird took the blanket to be a piece of meat and bore off the queen through the air The queen afraid of death kept silent lest her voice should frighten the bird and cause it to drop her The monster bird settled on a banyan tree The queen immediately clapped her hands and frightened the bird away After freeing herself from the cruel clutches of the monster bird she experienced double danger at one and the same time at the close of the day A severe storm arose

causing nature restless and travail came upon her at the same time making her restless too She was alone and had no one by her side The queen suffered the terrible night The following morning at daybreak nature became silent and the queen gave birth to a bonny son The child was named Udena, because he was born at the time (utu) of a storm, at the time when she was upon a mountain and at the time when the sun just rose. An ascetic while picking up bones from the foot of trees heard child cry, looked upwards and saw the queen Then after an exchange of the password of the Ksatriya caste, the queen came down and the child was taken down by the ascetic The queen ordered the ascetic not to touch her Both of them came to the hermitage , the ascetic provided the queen with every necessary thing A few days after, a sinful thought due to self preservation crossed the queen's mind She began to display herself in a state of nature and seduced the ascetic to violate his vow of chastity , thenceforth the ascetic and the queen began to live together as husband and wife One day as the ascetic was noticing a "conjunction of a constellation with one of the lunar mansions, he saw the occultation of Parantapa's star," and told the queen that Parantapa, king of Kosambī, was dead The queen shed tears , questioned by the ascetic she told him that Parantapa was her husband and that she was weeping because her child would have been a king if he had been at Kosambī by this time She was then assured by the ascetic that her son would get the throne of Kosambi The ascetic taught Udena elephant charms and Udena very soon learnt the art succesfully Then Udena went to Kosambī on the back of an elephant along with several thousands of elephants

CHAPTER VIII

BUDDHIST EDUCATION IN PĀLI AND SANSKRIT SCHOOLS

The subject of Buddhist education is bound up with several still unsolved problems, but it is possible to limit the subject by marking off some of those questions on which scholars are still much divided. One of these problems is the question of the locality or localities where those schools arose that established different forms of the writings held to be the word of Buddha. The most accessible of the works of these schools are the Pāli Canon, and Sanskrit works which contain Mahāyāna works as well as works of Hīnayāna schools closely related to the Pāli tradition.

There is an article on Buddhist education in Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, but for the earlier period it confines itself entirely to the reports of the Chinese pilgrims, that is to say, it is entirely silent about the thousand years after the death of Buddha, during which all the various forms of the Canon had become fixed, and when the education and instruction described by the Chinese pilgrims had been established for centuries. Yet there is considerable evidence both external and internal to show what the educational methods were.

We do not need to ask how much the earliest Buddhism borrowed from other schools. Windisch's article on Brahmin influence on Buddhism shows how little is really known about the actual movements in the earliest period.[1] Windisch

[1] In *Aufsätze E Kuhn gewidmet* München, 1916

points out that brahmins who entered the Order would bring their knowledge and literary practice with them Our present question is what this knowledge and literary practice was after it had become assimilated and established in Buddhist institutions

Besides the Pali Canon a considerable body of literature in Sanskrit of several schools is known Most of it has been described in the catalogues of Rajendralal Mitra[1] and Bendall,[2] and the most important parts have been published Works that survive only in Tibetan and Chinese are also now becoming more accessible The earliest stage of literary activity may be called that of systematisation It must be mentioned here, that current views as to its significance are too divergent to make it possible to say anything that may claim to be final

There is a view still current in the West, which supposes that the orthodox Buddhist holds the Scriptures to exist now in the form in which they were uttered by Buddha, and as recited at the first Council The Buddhist accounts of the Councils may not harmonise with the demands of modern historical criticism, but they contain nothing so unhistorical as that Buddhaghosa knew as well as we do that the Canon contains much that is not the direct word of Buddha He expressly refers to that which was recited and that which was not recited at the first Council[3] Throughout the commentaries we find notes on passages that are said to have been added by one of the Councils Not only have we Suttas

1 *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal* Calcutta 1882

2 Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library Cambridge Cambridge 1883

3 Vin Com 1, 18

He stopped at the entrance of the city and challenged th citizens either to give battle or to give him the throne Th citizens refused to give either Thereupon Udena showed th royal blanket and the signet to the citizens and told them tha he was the son of King Parantapa whose queen was take away by a monster bird He mentioned the names of com mander in chief etc The citizens were satisfied with hi proof and anointed him king

King Udena saw Sāmāvati daughter of the treasure Bhaddavatiya through the window and fell in love with her at first sight He told the treasurer to give his daughter in marriage with him The treasurer refused at first sight but ultimately at the desire of his daughter consented to the marriage proposal Then Udena sent a royal retinue to the treasurer's house to bring Samavati to the palace Samavat was brought to the palace and was made the chief consort (Dhammapada Commy , Udenavatthu, Vol I , p 161 foll)

A brahmin named Culla Māgandiya brought her niece named Magandiyā to King Udena who on seeing her fell deeply in love with her conferred the ceremonial sprinkling on her, provided her with a retinue of five hundred ladies in waiting and raised her to the dignity of chief consort The king of Kosambi had thus three chief consorts with a retinue of fifteen hundred nautch girls (Dhammapada Commentary, I, pp 199 203 , cf Ibid, Vol III p 193 foll)

In the Pali Buddhist canon King Udena of the Vamsas is said to have been a contemporary of the Buddha and to have survived the latter King Udena was at first indifferent or even unfriendly towards Buddhism but later on he is said to have felt a loving admiration for the Buddha In the

Pali canon we read that Pindola Bhāradvāja dwelt at Ghositā rāma in Kausāmbī He was the son of the chaplain to King Udena of Kausāmbī He entered the Order in Rājagaha and followed the method of the teacher with regard to temperence and diet He then acquired six fold abhiññā (Psalms of the Brethren, p 111) King Udena approached Pindola Bhāradvāja and asked the cause of young bhikkhus having black hairs on the head leading the life of pure brahmacārīs Bhāradvāja replied "It is the command of the master that bhikkhus should regard as mother a lady who has reached the age of a mother, should regard as sister one who has reached the age of a sister and should treat as daughter one who has reached the age of a daughter" The king further questioned Bhāradvāja, 'Mind is unsteady when it is bent upon attaining something It is for this reason that it might become tempted to get the three classes of women referred to above Is there any other cause of a bhikkhu leading a pure brahmacarī life ?" Bhāradvāja replied, "The Buddha instructed the bhikkhus to meditate upon the bodies as full of impurities" The king further asked, "Do they who do not meditate upon the impurities of the body find it difficult to lead the pure life of a brahmacārī ?" Bhāradvāja replied that the bhikkhus were instructed to control their senses The king admitted that when he entered the harem with his senses uncontrolled, he used to think of various sensual pleasures, but when he entered with his senses controlled, he did not get the opportunity of thinking of sensual pleasures at all (S N , IV, pp 110-112)

that are said to have been given by disciples after the death o Buddha, but Buddhaghosa quotes a verse which says tha out of 84,000 suttas 2 000 were uttered by bhikkhus[1] The whole of the *Niddesa* is attributed by the commentator thereon to Sāriputta[2]

On the other hand there has often been a less excusable uncritical attitude among Western scholars against which Mrs Rhys Davids has recently made a vigorous protest

"When believers in the East and historians in the West will come up out of the traditional attitude, when we shall not hear church editing called Buddhavacanam *and thought of as Gotama vacanam—when we shall no more read* 'The Buddha laid down this and denied that,' but 'the Buddhist church did so'—then we shall at last be fit to try to pull down super structure and seek for the man'[3] The fact of this editing which is recognised both by Buddhist commentators and modern critics, implies a stage of literary activity, of which we know nothing as to actual details Not only are there the variously classified compilations of the *Anguttara* and *Samyutta* but the *Digha* and *Majjhima* show much elaboration also The former is in three vaggas and the first vagga, although it deals with such various subjects as the sixty two heresies caste sacrifice brahmin ritual, and miraculous powers has been given an appearance of uniformity by the insertion in each sutta of the document known as the silas The *Majjhima* is classified in much more detail and with more reference to the subject-matter in fifteen

[1] Vin Com i 29

[2] The Commentator on Th I 307 quotes Nd I 143 (Bhagi va Bhagava) and attributes it to Sariputta (Dhammasenapat)

[3] Majjhima Index p vi

vaggas The whole of the Pāli Canon in fact shows evidence of the same careful classification

What this stage of Buddhist study really implied cannot be properly answered until we know more about the corresponding arrangements of those forms of the Canon belonging to contemporary schools that are extant in the Chinese Very divergent views are at present held, as by Prof Keith and Prof R O Franke[1] There can be little doubt that the system of arrangement is earlier than the recording of the Canon in writing, and that the chief motive was to serve as a help to the memory We find examples of commentary already incorporated in the suttas but the first distinct evidence of material intended for definite instruction is found in the *Niddesa* Much of the matter of this work is also found in Abhidhamma works and in the verbal commentary of the Vinaya, and it will be convenient to take the *Niddesa* first

As is well known this work is a commentary on the fourth and fifth sections of the *Sutta nipāta*, together with a commentary of the same nature on the *Khaggavisāna sutta*, which is found in the first section The matter of which it consists can be divided into three types

(1) Portions of doctrinal commentary on important words in a style similar to the portions of commentary occasionally found in the suttas The matter and often the language is drawn from the suttas, and in addition illustrative passages from the suttas are frequently quoted direct, and in the case of prose quotations regularly introduced by the words, *vuttam pi h'etam Bhagavatā* Verse quotations, which sometimes

[1] Keith *Buddhist Philosophy* Franke *Introd.* to his translation of the *Dīgha*

appear to be non-canonical, are more frequently adduce without any mention of the source. In the case of verse 84 the *Niddesa* simply adopts as its commentary a whole sutt from S. iii, 9, which consists of a commentary on that verse.

(2) Concise definitions of individual words, such as, *sapp vuccati ahi, āsanaṁ vuccati yattha nisīdanti.* The matter o this portion sometimes corresponds with such definitions i the verbal commentary of the Vinaya.

(3) It is in the third type that the most characteris tic feature of the *Niddesa* is seen. This consists of list of synonyms of the word commented on. Such lists are no used to explain the meaning of a word in a particular context They are repeated in the same form wherever the word occurs, and were evidently intended to be learnt in the same way as the more modern kośa. In the case of the verbs the synonyms often consist of all the possible compounds of the same verb, *yutto, payutto, āyutto, samāyutto, sampayutto; vedhati, pavedhati, sampavedhati.* In the case of important words all the various synonyms, evidently drawn from the scriptures, are given in long lists The result is that some of the synonyms are often unintelligible apart from the context in the sutta from which they are taken In a long list of synonyms of *taṇhā* (Nd. I, 8) *sibbinī* 'sewer' occurs, and the reason for this is seen from A iii, 399; Sn 1040, where it is an epithet of *taṇhā*, and from where it has no doubt been taken. Among the synonyms of *sadā* (Nd. I, 18) occurs *avīci.* This is evidently due to analysing it as *a-vīci* 'without a wave', and hence 'continuous'. *Vammiko* as one of the synonyms of *kāya* comes from the parable of the ant-hill in M. i. 142.

Much of this is also found in the Abhidhamma books, but in the *Niddesa* it is used as general matter applied to passages for which it was not immediately intended Some of the correspondences are as follows *chando* Nd I 2=Dhs 1097 Vbh 374, *tassa* Nd I 2=Vbh 393, *mano, pīti,* Nd 1, 3= Dhs 6, 9, *tanhā* Nd I, 8=Dhs 1059, *sati* Nd I, 10=Pug 25, *macchariya* Nd I, 37=Dhs 1122, Pug 19, *paññā* Nd I, 44, 77=Pug 25, Dhs 16, *māyā* Nd I, 79=Pug 19, *gantha* Nd I, 98=Dhs 1135, *kodha* Nd I, 215=*āghata* Dhs 1154, cf Pug 18, *sātheyya* Nd I, 395=Pug 19, *thīti* Nd I, 501= Dhs 10

Minor differences occur, and in some cases quite different treatment, cf *puthujjana* Nd. I, 146 and Pug 12 There is a triple division of *puccha* Nd 339 with no reference to the fourfold division of D III, 229, Dhs Mahāvyut 85

The verbal commentary on the Vinaya is less developed than either the Niddesa or the Abhidhamma works It is occupied with explaining words concisely, in a given context without lists of synonyms

This shows a system for learning the vocabulary of the Canon, and for explaining archaic forms, but no further grammatical teaching occurs apart from the description of certain terms as particles *Addhā ti ekamsavacanam* (with seven other synonyms for *ekamsavacanam*), *nā ti patikkhepo* Even such a sandhi as *iccāyasmā* is not resolved into *iti*, but *icca* is separated and explained like all such particles as *padasandhi, padasamsaggo, padaparipūrī, akkharasamavayo, vyañjanasiliṭṭhata*

In the *Niddesa* we thus have direct evidence of a general system of instruction applied to a definite work, consisting

of interpretation, doctrinal teaching and the verbal expositions of the beginnings of grammar. The Abhidhamma books and related works like the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* give other traces of its existence. It appears to be this system which is expressly referred to in the *Niddesa* (I, 234) and other places as the four kinds of analysis (*paṭisambhidā*) : the analysis of meanings (*attha*), of conditions (*dhamma*), of grammatical analysis (*nirutti*), and clearness of insight (*paṭibhāna*).[1]

The *Nirutti* of the *Niddesa* is of the kind that we should expect to exist when Pāli was a living language. All the grammatical analysis that was required was a knowledge of those words in the Scriptures that had become obsolete, and the explanation of unusual grammatical forms by means of the current expression. The method was not confined to the Pāli tradition, as we find the same four divisions called *pratisaṁvida* in the *Mahāvastu* (ii. 321) and *pratisaṁvit* in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (13), and this *nirutti* method has reacted on the style of the later sūtras.

The practice of learning off strings of synonyms might be expected to influence the style of those who passed through such a course of instruction. We appear to find an instance of it when Buddhaghosa[2] thus describes an earthquake : *ayam mahāpathavī... Kampi samkampi sampakampi sampavedhi.* Here we have the same series of compounds as we find repeatedly in the *Niddesa*, and Buddhagohsa is only using an earlier phraseology. It appears not only in the later

1 They are also found in a sutta (A. II, 160) which is attributed like the *Niddesa* itself to Sariputta. It probably belongs to the same stratum of scholarship. The Abhidhamma statement of *paṭisambhidā* in Vbh. ch. xi is discussed by Mrs. Rhys Davids in the *Points of Controversy*, pp. 377 ff. cf. Ps. I, 88.

2 Vin. Com. I, 30

commentators but also in Sanskrit and especially Mahāyana works In several of these a standing description of an earth quake occurs The synonymous verbs *kamp vidh cal ksubh* are given followed by *ran* and *garj* and each is expanded into compounds with *pra* and *sampra* [1] If this stood alone, it might be taken merely as the verbosity of a particular author, but there are other instances and they often correspond with series of synonyms in the *Niddesa* The *Niddesa* has *sakkaroti garukaroti maneti pujeti* The *Avadana śataka* (p 8) exactly corresponding has *satkr o gurukrto mantah pujitah* The *Mahavastu* has the same adding *arcitah* In Mahāyana works this is expanded being preceded by *pura skrtah* and followed by *arcitah* and *apacayitah* (Sadh pund 5 Karunāpund 2) Similarly the latter sutra has the series *harsaniya tosaniya prasadaniya avalokaniya prahladaniya manoñña* All the synonyms that we find need not have arisen from the method that we find in the *Niddesa* Some of them were doubtless incorporated from old texts but the practice of compiling such lists is certain from what we find in the *Niddesa* and the correspondences in the lists makes it probable that there was intercourse between different schools and common methods of teaching [2]

Among Mahayana works there are two compendiums which have some relation to the *Niddesa* The *Dharmasamgraha* is a compilation of terms but it is mainly doctrinal The *Mahavyutpatti* was evidently intended for grammatical instruction as well It gives the complete declension of vrksa (210), epithets of Buddha and Bodhisattvas and their

1 Lal v 449 Karunapund 3 Mahavyut 151

2 It may be noticed that the term *deva* is frequent in Mahayana sutras

qualities, synonyms of the teaching and names of section (66), epithets of Nirvāna (95), terms of salutation (97) synonyms of *tuṣṭa* and *raudra* (145 6), synonyms of *satta* (207) almost corresponding with Nd I, 12, miscellaneou adjectives (223), a long list of all the stock words and phrase that occur in a sūtra (244), and a list of diseases (284), whic only partially corresponds with that in Nd I, 17 Much c this is *nirukti* in the sense of the Pali *nirutti*

At present there is no general agreement as to wher the Pāli language as we know it developed It is usually agreed that the oldest works in verse show traces of havin been composed in a different dialect The natural conclusion is that the canonical works were preserved in a monastery or closely related group of monasteries, where a different dialect was spoken, and where the original dialect of th texts was entirely effaced, except so far as metrical facts compelled the preservation of special forms Doubtless this Pāli language that we know was at first a living and spoken language, but in the course of centuries say from the time of Asoka, to the end of the second century A D , it would come to be as much a learned language as Sanskrit The fact of the Niddesa itself seems to show that this Pali was then a current language, but that *nirutti* grammatical analysis, was becoming necessary for the interpretation of the texts Nothing profitable can be said about the earliest date at which the *Niddesa may be put Any such theory would* only tell us that a work of that name existed, but the occurrence of a geographical term in any particular passage could only allow us to infer the date of that passage We can see from its different forms and readings that it under

went changes and received additions, and in the case of a work used continuously for instruction this would be inevitable. Its application of Abhidhamma material for a general purpose seems to show that it is later than the Abhidhamma books, and its reference to one of the Alexandrias (Allasanda) founded after the Greek invasion, to Bengal, Burma, and Jāvā, would suggest that it became established and was used as a text-book during the first two centuries B.C. It has no reference to the pāramitā, and although it gives the 37 constituents of enlightenment, it does not use the term *bodhipakkhika-dhammā*.

In the case of the literature of the Sanskrit schools we can draw further information concerning the materials and methods of education. The works are much later than the *Niddesa*. They refer frequently to writing, and the mention in the *Mahāvyutpatti* of Kaniṣka and Aśvaghoṣa puts this work later than the first century A.D., but it is probably two or three centuries later than this, as it contains evidence of contact with Greek astrology. The dates usually assigned to the chief texts range from the second to the seventh century. The four methods of analysis with *nirukti* are preserved, but we may infer from the fact that the language was Sanskrit and from the production of a kāvya like the *Buddhacarita* in the first century A.D. that grammar was a fully developed study.

Wherever the texts of this literature originated, we can at least assume from the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims that down to the seventh century Magadha was the chief

district of their study.[1] Mr. J. N. Samaddar in his interes ing account of the monasteries of Nālandā, Vikramaśīlā (eas of Bhagalpur) and Odandapura (Bihar) calls them universitie and draws several remarkable parallels with these moder institutions. The proposing of hard questions by the keepe of the gate at Nālandā becomes matriculation. The teachin is said to have been both tutorial and professorial. Th Master of the Law is taken to be the Vice-Chancellor, an the writing up of the names of famous scholars over th gates is compared to the granting of diplomas.

This is what is inferred from Hiuen Tsiang, but it i I-tsing who describes the actual studies.[2] From Prof Takakusu's account it appears that grammar was based en tirely on works of brahminical schools, the Sūtras of Pāninl the Kāśikā of Jayāditya, the Mahābhāsya of Patañjali, a three works by Bhartrhari. It is not clear from this whethe the Sūtras were those of Pānini in their original form, bu Pānini was certainly known to the Buddhists.[3] He is men tioned in the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra, and Tārānātha in his history tells a wonderful story of his acquirement of grammatical science. The chief form, however, in which the Pāninean grammar was studied by these schools appears to have been

1 The vihāra of Vikramaśīlā is mentioned in the colophon of one Ms (Mitra p 229) and according to Mr Samadda, Nalandā occurs (*Glories of Magadha*, p. 104 ff)

2 Ch 34 ed Takakusu.

3 Dr B C. Law has pointed out in Buddhagohṣa a passage reminiscent of Pāṇini, V. 2, 93. It may be asked whether this comes directly from Pāṇini or from some adaptation, but it certainly corresponds much more closely with Pāṇini than with the corresponding sūtra and vṛtti of Candragomin, IV 2, 97 The Pāli grammar of Kaccāyana is later than *Buddhaghoṣa and belongs to the literature of Ceylon. Later works* says Geiger follow the models of Sanskrit grammar and lexicography slavishly and apply their system mechanically to Pāli Geiger, *Pāli Lit und Sprache* Franke *Gesch und. Arit. der einheim. Pāli—grammatik*,

Candragomin's *Candravyakarana*, which is put at the beginning of the seventh century This is the only grammar which is mentioned in Bendall s list along with commentaries on it chiefly that of Ānandadatta, and in the Tanjur the grammatical works as given by Csoma are either Candragomin's work or others still later

The *Niddesa* also shows the beginnings of lexicography, and its continuation appears in the *Dharmasangraha* and *Mahavyutpatti* Its full development is seen in the *Amara kośa* of Amarasimha who was a Buddhist himself It is not mentioned by I tsing and Winternitz puts it between the sixth and eighth centuries There are several copies of it in Bendall s list and it is also in the Tanjur

Apart from philosophy, which formed part of the doctrinal teaching, two important secular subjects are medicine and astronomy That medicine must have been studied early we know from the Vinaya, as the sixth chapter of the Mahavagga is devoted to medicines and surgery I tsing mentions cikitsā vidya, but there is nothing in the surviving literature to indicate that it ever became an independent study He does not mention jyotisa among the vidyas and it is clear that as astrology was an integral part of astronomy and the chief motive of its study, the latter science could not be expected to flourish so long as Buddhism forbade interpretation of the stars (e g Sn 927 and Nd I, 381) [1] It came in when the practice of astrology revived The only astronomical work mentioned in Mitra s list is a tika on the Jain work *Srūyapray*

[1] The knowledge of astronomy among the Buddhists has been treated in the writer s article *Sun Moon and Stars (Buddhist)* in Hastings *Ency of Rel and Ethics*

ñapti. Among the Buddhist fragments from Central Asi edited by Hoernle is an astrological work which shows tha it is based on Greek astrology, and that Buddhism had com to adopt astrological practices. There is also evidence o Greek influence in the list of the nine planets in *Mahāvyu* 164. The first seven of them beginning with Āditya are in th order of the days of the week, and this order, which depend on an elaborate assignment of a planet to each of the 2 hours of the day, came from Greece.[1]

It is certain that the monasteries of Magadha were the chief places where this Sanskrit literature was studied, and probably also the region of its origin. It represents the product of several schools and shows certain relations with Pāli works. But the views of scholars concerning the district where Pāli, as we know it, originated are so divergent that it is impossible to do more than draw attention to a problem still in need of solution. It is the question not of the original language of Buddha and his first disciples, but of the Pāli of Ceylon The Pāli of the time of Buddhaghosa was no living language, except in so far as it may have been learnt and used within each monastery. The commentaries of that time were translations and adaptations in Pāli of those already existing in Sighalese. The traces of an earlier dialect surviving in the Canon may be survivals of the dialect in which it existed when it was taken to Ceylon. But it is the Pāli as used by Buddhaghosa which the Singhalese

[1] The Ptolemaic order of the planets is Saturn, Jupiter Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury, Moon. The lord of the first hour of Sunday is the Sun, of the second hour Venus, and so on This makes the Moon the lord of the first hour of Monday, and so on throughout the week

tradition calls Māgadhī.[1] The view that Pāli really was the language of Magadha is generally rejected, and various attempts to fix the district in India where Pāli developed have been made on the assumption that it must have been somewhere else than Magadha.

Oldenberg sought it in South India, probably in the kingdoms of the Andhras or Kaliṅgas.[2] According to Prof. R. O. Franke its original home was in a district somewhere in the middle to the west of the Vindhya mountains. "Accordingly it is not impossible, though naturally a pure supposition, that the city of Ujjen, which evidently had become a centre of culture comparatively early, also formed the centre of the dialect-area of literary Pāli."[3] This was also the view of Westergaard and E. Kuhn, which Oldenberg expressly rejected. Sir George Grierson holds that "we have a strong reason for concluding that literary Pāli is the literary form of the Māgadhī language, the then *koine* of India, as it was spoken and as it was used as a medium of literary instruction in the Taksaśilā University.[4] The conclusion of Rhys Davids was that "Buddhism born in Nepal, received the garb in which we now know it in Avanti, in the far West of India,"[5] and he held that

1 Buddhaghosa was told to go and translate the Aṭṭhakathā into *Māgadhanam rutti*, Mahvs p 251 (Turnour), quoted by Dr B C Law, *The Life and Work of Buddhaghosa*, p 75.

2 Vinaya, Introd, p I

3 Pāli und Sanskrit, p 138 By literary Pāli Dr Franke merely means the Pāli as generally understood The reason is that he uses the general term Pāli to include the spoken Aryan languages of the whole of sub Himālayān India and Ceylon, ib p vi There is nothing to be said against the terminology except that it has not won general acceptance, and that scholars still call these languages Prākrit

4 Commemorative Essays presented to Sir R G Bhandarkar, p 123

this was nearer to the other view "so often put forward as convenient that Buddhism arose in Magadha and that its original tongue was Māgadhī "[1] These are the results of thirty years of research

Geiger has taken the unpopular course of holding that the tradition of the chronicles and commentaries is the true one, and that what they call Māgadhī is Māgadhī[2] Oldenberg's statement that 'it is certain that the Pāli language is not the Māgadhī language", merely means that it is not the language of the Asokan inscriptions There is not slightest reason why the texts of the Canon should have been adapted to the spoken language of the time of Aśoka It is far more likely that the dialect of the texts had already begun to form a sacred language, and we know that there was a rule in the Vinaya saying that the monks were to learn the word of Buddha in its own grammar or dialect, *anujānāmi bhikkhave sakāya niruttiyā buddhavacanam pariyāpunitum*, and Buddhaghosa understands this as meaning in the Māgadhī language It is true that this sentence has been understood against both grammar and tradition in a quite opposite sense, but this does not now need discussion

The latest attempt to solve the question has been made by Dr M Walleser,[3] who also decides for Magadha, but it cannot be said that within the space of twenty four pages he has done justice to the arguments of his predecessors He further prejudices his own case by asserting that Pali means not the body of sacred texts but the language in which they

[1] *Cambridge History of India* I 197

[2] Pali Litteratur und Sprache p 3

[3] *Sprache und Heimat des Pali Kanons* Heidelberg 1924

were composed. However, his evidence for the phrase *pāli-bhāsā* rests merely on Childers, and ignores such decisive passages as that of the *Mahāvaṁsa* referred to above, and thus translated by Dr. B. C. Law: "The Pāli (text of the Tripiṭaka) only (*pālimattaṁ*) has been brought over here. The Ceylon commentary is current among the people of Ceylon. Please go there and study it, and then translate it into Māgadhī (*māgadhānaṁ niruttiyā parivattehi*)."[1] But Dr. Walleser has certainly made the claims of Magadha more probable, and it may be hoped that deeper investigation of the geographical question will lead to the establishing of further links in the history of Buddhist scholarship.

[1] *Life and Work of Buddhaghosa*, p. 74.

CHAPTER IX

ANCIENT INDIAN EDUCATION FROM THE JĀTAKAS

The subject of this paper has not received the attention it deserves from the students of Buddhism. Yet the Jātaka throw new light upon certain aspects of early Indian cultu -history. Their evidence is generally taken to relate to th period from the time of the Buddha to that of Aśoka, *i e* approximately between the seventh and the third centur B. C. It is true that this evidence is from stories, but on can hardly miss the local colouring given by the folk i these tales. Indeed, the Jātakas are important as sources c history not for the contents or substance of their stories bu rather for the social background or setting of those storie which inevitably reflect the contemporary conditions of life.

The atmosphere of learning and culture which the Jātakas breathe and the educational system and organisation they bring to light are very well indicated in one of those works (*Jāt.* No. 252) :

"Once on a time Brahmadatta, the king of Benares, had a son named Prince Brahmadatta. Now kings of former times, though there might be a famous teacher living

* It has been, so far as I know, only once treated in an article, in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society by Mr. J N Sikdar, M A., which I have found to be useful and suggestive The present paper is part of a comprehensive work on *Ancient Indian Education and Learning* in two volumes, *Brahminical* and *Buddhist* now ready for the press [Readers' attention is invited to my Historical Gleanings, Ch I.—Taxila as a Seat of Learning in Sanskrit and Pāli Literature—*Editor*]

in their own city, often used to send their sons to foreign countries afar off to complete their education, that by this means they might learn to quell their pride and highmindedness, and endure heat or cold, and be made acquainted with the ways of the world So did this king Calling his boy to him—now the lad was sixteen years old—he gave him one soled sandals, a sunshade of leaves, and a thousand pieces of money, with these words 'My son get you to Takkasīlā, and study there ?'

"The boy obeyed He bade his parents farewell, and in due course arrived at Takkasila There he enquired for the teacher's dwelling, and reached it at the time when the teacher had finished his lecture and was walking up and down at the door of the house When the lad set eyes upon the teacher, he loosed his shoes, closed his sunshade, and with a respectful greeting stood still where he was The teacher saw that he was weary, and welcomed the newcomer The lad ate, and rested a little Then he returned to the teacher and stood respectfully by him

'Where have you come from ?' he asked

'From Benares'

'Whose son are you ?'

'I am the son of the king of Benares'

'What brings you here ?'

'I come to learn , replied the lad

'Well, have you brought a teacher's fee ? or, do you wish to attend on me or return for teaching you ?

'I have brought a fee with me ' and with this he laid at the teacher s feet his purse of a thousand pieces

The resident pupils attend on their teacher by day and

at night they learn of him but they, who bring a fee are treated like the eldest sons in his house, and thus they learn And this teacher, like the rest, gave schooling to the prince on every light and lucky day Thus the young prince was taught"

This passage introduces us practically to all the principal features of the educational system of the times We shall now explain them and cite the additional or supplementary information which the other Jātakas convey

Takkasīlā was the most famous seat of learning It attracted scholars from different and distant parts of India Numerous references in the Jātakas show how thither flocked students from far off Benares (I 272, 285, 409, II 85, 87, IV 50, 224, V 263, 127, etc), Rājagaha (III 238, V 177, 247), Mithilā (IV 316, VI 347), Ujjenī (IV 392) and Kosala (III 115) of the 'Central Region' (*Ib*) and from the Sivi (V 210) and Kuru (V 457, III 399) kingdoms in the 'North country (I 356) The fame of Takkasīlā as a seat of learning was of course due to that of its teachers They are always spoken of as being 'world renowned,' being authorities, specialists and experts in the subjects they professed Of one such teacher we read 'Youths of the warrior and the Brāhman caste came from all India to be taught the arts by him' (III 158) It is the presence of scholars of such acknowledged authority and widespread reputation that made Taxila the intellectual capital of the Indian continent from the different and distant parts of which there was a steady movement of qualified students drawn from all classes and ranks of society towards Taxila to complete the education they had in the schools of their native places Thus the

various centres of learning in the different parts of the country became affiliated, as it were, to the educational centre, or the central university, of Taxila which exercised a kind of intellectual suzerainty over the wide world of letters in India

The students are always spoken of as going to Taxila to 'complete' their education and not to begin it They are invariably sent at the age of sixteen or when they "come of age' (*e g*, V 162, 210) This shows that Taxila was a seat, not of elementary, but higher, education, of colleges or a university as distinguished from schools Thus the age limit for admission there was curiously enough the same as is prescribed by modern universities It was also only the students of a maturer age that could be sent so far away from their homes for the furtherance of their studies

The students were usually admitted to instruction by their teachers on payment in advance of their entire tuition fees A fixed sum seems to have been specified for the purpose at Taxila, amounting to 1,000 pieces of money (I 272, 285, IV 50, 224, etc) In lieu of paying the fees in cash, a student was allowed to pay them in the shape of services to his teacher (*cf Mil Pañha* VI II) To this class apparently belonged the majority of the students who 'attended on their teacher by day' and received instruction at night We read of a school of 500 Brahman pupils whose duties were, among others to gather firewood from the forests for their master (I 317—318) Sometimes a student would prefer to devote his whole time to studies without sparing any time for such services or menial work, while at the same time he was too poor to be able to pay the teacher's

fees in cash in advance In such a case the student wa trusted to pay the fees after the completion of his educatio We read of one such student, a Brāhman boy of Benares, wh after completing his education at Taxila, paid his teacher' fees by begging for them in distant countries beyond th Ganges The fees are described to be "seven nikkhas" o a few ounces of gold, which may indicate that the teacher' fees were paid in gold in that time (IV 224) It may b recalled in this connexion that, under the Brahmanical syste it was the more usual practice for the *brahmachārin* to pay fees to his teacher only when he becomes a Snātaka and end his studentship

Where students were too poor to be able to pay the teacher's fees in any of the several ways aforesaid, a charitable community often came forward to provide for them a fre education We read of a teacher of 'world-wide fame' Benares who had in his school 500 young Brāhmin pupil teach The difficulty of maintaining such a school was removed by the generosity of the 'Benares folk' who 'used to give day by day commons of food, to the poor lads and had them taught free' (I 239)

The cost of education was also to some extent taken over from the teachers and the taught by the occasional invitations to dinner extended to them by philanthropic householders We read of a school of 500 students being invited to take meals by a 'country family' at Takkasilā (I 317) and of a similar entertainment given by an entire village (III 171) These invitations would very often come by turns in such a way that they would work like a per manent provision of meals for the teachers and the taught

There was again another class of students who paid the teacher's fees from the scholarships awarded to them by the States to which they belonged. Generally such students would be sent as companions of the princes of their respective countries who were deputed to Takkasīlā for education. We read of the sons of the royal chaplains of the courts of Benares (V. 263) and Rājagaha (III. 238 and V. 247) accompanying their respective princes to Takkasīlā for their education. Cases, however, are not wanting of students being sent on their own account for higher studies to Takkasīlā at the State expense. Thus we read of a Brāhman boy of Benares being sent by the king at his expense to Takkasīlā for the purpose of specialising in the Science of Archery (V. 127).

It is to be noted that the fees of tution as fixed here can hardly be considered adequate to its expenses. The teacher was not like the proprietor of a school conducted as a commercial concern. Probably no part of the fee of 1,000 pieces he could claim as the wages of his own labour. The fees were necessary to cover the cost of the maintenance of those who paid them, of free board, lodging and other necessaries, of the students who went into residence with their teachers under a common roof.

But residence with the teacher was not a compulsory condition of studentship. Day-scholars were also admitted to instruction We read of Prince Junha of Benares running up an independent house for himself from which he attended the college at Taxila: "One night, after lessons, he left the teacher's house in the dark and set out for home" (IV. 96).

The admission of day scholars as students implied tha of householders or married students We read of 'a country Brāhman' who, finishing his studies in the three Vedas an the eighteen sciences under a famous teacher in Benares stopped on there to look after his estate, married and becam a regular householder And yet he was allowed to continu his studies as an external student He could however com but "two or three times every day to listen to his master' teachings" owing to the obstructions of his mischievous wif who always feigned sickness whenever he wanted to ge away to the school (I 463) A similar case is that of 'a young Brāhmin from a foreign land' who, while studying as one of 500 pupils of a famous teacher at Benares, "fell in love with a woman and made her his wife Though he continued to live on in Benares he failed two or three times in his attendance on the master" Sometimes he was so worried and harassed by his unmanageable wife that he absented himself altogether from waiting on the master "Some seven or eight days later he renewed his attendances', (I 300) when his master gave him necessary instructions after which he "paid no heed to his wife's caprices', while his wife also "ceased from that time forward from her naughtiness" There is another instance of a student being handicapped in his studies by the wicked ways of his wife (*Ib* 301—302) Lastly, we may also refer to the instance of a teacher of 500 students at Benares who selects by a special test one of them for the hand of his grown up daughter (III 18) With some teachers ' there was a custom that if there should be a daughter ripe for marriage she should be given to the eldest pupil" (VI 347)

The maximum standard number of pupils which an individual teacher admitted was 500 (I 239, 317, 402, III 18, 235, 143, 171, etc) The number gave scope to great variety in the composition of the school The students were quite a heterogenous lot, drawn from all ranks and classes of society and representing diverse social conditions Youths of Brāhman and Ksatriya castes were of course in large numbers among them (*cf* III 458), there were also princes from distant kingdoms (I 272, II 87, III 115, 238, 415, IV. 96, 316, V 162, 177, 210, 247, 262, 426, 457), and sons of magnates or magnificos, some of whom were Brāhmans (II. 99, V. 227, IV 237, etc), there were, again, sons of merchants and tailors (IV 38), and even fishermen (III 171), for we read of a teacher who was, on principle, against all restrictions on admission of students and would 'preach the moral law to any one he might see though he did not want it, to fishermen and the like' (*Ibid*) Candālas were not however admitted as students We read of two Candāla boys from Ujjenī who, considering the misery of their lot due to their birth, thought "We shall never be able to play the part of Caṇḍālas, let us conceal our birth and go to Takkasīlā in the disguise of young Brahmans, and study there" Thus introducing themselves they 'followed their studies in the law under a far famed master" One of the students was even successful in his studies Their disguise was however detected at a dinner offered to the school by a villager by their use of Candāla dialect in an unguarded moment and they were at once expelled (No 498)

While all castes except the Caṇḍālas were admitted to instruction, it seems that the castes so admitted did not

always confine themselves to their traditional subjects of study We read of a Brāhman boy of Takkasīlā who learnt Divination under his teacher and later settled down as a hunter in the woods of Benares (II 200) Another Brāhman boy, son of a magnifico, preferred the study of magic charms to the exclusion of other subjects (II 99) Another is spoken of as having gone in for "the liberal arts' and ultimately specialised in Archery (III 129) There is another reference to the same effect (I 356) It is again a Brāhman boy that studies 'the charm which commands all things of sense (IV 456) There is a reference to a Brāhman boy choosing "science for his study (III 18) and to another mastering 'the three Vedas and the eighteen Accomplishments' (II 87, III 115 122)

We thus see that youths of all sorts and conditions of life, of different classes and castes had all their divisions and distinctions merged in the democracy of learning Princes and nobles merchants, tailors, the poor students who were maintained by charity and could not pay their tuition fees— all rubbed shoulders with one another as fellow-disciples of a common school and teacher The poor students had to undergo daily a course of exacting and low kind of menial service for the school, but the recognition of the dignity of all honest labour secured to them a status of equality with its aristocratic section What further levelled all distinctions within the school was the insistence upon certain standards of simplicity and discipline in life to which all its members had to submit The prince of Benares is sent on to Takkasila for his studies with the modest equipment given him by his own royal father of 'a pair of

one soled sandals, a sunshade of leaves, and a thousand pieces of money" as his teacher's fees, of which not a single piece he could retain for his private use (No 252 cited above) Thus the prince enters his school as a poor man, divested of all riches The same fact is pointed to by the story of Prince Junha of Benares, who accidentally breaking the alms bowl of a Brāhman by colliding with him in nocturnal darkness, was asked to pay him the price of a meal as a compensation The prince then said to the Brāhman "I cannot now give you the price of a meal, Brāhman, but I am Prince Junha, son of the king of Kāśī, and when I come to my kingdom, you may come to me and ask for the money" IV 96) Thus shows that there was no money left with a prince which he might spend as he liked Nor did the offences of princes escape their usual punishment On the offence of a prince being reported to the teacher (the offence being taking some sweets from a vendor's basket without paying for them), "he caused two lads to take the young fellow by his two hands, and smote him thrice upon the back with a bamboo stick, bidding him take care not to do it again" (No 252)

The food allowed to the students was of the simplest kind We have mention of rice gruel being prepared as breakfast by maid of the teacher's house (I 318) At invitations they were given sugar cane, molasses, curd and milk (I 448)

The life of the students was also hard in other ways Their standing duty was to gather firewood in the forests *ib*) Their conduct was so much controlled that they were not allowed to go to a river for bath except in the company of a teacher (No 252),

It speaks very well of these ancient kings that they deliberately, and as a matter of policy, proposed for their sons such a course of discipline and education as their best training in manners and morals, and as a powerful democratising influence, "so that by this means they might learn to quell their pride and highmindedness" (*ib*).

Side by side with these colleges of a heterogeneous or cosmopolitan composition, we also find references to colleges of particular communities only. Teachers with 500, and only Brāhman, pupils are frequently mentioned. (I. 317, 402, etc); Sometimes teachers would have only Brāhman and Ksatriya pupils (III. 158). We also read of a teacher at Taxila whose school had on its rolls only princes as pupils– "all princes who were at that time in India to the numbe of 101," besides two other princes newly admitted from th kingdoms of Kuru and Benares (V. 457).

To manage a school of 500 pupils and undertake thei education were not easy task for an individual teacher. H was however helped by a staff of Assistant Masters (*pitthia chariya*) It was only the most advanced or senior pupil that were appointed as Assistant Masters (II. 100 ; V: 457) Assistance in teaching was also rendered by the senio pupils as such. We are told of a teacher appointing his oldest disciple to act as his substitute (I. 141). Another teacher of Taxila, while going to Benares on some mission, appointed his chief pupil to take charge of his school during his absence, saying : "My son, I am going away from home, while I am away, you are to instruct these my pupils" (numbering 500) (IV. 51). These senior pupils, by being associated in the work of teaching, soon became fit to be

teachers We read of Prince Sutasoma of the Kuru country who "*being the senior pupil soon attained to proficiency in* teaching" and, "becoming the private teacher" of his comrade in the school, "soon educated him, while the others only gradually acquired their learning" (V 457—458)

The college seems to have had a number of sittings every day Instruction was imparted at times convenient to the students The poorer scholars who paid for the expenses of educational life by the performance of services or menial work *for the school during the day time could find time for study* only in the nights when accordingly the teacher imparted instruction to them (II 278) It was probably convenient for the day scholars to attend the night classes We read of Prince Junha who "one night, after he had been listening carefully to his teacher's instruction, left the house of his teacher in the dark and set out for home' (IV 96) Another student of Benares who went to Takkasīla for a particular instruction implored his teacher thus 'Give me your time for this one night only I will learn the whole after one lesson" (II 47) As regards the students who paid their teacher's fees 'they are treated like the eldest sons in his house, and thus they learn" They were given 'schooling in every light and lucky day' (II 278)

Students seem to have commenced their studies very early in the morning, with the crowing of the cock We read of a school of 500 Brāhman students at Benares who *had a cock that crowed betimes and roused them to their* studies" Probably a cock was domesticated in every school to serve as a clock! When the trained cock died a second cock was secured which had been bred in a cemetery and

had thus no knowledge of times and seasons, and used to crow casually,—at midnight as well as at daybreak Roused by his crowing at midnight, the young Brāhmans fell to their studies, by dawn they were tired out and could not for sleepiness keep their attention on the subject (already learnt (*gahitatthanampi*)), and when he fell a crowing in broad day they did not get a chance of quiet for repeating their lesson And as it was the cock's crowing both at midnight and by day which had brought their studies to a standstill, they took the bird and wrung his neck" (I 436) It will appear from this passage that there was time for the private study of the students which they spent on repeating *new* lessons and revising *old* ones

In this passage, again, the reference to drowsiness preventing the students *from understanding* (*lit* 'seeing' *passanti*) the subject already learnt may be taken to indicate the use of books for their studies The Jatakas frequently use the expression *sippam vachesi*, *i e*, 'getting the sciences read' More definite is the following reference to the existence of written books at the time 'The Bodhisatta caused a book of judgments to be written and said, 'by observing this book you should settle suits'" (III 292) We have again references to the various and widespread uses of writing in the Jātakas, to the writing of epistles [I 377 (mentioning a correspondent), II 95 174 (sealing a letter) IV 145 (contents of a message given), IV 370, 385, 403], to the forging of letters (I 451, IV 124), to inscription on gold plate (II 36, 372, 376, IV 7, 237, 335, 488, V 59, 67, 125, VI 29) to inscription over a hermitage [VI 520, IV 489 (inscription in letters of vermillion upon a wall)]

to letters of the alphabet engraved on gold necklets (VI 390), to inscriptions upon garments, and accoutrements (VI 108), to the scratching of a message on an arrow (II 90), to writing on a leaf [II 174, IV 55, VI 369, 400 (writing on a leaf fastened on an arrow)] Lastly, there is another passage (I 151) which indicates how the art of writing was being regularly taught to the young in the elementary or primary schools It tells how when a rich man's son "was being taught to write," his "young slave used to go with his young master's tablets and so learned at the same time to write himself" The three R's were evidently taught in these schools We may recall in this connection the passage in the *Kautiliya* (I 5), showing how after the ceremony of *cudākarana* a boy was to be taught *lipi* or writing and *sankhyānam* or counting and arithmetic

We shall now consider the courses of study that were offered by the colleges of Takkasīlā The Jātakas constantly refer to students coming to Takkasīlā to complete their education in the three Vedas and the eighteen sippas or arts (I 259, 356, 402, 464, II 87, III 115, 122 etc) Sometimes the students are referred to as selecting the study of the Vedas alone (I 402, III 235, IV 293, etc) or the Arts alone (III 18, 238, V 127, 162, 177, 247, 426, IV 456, III 143, 219, etc) We may conveniently distinguish education in the Vedas as Literary Education from Education in the Arts as Scientific and Technical Education

The invariable mention of the three Vedas shows that the study of the Atharva Veda was not included in the curriculum for general education at the time of the Jātakas The Vedas were of course to be learnt by heart We are

told of a teacher at Takkasīlā from whose lips 500 Brāhman pupils learnt the Vedas (I 402) The Bodhisatta is frequently referred to as having learned the three Vedas by heart (*cf* I 259) Instead of the three Vedas, we sometime find mention of "sacred taxts" (III 235), "holy books (IV 293), or "the law" (IV 392) Some of these terms may indicate the sacred literature of the Buddhists We find even the direct mention of a Vinaya scholar and a Sūtra scholar (III 486)

The subjects under the Sciences and Arts are not individually mentioned Their number alone is frequently mentioned We may refer in this connection to the passage already cited from the *Milinda Pañha* which gives the individual names of the nineteen Sippas then current Some passages in the Jātakas however make individual mention of some subjects under scientific and technical education, but it is not certain whether they would come under the eighteen Sippas We have mention of the following arts being taught in some of the colleges of Takkasīlā, *viz*, (1) Elephant Lore (*Hatthisūtta*) (II 47), (2) Magic charms (II 100), (3) Spell for bringing back the dead to life (I 510), (4) Hunting (II 200), (5) Spell for understanding all animals' cries (III 415) (6) Archery (*Issapasippa*) (III 219, I 356, V 127, II 87), (7) The Art of Prognostication (III 122), (8) Charm for commanding all things of sense (IV 456), (9) Divining from the signs of the body (II 200), and (10) Medicine (IV 171)

It is to be noted that students are mentioned as taking up for their study only one of these subjects in which they wanted to specialise and make themselves experts

The study of these sciences and arts seems to have a theoretical and a practical course Knowledge of the literature of a subject had to be followed by its practical applications In regard to some subjects like Medicine, for instance, the practical course had to be gone through under the direction of the teacher The practical course in Medicine at Takkasīlā included a first hand study of the plants to find out the medicinal ones, as shown in the account of Jīvaka's education In other subjects, the practical course was left to be completed by the students themselves when they left their colleges after finishing their instruction Thus we read of a Brāhman student 'of a market town in the North country' who specialised in the Science of Archery at Takkasīlā and, after finishing his studies, went as far as the Andhra country in prosecution of the practical application of his art (I 356) There is mention of the prince of Magadha who, having mastered all the arts at Takkasīlā, "wandered through towns, villages, and all the land to acquire all practical usages and understand country observances" (II 238) We have mention of another student, Setaketu, of Takkasīlā who similarly "wandered, learning all practical arts" (III 235) There is mentioned another prince of Magadha who, being trained in all Sciences at Takkasīlā, 'left that place with the intention of learning the practical uses of arts and local observances" (V 247) We have an interesting reference to the Pandu brothers who, after receiving instruction in arts at Takkasilā, 'travelled about with the idea of mastering local customs' (V 426) We read again of two sons of merchants and a tailor's son travelling together to learn the custom of the country folk

after finishing their education in Takkasīlā (IV. 38). There is a similar reference to a student from Benares undertaking a travel after his education at Takkasīlā (IV. 200). A prince of Kośala is mentioned who after studying the three Vedas and eighteen liberal arts at Takkasīlā left the place to study the practical uses of the sciences learned (III. 115). Lastly, there is an instance in which a student, on completion of his education in the Arts at Takkasīlā and returning home to Benares, had to exhibit before his parents a practical demonstration of the technical knowledge he had acquired. In this connection we may also recall the successful surgical operations executed by Jīvaka as soon as he had left Takkasīlā on finishing his education, for they show that he must have had a previous practical training and experimentation in such difficult operations.

A practical turn was indeed given to all instruction as a pedagogic principle. We have already referred to the first-hand observation of plant life as a compulsory part of medical education. We have again one Jātaka No. 123 which shows how nature-study was always insisted upon as the best means of awakening a healthy curiosity, a spirit of observation and enquiry which are indispensable aids to intellectual culture. In the story, 'a world-renowned' professor of Benares "had five hundred young Brāhmans to instruct," one of whom "had always foolish notions in his head and always said the wrong thing; he was engaged with the rest in learning the scriptures as a pupil, but because of his folly could not master them. The teacher was at pains to consider what method of instruction would be suitable for that 'veriest dullard' of all his pupils. And the thought

came to him that the best way was to question him on his return from gathering firewood and leaves, as to something he had seen or done that day, and then to ask what it was like 'For', thought the master, 'this will lead him on to making comparisons and giving reasons, and the continuous practice of comparing and reasoning on his part will enable me to impart learning to him' "

The point of some of the examples cited above which should not be missed in this connexion is that they demonstrate how the students of those days after their graduation undertook an expensive foreign travel to give a practical turn to their theoretical studies at the colleges, and qualify themselves for the life in the world by broadening the range of their experience and deepening their insight into human affairs by a first-hand study of the diverse manners and customs prevailing in the different parts of the country Besides its direct educational value, this post graduate travelling as giving a finishing touch to a student's training was encouraged and even insisted upon for another substantial reason especially in the cases of the students of the well to do classes who were brought up in luxury This was to build up the physique or the physical constitution of the student by inuring him to the hardships of travelling, to make him 'endure heat or cold' and stand all weathers and climates And we have already referred to the recognition of the utility of the institution as a means of moral education of the students of the royal and aristocratic houses especially, who were sent to distant centres for their education, so that by their necessary travelling and living under strange conditions in foreign parts, they might be

more humanised, with their native pride of position an spirit of exclusiveness crushed out of them under the spir a thoroughgoing democracy and fraternity which a seat c learning would always breathe (No. 252).

Takkasīlā was also famous for some of its special schools. One of such schools was the medical school which must have been the best of its kind in India, if we may believe in the story of Jīvaka. It was also noted for its school of Law which attracted students from distant Ujjenī (IV. 392, also III. 171). Its military schools were not less famous. One such school could boast of counting all the then Princes throughout India numbering 103 as its students (V. 457). We have already seen how keen and widespread was the demand in the country for the courses and training offered by its schools of Archery.

Thus the teachers of Takkasīlā were as famous for their knowledge of the arts of peace as for that of war. In this connection we may refer to the story of the Brāhman boy of Benares of the name of Jotipāla who was sent at the king's expense for education in Archery at Takkasīlā. When he had finished his training and was returning home, the teacher presented him with his own sword, a bow and arrow, a coat of mail and a diamond and asked him to take his place as the head of 500 pupils to be trained up by him in the military arts, as he was himself old and wanted to retire (V. 127). The Veda-of-the-bow claimed almost as many students as the sacred triple-Veda in those days.

It is also evident that the demand for the knowledge of the Sippas or for technical and scientific education was not less keen than that for general education or religious studies.

Next to Takkasilā ranks Benares as a seat of learning It was, however, largely the creation of the ex students of Takkasilā who set up as teachers at Benares (Nos 130 185 etc) and carried thither the culture of that cosmopolitan educational centre which was moulding the intellectual life of the whole of India Subjects in the instruction of which Takkasilā held the monopoly were being gradually introduced into Benares We find established there schools for the teaching of spells and magic charms by students trained from Takkasilā (II 99) For the study of the ordinary subjects there were of course established many schools (I 464) Benares, however, was not without its own alumni as educationists There are serveral references to teachers of world wide fame with the usual number of 500 pupils to teach (I 239, III 18 and 233) The son of a Brahman magnate with eighty crores is educated in Benares (IV 237) There were again certain subjects in the teaching of which Benares seems to have specialised There is a reference for instance to a school of music presided over by an expert who was the chief of his kind in all India (No 243) With all this the inferiority of Benares to Takkasila as a seat of learning is apparent from the fact that there are hardly to be found many references in the Jatakas to the movement of foreign scholars towards that city for education in different subjects as we find in such abundance in respect of the other city

Lastly it is to be noted that the educational system of the times produced men of affairs as well as men who renounced the world in the pursuit of Truth The life of renunciation indeed claimed many ex students of both

Takkasilā and Benares In the sylvan and solitary retrea away from the haunts of men, the hermitages served a schools of higher philosophical speculation and religiou training where the culture previously acquired would attai its fruitage or a further development in a particula direction These special schools of spiritual culture are als referred to as being composed of the standard number o 500 ascetics gathering round the personality of an indivi dual hermit of established reputation to seek instruction as his disciples (I 141, etc) We have however references to schools of larger sizes We read of one which was so overcrowded with zealous pupils that the chief had to get other hermitages established by his seven senior pupils to relieve the congestion but to no purpose, for the original or parent hermitage continued to be crowded as before with aspirants after the religious life (V 128)

The hermitages were generally established in the Himalayas (I 406, 431 , III 143 , IV 74) Sometimes, however, the bands of ascetics would establish themselves near the centres of population and would have facilities for attracting recruits (III 115 , IV 193) These imparted to their disciples a knowledge of their 'arts, texts and practices' We read of Setaketu originally the senior pupils of a school of 500 pupils at Benares, going to Takkasilā for education in the 'arts' on completion of which he wandered through the *country learning all practical arts, when in a village* he came across a group of 500 ascetics who, after ordaining him, taught him all their "arts, texts and practices" (III 235)

CHAPTER X

THE BUDDHIST CONCEPTION OF MĀRA

Introduction

Māra, the spirit of evil of the Buddhists, the enemy of the Good Law, appears to have been the personification of an abstract conception of the Buddhist religion The Buddhacarita-kāvya of Asvaghosa tells us that he who is called in the world Kāmadeva, the owner of the various weapons, the flower-arrowed, the Lord of the course of desire, is the Buddhist Māra, the enemy of liberation (Book 13) In other words, Māra is the personification of Kāma that thwarts the aspirant after the highest stage, Nibbāna Māra is of different kinds —Khandha Māra (Māra of the elements of being), Kilesa Māra (Māra of sin), Marana Māra (Māra of death), Devaputta Māra (Māra of the gods), and Abhisamkhāra Māra (Māra of the accumulation of Kamma) (Childers' Pāli Dictionary, p 241) The Śiksā-samuccaya of Śāntideva mentions the four, except abhisamkhāra (Tr Bendall & Rouse, p 192) In the Mahavamsa, he is described as one having thousand hands (Ed Geiger, Ch 30, Verse 75) Woman is not competent to acquire the state of Māra (Vibhanga, p 337) It is interesting to note on the authority of the Buddhist and Jaina texts that Māra is the originator of Māyā or attachment (cf Sūtrakrtānga, Jaina Sūtras, pt II S B E, Vol XLV, p 244) and the person who falls a victim to Māyā is conquered by Māra His daughters are desire (tanhā), discontent (aratī), and passion (rāgī),[1] the ultimate categories

[1] Dhammapada Commentary Vol I p 202 Samyutta Nikaya Vol I p 124

of evil in its psychological system The fight of the Bodhisattva with Māra is a struggle against the fetters and hindrances that stand in the way to Nibbāna He does not resemble the evil spirit of the Zoroastrian Ahriman who is a spirit of equal power with Ormuzd, the principle of good In the Zoroastrian system every good is opposed by its corresponding evil, and Ahriman, the spirit of evil, has existed opposed to Ormuzd since the commencement of the world With the Satan of the Old Testament, Māra has not much in common, though there are some points of resemblance Like Māra, Satan goes forth to tempt Job, to test his loyalty to God whose permission he obtains before commencing his evil activities

Previous works in the field

Scholars like Windisch,[1] Beal,[2] Kern,[3] Rockhill[4] and Sir Charles Elliot[5] have given us very little information regarding Māra and his activities

Oldenberg's treatise on Māra is indeed the pioneer work in this field In the following pages an attempt has been made to collect from the Buddhist literature materials which remained hitherto unnoticed and which throw some new light on the subject The Buddhist conception of Mara is in many respects the same as that of the Hindu Kamadeva Like Kamadeva, Māra has his flowery arrow and there are many more points of resemblance , in fact, Māra is one of the names by which Kamadeva is designated in Brahmanical

[1] Mara und Buddha
[2] The Romantic Legend of Śakya Buddha pp 86 199
[3] Manual of Indian Buddhism, pp 16 ff 30 31 47 101
[4] The Life of the Buddha pp 97 31 3 33 and 119
[5] Hinduism and Buddhism Vol I pp 143 164 175 Vol II p 160 Vol III pp 69 3 359

literature Māra bears many names in Pāli literature, he is called, for example, Kanha (black), Adhipati (chief), Antagu (destroyer), Namuci (non deliverer), Pamattavandhu (friend of the passionate)[1] and at the same time he is also designated Maccu (death)[2], perhaps because death and ruin overtake one who is caught in the snares of Māra Anatthakāma (wishing ill), Ahitakāma (wishing injury) and Ayogakhemakāma (wishing unsafety) are the epithets of Mara, (Majjhima Nikāya, Vol I, p 118)

Various epithets of Mara

Kāma (sensual pleasure) forms the first army of Māra, arati (discontent) is his second army, khuppipāsā (hunger and thirst), the third, tanhā (desire), the fourth, thīnamiddha (sloth and torpor), the fifth, bhiru (fear), the sixth, vicikicchā (doubt), the seventh, makkho (disdain to others) and thambho (self adulation) the eighth, labha (gain), siloka (fame), sakkāra (honour), micchaladdhaṁ aso (wealth obtained by improper means), attānamsamukkamsanā (self praise) and paresam avajānanā (speaking ill of others)—all these constitute Mara s army (Niddesa, Vol, I p 96 cf Sutta Nipāta, Padhāna Sutta).

Mara s army

Ditthadhammika kāmasaññā (i e the idea of sensual pleasure in present life) and samparāyi kakamasaññā (i e, the idea of sensual pleasure in future life) form the kingdom, state and food of Māra (Majjhima Nikāya Vol II pp 261 262)

Kingdom and food of Mara

[1] Niddesa (P T S) p. 489
[2] Jataka (Fausboll) Vol IV p 173

The snare of Māra (Mārabandhanaṁ) means that a meditative person through two kinds of meditation. becomes freed from the snare of Māra which consist of births in Kāmavacara, rūpāvacara and arūpāvacaralokas[1]. One is entangled in the snares of Māra if one has any attachment for a beautiful form, etc.[2] Māra is the chief of those who are possessed of adhipatti (influence)[3]. He who has attachment is entangled by Māra.[4]. In the Dhammapada we read that Māra will certainly overthrow a person who is unrestrained in his senses, immoderate in his food idle and weak.[5] A person's mind is always attempting to come out of the kingdom of Māra.[6] Those who can restrain their mind and check its propensities can escape the snares of Māra.[7] One should fight with Māra with the weapon of wisdom [8] One can go beyond the sight of Māra, King of Death, by destroying the flowery arrow of Māra.[9] Māra cannot find those who are pious, leading a strenuous life and emancipated by perfection of wisdom.[10] One can make oneself free from Māra if one has attained the noble eightfold path [11] Those who meditate on the impurities of the body can cut off the snares of Māra.[12] Māra cannot destroy the Dhammacakka (wheel of law).[13]

Snare of Mara—how to get rid of it

Idle and weak overthrown by Māra.

Pious men not overthrown by Mara

[1] Dhammapada Commentary, Vol. III pp 403-404
[2] Saṁyutta Nikāya, Vol. IV p 91
[3] Aṅguttara Nikaya, Vol II p. 17.
[4] Saṁyutta Nikāya, Vol. III. p 73
[5] Dhammapada, Yamakavagga, verse 7, P T S Ed
[6] Ibid, p 5
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid, 6
[9] Ibid, 7
[10] Ibid, 8
[11] Ibid, 40.
[12] Ibid, 50
[13] Nettipakaraṇa, pp. 8, 9

One should destroy the army of Mara with strenuous exertion [1] One whose mind is not protected, who has false belief and is idle comes under the control of Māra [2] The Nettipakarana mentions the fact that Māra could not detect the consciousness of Godhika [3] Māra went to search for Vakkali's consciousness but he could find no trace of it because Vakkali passed away completely before the quest of Māra [4] The Visuddhimagga tells us that a wise man who finds delight in forest hermitage, that is, who has freed himself from the ties of the world, is fit to overcome Māra with his army [5] A yogi who remains fixed in his seat spending his whole time in meditation, can subdue Mara [6] The Niddesa relates a conversation that is supposed to have taken place between a bhikkhunī named Vajirā and Māra Vajira said to Mara thus , 'There is no sattā (being) here who can come under your control This is no being but a heap of dirts (Vol I , p 439, cf Kathāvatthu, Vol I p 66 , Abhidhammāvatāra, p 88)

Dhammacakka not destructible by Mara

False believer controlled by Mara

Yogi unsubdued by Mara

Mara & Vajira

There is a reference to the Buddha's subjugation of Māra at the foot of the Bodhi tree at Gayā (Ibid, p 455) The Buddha assured his disciples thus, 'Oh, bhikkhus, if you live within the country of your father (i e

Bhikkhus living within the Buddha s country are not overcome by Mara

[1] Nettipakarapa, p 40 [2] Ibid p 85 [3] Ibid p 39
[4] Samyutta Nikaya Vol III p 124
[5] Vol I p 73
[6] Visuddhimagga Vol I p 79

the Buddha), you will not be overcome by Māra (Niddes- Vol I, p 475) Māra has no share in jarā (old age vyādhi (disease), marana (death) and pubbakata pāpakammam (Kathāvatthu, Vol II pp 457 458 The Itivuttaka tells us that Māra is conquered by a person who is free from attachment and who has risen triumphant over all sufferings and will not be born again (p 58) A fool a person devoid of merit, and one who earns his livelihood by following low professions are reborn in hell (Ibid p 59) Those who are under the domain of passion, delusion and anger, are ignorant of the ariyadhammas and subject to Saccāyadiṭṭhi (heresy of individuality). They cannot liberate themselves from the clutches of Māra (Ibid, p 92). The Anguttara Nikāya asserts that one who follows the dhamma can conquer Māra (Vol I p 150)

Mara conquered by all exerting bhikkhus

The bhikkhu who puts forth the right effort and who has conquered the kingdom of Māra, is not subject to rebirth and death He can conquer Māra with this army and can destroy the power of Namuci and live full of bliss (Anguttara Nikāya, Vol II p 15)

An ariyasāvaka not subdued by Mara

An ariyasāvaka endowed with the seven kinds of saddhamma and the four jhānas, is one who has passed beyond the influence of Māra (Ibid, Vol IV pp 108 109) In one of the Jātakas, we read that Vaddhaki and Yuvañjaya passed beyond the kingdom of Māra, which was made up of rāga (passion), dosa (fault), and moha (delusion) (Fausboll, Jātaka, Vol IV p 123)

Mara an antagonist of the Buddha

Māra stood up as an antagonist of the Buddha trying to prevent his attainment of Nirvāna Māra in his great and ineffectual struggle to bring down the Buddha, used all sorts of arms, both physical and spiritual The Nettipakaraṇa tells us that Māra hurled a huge stone at the Buddha from the top of the Gijjhakuta mountain (p 34) When Siddhārtha was going out of the city of Kapilavastu for the great renunciation, he was met by Māra at the gate He urged Prince Siddhārtha not to leave the city as he (Buddha) would become an universal monarch on the seventh day if he stayed in it, but all Māra's efforts were in vain Māra then tried the effect of threats on him and pointed out that he would bring him to grief if the least thought of lust distrubed his mind In vain did he seek for seven long years to detect any defect in the conduct of the Buddha After the lapse of five years, the Buddha acquired omniscience When the Buddha was sitting at the foot of the Ajapālanigrodha tree, in the fifth week of his attainment of bodhi, Mara came and told him that he was now beyond his power The three daughters of Māra named tanhī, aratī and rāga tried to tempt the Buddha in various ways but all were in vain (Dhammapada Commentary, Vol III, pp 195 196) Again we are told that when the Buddha was going for alms to a Brahmin village named Pañcasala, Māra resolved that he should not get any alms there Mara entered the bodies of the villagers and inclined their minds not to offer any alms to the Buddha who came back to the village gate with his empty bowl Māra taunted him by putting the question whether he had received any

alms The Buddha replied that he was fully aware of his mischievous intention Thereupon Māra urged him again to go and seek for alms with the sinister object that the Buddha might be insulted all the more The Buddha retorted that he would live on pīti (joy) like the ābhassaradevas if he received no alms (Dhammapada Commentary, (Vol III pp 257 258) The same commentary also records another passage at arms between the Buddha and Māra , we are told that a god belonging to the Mara world entered into the bodies of five hundred young women of whom the great and wealthy lady of Sāvatthī, Visākhā Migāramātā, was in charge As Māra got possession of them, they began to laugh and clap their hands in the presence of the Buddha, who, however, became aware of the fact that all this was the act of Mara By his supernatural powers the Buddha created darkness and the women were entirely nonplussed and were overtaken by fear A short while afterwards they came to their senses Then the Buddha removed the darkness and brought in light and the ladies became ashamed of their light conduct (Ibid Vol III, pp 101 102)

The Dhammapadatthakathā narrates another story re counting how Māra tried to catch the Buddha in his toils The Buddha said on one occasion that the kings were in the habit of oppressing their subjects, thus causing untold misery to them He further said that if he had been the ruler, he would have ruled his kingdom without any such oppression Mara ordered him the sovereignty of a kingdom with a view to put him to trouble The Buddha, however, saw through his evil motive and gave out his intention to him and said, "the four means of obtaining supernatural power have been

well meditated on If necessary, I can even change the Himālaya mountains into gold Therefore I can rule the subjects well without exacting any tax from them" He further said that Mara need not tempt him (Dhammapada Commentary, Vol IV, pp 31—32), as all such attempts were bound to be fruitless Once Māra in the shape of an elephant attacked Rāhulakumāra while he was lying down in the latrine of the Buddha, being driven out by the bhikkhus in the Jetavana vihāra, Māra's intention was to terrify Rāhula and thereby to cause pain to the mind of the Buddha The Exalted One, however, recognised Māra and told him at once and retorted "pāra is obtained by sinless arahats You are Māra and you have nothing to do with pāra" (Ibid, Vol IV, pp 140 141)

The Majjhima Nikāya records that Mara entered into the bowels of Mahāmoggallāna who felt his stomach to be heavy Trying to find out the cause he sat down to meditate and came to know that Māra had entered into his body He asked Māra to leave him and not to disturb Tathagata and his disciples Māra came out of his mouth and stood on the bar of the door Mahamoggallana related to him (Mara) his deeds in time of the Buddha Kakusandha the trouble he gave to Vidura which ultimately led him to hell where he suffered for many years (Vol I pp 332 foll)

The Anguttara Nikāya records a conversation which the Buddha is supposed to have held with Māra three months before his parinibbana Mara said Let the Blessed One now pass away this is the time for him to pass away You said that you would not pass away until your disciples were

trained properly, until they had grown restrained, fearless, learned, beholders of dhamma, followers of the dhamma and the right path, till they were able to teach and preach and also to refute the teachings of others Your disciples are now competent to do all this work and it is time for you to pass away" Mara also said the same thing regarding the bhikkhunīs The Blessed One replied, "Don't be anxious The Tathāgata will pass away after the lapse of three months" (Vol IV, pp 310 311) The Samyutta Nikāya informs us that Māra in the guise of a devatā named Vetamvarī came to the Buddha and told him thus, "He who hates tapa (austerity) and does not like to stay alone, who is addicted to rupas or beautiful forms and wishes to go to the regions of the blessed (devaloka), is competent to give advice regarding the attainment of the next world" The Buddha recognised Māra in the guise of a god and explained to him that "rūpa (form) in this world, in the next and in the sky, is praised by Namuci It is nothing but a bait" (Vol I p 67) One night while the Buddha was at Veluvana, Māra in the guise of a big snake, went to terrify the Exalted One who, however, recognised him at once and said, "He who lives in a solitary place and has self restraint, has no reason to be afraid of any terrible sight and can bear the bite of snakes, etc" (Ibid, Vol I pp 106 107) On another occasion, Mara said to the Buddha, "the term of life of a human being is long It should be enjoyed to the full extent" The Buddha retorted that the contrary was the truth (Ibid, Vol I p 108) Māra disturbed the Buddha while he was delivering a discourse on dhamma to a large assembly at Jetavana by saying, "You

have your opponent, why are you roaring like a lion ? You have not yet conquered your opponent, why should you call yourself a conqueror ?" The Buddha replied, "He who has become fearless, does roar in this way The Tathāgatas who are endowed with ten powers, are veritable conquerors of the world" (Saṃyutta Nikāya, Vol I p 110) Mara came to the Buddha while he was lying at ease after having received injury to the finger of his leg due to the stone thrown at him by Devadatta, and said, "You have no wealth, how is it that you are lying at ease Are you absorbed in poetry or indolence ?" The Buddha replied, "I have enough wealth, I am lying at ease with compassion for all beings Those who are pierced with arrows, etc , are lying at ease, why should I not lie at ease being free from all spears ?" (Ibid , pp 110 111) Again Māra, in the guise of a fiery bull, wanted to break the bowls of the bhikkhus placed outside in the sun while the bhikkhus were attentively listening to the religious instructions given by the Buddha on upādānakkhandha at Sāvatthī A bhikkhu shouted that a bull had come and it might break the bowls The Buddha said that it was Māra that had come in that guise and not a real bull (Ibid , p 112) While the Buddha was delivering a discourse on Nirvāna at Sāvatthī, Māra in the guise of a ploughman came and told him, "Have you seen my bulls ?" By this query Māra disturbed the Buddha and the bhikkhus and their attention was distracted (Ibid , p 115) Māra told his daughters to overpower and defeat the Buddha They made every attempt to do so but in vain (Ibid , Vol I p 127)

Tibetan account of Mara's fight with the Buddha

A study of the Tibetan version of the account of Māra's fight with the Buddha is interesting and instructive

Before his attainment of Nirvāṇa, Buddha intended to destroy his antagonist, Māra, the Buddhist Satan He addressed the bhikkhus and said that he would put an end to Māra, the master of lust He then issued from his forehead a ray of light that illuminated the world The earth quaked Māra heard the following message —"The being who is very pure, who has led a religious life for many ages, who is the son of Suddhodana and who has given up his kingdom, desires to favour other beings with his nectar-like teachings Be careful, as he is coming to day before the Bodhi tree When he will be free, he will help others to be free, he will rejoice and make others rejoice He will pass away from this world of affliction and will help others to do so He will thoroughly destroy the three apāyas[1] to have the city filled up with Devas If the self born religion comes, it will uproot the city of the devil and the devil will then be quite helpless, knowing not whither he should go" Māra got frightened to hear the message He dreamt thirty-two different kinds of dreams, viz , 1 His place has been overshadowed by darkness 2 He runs away through fear 3 He sees that he is leaving his crown 4 He sees the feathers of goose, crane, peacock, etc , falling 5 He sees that musical instruments, e g , drums, conches, kettle drums, etc , break into pieces and fall down on the ground, and so on He asked his retinue to be careful and addressed them saying, "One who is endowed with all the good signs

1 In the Pali account we find four apāyas.

and who has undergone many difficulties, comes of the Śākya family, and will subdue the members of the devil's kingdom I have heard from the Heaven above that the Buddha, the Blessed One, has obtained Nirvāna If these innumerable beings drink the nectar of his religion (dhamma) then I with my kingdom will perish for ever. Therefore you, all these great hosts, muster strong and go there to conquer that Śramana Oh, you four kinds of troops, be ready at once and march on Oh, hosts, if you have love for me, you should not fly from the battle-field Though the world is full of arahats, victory will be ours, our sorrows will come to an end, and we shall not be overcome by him If this man becomes victorious and becomes Dharmarājā, then there would be no end of his lineage" Then said Māra's son, "Oh, father, what hast thou done? Why does your face look dark? Your heart seems to be beating much and you are shivering, so please tell me what you have seen or heard I will serve you to the best of my ability" Then said Mara, "I have dreamt a dreadful dream If I am to narrate it before this gathering, all of you will faint and fall on the ground" Then Mara s captain named Sarthavāha said to Māra, 'If we get victory over him (Buddha) then there is little credit, but if the result be otherwise, our heads will be bent down in shame Would it not be better if we refrain from fighting with him?" Mara replied the captain saying that he could not bow down at the feet of the Buddha and his followers The brave should be known in fight The captain rejoined him saying that it would be

of no use for one, however great and powerful, to fight with a real hero One proud and of gloomy nature cannot prosper Māra turned a deaf ear to the captain's words Four kinds of troops were ready by his order With his troops, brave and dreadful to look at, having different faces wrapped up with many thousands of serpents, carrying swords, arrows, bows and various other terrible implements—troops unforeseen and unheard of before by gods and men—Māra attacked the Blessed One But the wise one who was powerful and quite unshakable like the hill Sumeru, cared nothing, saw and took Mara's threatnings and temptations to be as evanescent as clouds of heaven He sat in deep meditation Māra saw him, became terrified and turned mad He said to his troops that the son of Śākya, whose shelter was religion, who understood delusion and who had a mind as vast as the firmament did not turn mad when he saw his (Māra's) army Those sons of Māra, who had faith in the Buddha sat on the right side of Māra and those who did not believe in the Buddha sat on the left side of Mara Then Māra discussed with his troops as to how he could conquer the Blessed One The captain, a son of Mara, said, "I like to wake up the Nāga King I like to wake up the king of elephants I like to wake up the king of animals I like to wake up the king of men to day' Then spoke the devil named Durmati, "My eye sight can render twain hearts of beings whom it will touch, and can divide the essence of the oldest tree in the world No being on whom shall fall my sight, can survive So if I fix my eyes on the Buddha, he will have no power to breathe again" Thus there arose disputes amongst

the devils themselves Afterwards there spoke another devil who was called Sūthavāha, "Buddha is not ignorant You do not know his powers, he controls the other side and by his merits all are defeated Although sons of Māra are innumerable as the sands of the Ganges, they are powerless to shake even a hair of his person It is useless to say that you will kill him It is impossible, you must not think of harming him but be humble and have faith in the Buddha, as he is the king of Trilokas Better go back without fighting with him' Thus sons of Māra who were on the left side held a strong discussion about Buddha's power Then another devil named Sena Bhadra spoke to Māra thus "If you and your followers bow down before the Buddha with folded palms, then Indra, Dharmapālas hosts of kinnaras, chief of Asuras, king of birds and others will bow before him without any question The Buddha has seen your frightful and terrible troops but he does not get frightened Surely he will conquer you all as a hero' Then from the right row a son of Mara named Pramayana said The sun, the moon, the lion and the kings of the world need no help The Bodhisattva surely needs no help Thus many followers of Māra spoke and gave their reasons to refrain Māra from combating the Bodhi sattva In vain, Mara, the emblem of evil, heard the arguments advanced by his followers He grew jealous of the Buddha all the more He saw a wonderful miracle He saw that his troops had gone into the mouth of the Buddha rendering him (Mara) quite helpless, that he had to run away from the spot, that he had mustered up courage and had turned up again with his vast army and had attacked

the Buddha with various sorts of weapons which were miraculously turned into garlands, canopies, bunches of flowers as if to decorate the Bodhi tree This wonderful miracle strongly agitated Māra who asked the Buddha to leave the Bodhi tree and to go back to his kingdom to rule over it, and told him that he would not be able to attain Nirvāna with such a little knowledge Buddha said to Māra in a soft and sweet tone, 'Oh, sinner, you offered one sacrifice while I offered myriads and myriads of sacrifices" He then explained to Māra his sacrifices in detail Then said Māra to the Buddha that he (the Buddha) had been defeated as he had seen only one offering Buddha cited the earth, the abode of all animals, as his witness He touched the earth and addressed her saying, "Oh, Bhūmidevī, be good enough to be my witness" The earth quaked for sometime in different ways Then Bhūmidevī with her myriads and myriads of retinue appeared before the Buddha and said, "It is true what you have said, Oh, Thou Blessed One! You are the only one upon whom all the devas in the world can rely" So saying disappeared Bhūmidevī with her retinue Mara heard Bhūmidevī's words and ran away quite helpless with his troops He then called his daughters sought their help and told them to go to the Bodhi tree to tempt the Blessed One by all lustful means to see whether the Buddha was mentally strong or degenerated Māra's daughters came to the Buddha and examined him very minutely They found him as pure as moon light as beautiful as the morning sun, as radiant as the golden cetya They found him unshakable like the hill Sumeru and a deep thinker They then praised the Buddha, danced before him and to arouse passion in

him they sang charming songs which read as follows — "The season of lust is the spring when all flowers blossom You have a beautifully shaped body Your fame has brought us under your influence We are born of all shapes and complexion Beautiful as we are we are for the enjoyment of gods and men So turn away from the path of Nirvāna which is difficult to obtain Better enjoy yourself with us who are ever young' Buddha did not yield to their temptations He replied them in a very sweet and soft tone, "Desire is the root of all sorrows It hinders samādhi riddhi etc" He looked at their faces and bellies and explained various things Māra's daughters especially Trsnā (desire) Rati (passion) and Prīti (affection) disregarded Buddha's words and tempted him for the second time The Buddha said, 'Gods and men of the Trilokas worship me and my Dhamma cakra will revolve in these Trilokas I will acquire dasabala (ten potentialities), many men, be they my disciples or not will gather around me and my heart will rejoice in a place where there are lovers of my religion' but his words produced little effect Māra s daughters whose number is legion again tempted Buddha in various ways but all their attempts were futile At length they said to the Blessed one in eulogistic terms Oh Pure One your person is as stainless as the lotus flower and radiates a dazzling light like a golden hill your face is as lovely and beautiful as the autumn moon May your labour be fruitful and your purpose be fulfilled" So saying they went back to Māra bowed down at his feet and addressed him thus Oh our only father! It is better that you should banish your wrath upon the Teacher of Devas and men who looked at us smilingly with

his lotus eyes The Blessed One is not a man of lust or temper Hill Sumeru may shake, ocean may dry, the sun and the moon may be dislodged but the Blessed One who knows the sins of the Trilokas will by no means come under woman's power" Māra heard his daughters grew enraged and rebuked them but they asked him again not to march against the Blessed One Then there appeared eight jungle devis (Goddesses of forest) who after worshipping the Buddha and praising him said to Māra "Oh sinner, Retire and restrain yourself, you are helpless like an elephant in the mire" Māra paid little attention to these words He ordered his army to attack the Buddha for the last time with such a violent force as would not spare his life Mara's army charged the Buddha with all sorts of weapons and implements and with various satanic means but all their hopes and attempts were frustrated They were utterly defeated Buddha said to Māra, 'If the hill Sumeru shakes, if all the creatures die, if the countless stars fall down with the moon from the heaven above, then a man like myself subject to the Bodhirāja will never change his intention" Mara became very much distressed when he heard Buddha's reply and disappeared

Then while the Buddha was being worshipped and honoured by Jyotiputradeva and Brahma with flowers, etc, Māra s sons who were on the right side of Mara, brought an umbrella and a big canopy for the Buddha, and with folded hands they eulogised the Buddha in these terms, 'Oh Mighty One We bow to you because you have defeated us You have taken a firm seat you do not rise up nor shake your person nor do you speak You

are the only one who exerts for the welfare of all the beings in the Trilokas Myriads and myriads of devils could not interfere your action, nor could they shake you from your place under the Bodhi tree Your charities are as countless as the sands of the Ganges" Then Māra came to the Tathāgata and told him that it was the time for his attainment of Nirvāna He asked the Buddha to leave the world Buddha said to Māra, "Oh, great sinner, my bhikkhus are quite firm in their faith, until I see them mild and pure until I firmly establish in the world the name of Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha, I shall not pass away" When Mara heard these words, he bent down his head and stood in a corner, sad and demure He thought that the Tathāgata had gone beyond his power At this time came his three daughters Trsnā Rati and Priti who asked him to speak out the cause of his disappointment, and who promised him to bind the Blessed One by the force of their passion and to put him under their power Mara said, The arahat who has attained perfect wisdom will not be overcome by passion It grieves me much that he has advanced far beyond my powers Then Mara's daughters without paying any heed to his words transformed themselves into youthful figures like the mother of one baby appeared before the Blessed One and exerted all their passionate powers to tempt him But the Blessed One took no notice of these temptations and Māra's daughters became old women as the result of their evil kamma They then came to Mara and appealed to him for regaining their former youth and beauty Māra advised them to go to the Tathāgata to beseech him to have mercy on them and to give them

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Māra tried to lead astray the therīs by painting th picture of the worldly enjoyments in brilliant colours bu here also all his attempts proved unsuccessful Māra urged Ālavikā, a bhik khunī thus, 'Enjoy sensual pleasures otherwise you will repent" Ālavikā replied, Kāma is like a spear I do not find any pleasure in it (Samyutta Nikāya, Vol I p 128) Māra went to Kisāgotamī, the great therī, and told her, "Why are you crying for a dead son? Go to the forest and select a suitable husband for yourself She recognised Māra and told him, 'I am sorrowful I have no fear I do not like to go after a man I have destroyed all my attachments the darkness of ignorance has been dispelled I am now free from sins having conquered you and your army' (Ibid p 130) On another occasion, Mara went to Vijaya bhikkhuni and told her, You are young, I am also young let us enjoy ourselves' Vijaya replied I do not find any delight in sensual pleasures (Ibid, p 131) Mara went to a therī named Calā and told her 'What is it that you don't want?' She replied I do not want birth" He rejoined 'If you be born you can enjoy the pleasures of the senses' She replied If one is born one is subject to death, one will have to suffer much I wish to follow the dhamma preached by the Buddha for overcoming birth" (Ibid,

Mara's attempt to lead astray the therīs baffled

p 132) Māra went to another therī named selā and addressed her thus, "By whom has this body been made ? Who is the maker of it ? What is it and how will it cease to exist ?" Selā recognised Māra and replied, "I am not the maker of this body which has come into existence owing to some cause and it will pass away after the cause is destroyed" (Samyutta Nikāya, Vol I p 134) Similar stories of temptations held out by Māra to many of the therīs are recorded in the Therīgāthī Sukkā therī after having attained arahatship said thus, "Hold the antimadēha after defeating Māra and his army" (Therīgāthā Com , p 61) Selā therī after having obtained arathatship went to Andhavana for spending the day. Māra in order to prevent her from meditating, said to her, "There is no salvation in this world What good will you derive by meditation ? Enjoy Kāma" The therī in reply told Māra that he was but a fool and that he was not aware that she had acquired arahatship The therī further said, "Kāma is like a spear, why do you speak of sensual pleasures ?" *I do not find any delight in them* I am free from attachment You have been killed" pp 64-65) Somā therī attained arahatship and Māra to disturb her at Andhavana Māra said to her, "Wh difficult for a rsi to get, how will you get being a little woman She replied, "Although I am a woman, if my mind is steadfast, if I have wisdom, I shall see the dhamma perfectly. The state of a woman is no hindrance to my attainment of arahatship My attachment is destroyed, ignorance is dispelled and you have been defeated" (Ibid, pp 66 67)

Once Khemā therī sat under a tree to spend the day Māra in the guise of a youngman tried to induce her to

back their former youth Māra's daughters acted up to their father's advice Buddha forgave them and they got back their former adolescence Thus ended all lustful activities of Māra's daughters. Complete defeat attended Māra and his army.

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Māra tried to lead astray the therīs by painting the picture of the worldly enjoyments in brilliant colours, but here also all his attempts proved unsuccessful Māra urged Ālavikā, a bhikkhunī, thus, "Enjoy sensual pleasures, otherwise you will repent" Ālavikā replied, Kāma is like a spear. I do not find any pleasure in it (Samyutta Nikāya, Vol. I p 128) Māra went to Kisāgotamī, the great therī, and told her, "Why are you crying for a dead son? Go to the forest and select a suitable husband for yourself" She recognised Māra and told him, "I am sorrowful, I have no fear I do not like to go after a man I have destroyed all my attachments, the darkness of ignorance has been dispelled I am now free from sins having conquered you and your army" (Ibid, p 130) On another occasion, Māra went to Vijayā bhikkhunī and told her, 'You are young, I am also young, let us enjoy ourselves" Vijayā replied, "I do not find any delight in sensual pleasures (Ibid, p 131) Māra went to a therī named Cālā and told her, "What is it that you don't want?" She replied, "I do not want birth" He rejoined, "If you be born, you can enjoy the pleasures of the senses" She replied, "If one is born, one is subject to death, one will have to suffer much I wish to follow the dhamma preached by the Buddha for overcoming birth" (Ibid,

bhikkhus if they follow the sublime eightfold path (Jātaka, Vol III p 532) Māra asked a householder not to offer charity He also told him that if he did so he would suffer in a hell which he pointed out to him and which was full of burning charcoal and he acted according to his advice (Jataka, Vol I p 231) Māra also tried to dissuade a banker of Benares from making any gift to a paccekabuddha who came to him for charity With this end in view Māra caused a shower of burning charcoal to fall in front of the gate of the banker's house and there was such a heap of burning charcoal that it looked like the Avici hell, thereby trying to prevent the paccekabuddha from having access to the house and the benefit of the charity but at the intervention of the Bodhisattva, Māra's attempt was baffled (Jataka, Vol I p 232 foll) Buddha in course of his religious instruction to the bhikkhus told them thus, "Don t walk in an improper place which is not the Buddha's property because Mara would find an opportunity of finding fault with you" (Jātaka, Vol II p 60) A thera named Nandiya after obtaining saintship was once dwelling in a Deer park Pācinīvamsa In order to terrify him Māra went to him after having assumed a horrible appearance Nandiya having recognised Māra told him, "You can't do any harm to a person who has gone beyond your kingdom (Therīgāthā Commentary Sinhalese Ed p 82)

The Mahāyana Buddhist texts contain some references to Māra and his activities Mara tried to prevent a Bodhisattva named Sadāprarudita from acquiring merit The Bodhisattva when he heard a divine voice that

enjoy worldly pleasures and said, "You are young and beautiful, let us enjoy ourselves" The therī became aware that it was Māra who was trying to tempt her in that way and replied him thus, "This rotten body is much hated by me I have destroyed Kāmatanhā I do not find delight in kāma, I am free from all sins You have been destroyed" (Therīgāthī, p 136) Māra attempted to prevent Cālā therī from leading a holy life Cālā told Māra thus, "I have received ordination after listening to the Buddha who has preached the four noble truths to me I have received three vijjās I am now beyond your dominion" (Therīgāthā Commentary, pp 163 164)

Uppalavannā therī went to the sāl forest to spend the day Māra addressed her thus, 'If you, being alone, are oppressed by the wicked people, what will you do ?" She replied, "If many wicked people come and oppress me, I am not afraid" 'What will you do being alone ? You will not be able to recognise me if I disappear from your presence and enter into your stomach or stand on your eye brow ?" "My mind is steadfast I have acquired six abhiññās I have mastered the Buddhasāsana Therefore you cannot overcome me' (Ibid, pp 198 199)

Mara s campaign against Buddhi t upasakas and bhikkhus

In the Sutta Nipāta Commentary we read that Māra tried to prevent Dhaniya and his wife from taking ordination from the Buddha by saying, 'One having sons finds delight in them as cowherds find delight in cows Attachment is the root of happiness The Buddha refuted it (Vol I p 44) From the Jātakas we learn that Māra cannot overcome the

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Dharmodgata would arise and take his seat in the midst of the town to preach the Law, he was elated with joy. The Bodhisattva then went to cleanse the spot and appointed a pulpit adorned with many gems. Then he desired to sprinkle water on the ground but he did not get it because all water had been hidden by Māra, the Evil One, in order to cause him to change his purpose and thereby to get the root of his merits disappeared. But the object of Māra was baffled because the Bodhisattva not finding any water drew out blood from his body for the purpose of cleaning the spot. (Śikṣāsamuccaya, translated by Bendall and Rouse, pp. 42 foll). The Buddha-carita Kāvya informs us that when Siddhārtha was sitting at the foot of the Bo-tree to obtain omniscience, Māra with his three sons, Vibhrama, Harṣa and Darpa and with his three daughters Rati, Prīti and Tṛṣṇā, and himself armed with the flowe[illegible] arrow, came to the Aśvattha tree to disturb him. Māra tried various ways to tempt the Buddha but in vain. Māra with his army tried to make him impatient but in vain. He then left the Buddha in despair. (Book 13., cf. Saundarananda Kāvya. Canto III, Ślokas 7-8). After the Buddha had received Sambodhi, Māra came to him and told him, "Your object has been fulfilled. Obtain nirvāṇa." The Buddha replied thus, "After having placed all people in Dharma, I shall obtain nirvāṇa." At this Māra grew furious and returned home. The daughters of Māra made many fruitless attempts to tempt the Buddha. (Ibid., pp. 11-36). Māra in the guise of Kauleśvara of the Śākya family came to the Buddha and requested him to return to Kapilavastu but the Buddha recognised him

and asked him to return home (Buddha carita Kāvya, pp 37 45) In the Mahāvastu Avadāna, we read that when the Bodhisattva came to the foot of the Bodhi tree, Māra became terrified and began to praise him saying, "You are unparalleled in beauty You are possessed of seven gems You are endowed with the thirty two signs of a great man You enjoy women The daughters of Māra are singing songs and throwing scented powder to cheer you up Oh, prince, stay at home and enjoy yourself" The Bodhisattva replied, "I have no desire for kāma I am after salvation Kāma is to be given up Women are the cause of harm The Bodhisattva is not attached to women Don't speak of Kāma" Māra's son, Sārthavāha, said to his father thus, "Please listen to me The Bodhisattva will remove the darkness of ignorance He will be our saviour He will do good to the world He will defeat all the army of Māra You will not be able to move him by any means" At this Māra grew angry with his son The army of Māra attacked the Bodhisattva but he was not afraid Māra and his army were thus defeated (Vol II p 327 *et seq*)

The most detailed and elaborate account of the great struggle between Buddha and Māra is narrated in the Lalitavistara When Prince Siddhārtha was about to attain sambodhi, Māra dreamt many inauspicious dreams and came to know of the great effort that the Śākya prince was making for final emancipation He at once roused his sons and assistants, his generalissimo, Simhahanu by name and all his friends and relatives, informed them of the activities of Siddhārtha and prepared a mighty host of all arms, his soldiers were fearful and terrible, of all queer and uncouth forms

that the imagination of man can conceive of. His thousand sons were ranged in two battalions to his right and left. Those ranged on the right led by Sārthavāha urged him to submit to the Bodhisattva while those on the left argued to the contrary and were determined to fight to a finish. Then commenced the onset of Māra whose army began to strike at him with all sorts of weapons Huge heaps of flowers and dreadful fire hurled at him formed an aureole round his body ; dreadful and deadly weapons formed beds of sweet smelling flowers round about the Bodhi tree and many of them hanging from it in garlands added to its beauty. Then Māra appeared before him and urged him to rule over the earth but failing to tempt the Bodhisattva, he fled with his army Then Māra urged his fascinating daughters to try all their arts and skill on the Bodhisattva They tried at first the effect of the thirty-two womanly arts upon him but could not produce the least impression on him Then they tried to tempt him with sweet gāthās to enjoy the pleasures of the senses in their company but the Bodhisattva discoursed to them on the futility of all desires Then the daughters of Māra, trained and accomplished as they were in all the female arts and guiles, began to exercise on him the full strength of their powers but the Bodhisattva restrained them with soft and sweet words, unmoved alike by all that they said or did Then they desisted and reported to their father of the futility of female charms against Bodhisattva but Māra would not still turn back. He then tried threats to frighten away the Bodhisattva but he was as unsuccessful as before At last he made a final onset with all sorts of offensive weapons and the whole of his army, but he was utterly

defeated He was thus quite unable to turn away the Śākya prince from the great object he had placed before himself He had then no alternative but to retreat

The Divyāvadāna describes a fight between Māra and the sage Upagupta who succeeded in binding the Satanic enemy and inflicted an insulting defeat on him (p 357 *et seq*)

In order to defeat Māra , Lord of the world of desire, one should accept the Law of the Buddha, which causes pain, sorrow and lamentation to Māra, the Evil One (Śikṣā-samuccaya, Tr by Bendall and Rouse, p 41)

CHAPTER XI

DUKKHA AND SUKHA

One of the basic realizations of all religions is an awareness of *Dukkha*,—that is of the ills of life,—from which each system endeavours to find salvation either now or at some future time Even such a modern form of thought a Christian Science comes to offer remedy for the "error" o our thinking and the ill resulting therefrom Sāyana th great Vedic commentator thus defines the Veda —" Ved is the book that tells us of the supernatural methods o how to avoid the sufferings and how to get the desirabl happiness "—In no religion is this fundamental truth o *Dukkha* so logically understood and set forth as in the *Buddhadhamma,* where it is called The First Noble Truth

Modern Pāli scholars have come to realize that *Dukkha* cannot in general be adequately translated by the word sorrow It has a wider and profounder meaning It is that condition which includes ignorance, from which greed (*tanhā*) and sorrow (*sola* or *domanassa*) arise The Pāli Text Society's Dictionary says —" There is no word in English covering the same ground as *Dukkha* does in Pali *Sukha* and *Dukkha* are ease and dis ease (but we use disease in another sense), or wealth and ilth from well and ill (but we have now lost ilth), or well being and ill ness but illness means something else in English) We are forced, therefore, in translation to use half synonyms, no one of which is exact *Dukkha* is equally mental and physical

Pain is too predominantly physical, sorrow too exclusively mental, but in some connections they have to be used in default of any more exact rendering Discomfort, suffering, ill and trouble can occasionally be used in certain connections Misery, distress, agony, affliction and woe are never right They are all much too strong and are only mental" Mrs Rhys Davids and other scholars now favour 'ill" as the English word most nearly approaching *Dukkha* The Pāli Text Society's Dictionary defines *sukha* as "agreeable, pleasant, blest happy, pleased nt sukhan well being, happiness, ease, ideal, success'

These two words *dukkha* and *sukha* stand out with great importance for the right understanding of the Buddha dhamma, the freedom and diversity with which they have been translated have led to much confusion and misconception The very object of the Buddhist path is the overcoming of *dukkha*, while the word *sukha* is applied constantly to the highest stages of that path, and even to Nibbāna itself Confusion has arisen from translating by the same English word various Pali words of differing import Thus the truth of the teaching is lost For instance *kama* (coming from the Vedic verb *kama* to desire) is translated as — pleasantness, pleasure giving, an object of sensual pleasure,— or subjectively —enjoyment, pleasure on occasion of sense and sense desire Who when it is merely left at 'pleasant" or 'enjoyment' unless he knows what the original Pāli word is, will have an idea of the connection with sense desire which *kama* always conveys to one knowing the original ? Says the above mentioned dictionary *'Kama* is most frequently connected with *raga* (passion), with *chanda* (im-

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DUKKHA AND SUKHA

One of the basic realizations of all religions is an awareness of *Dukkha* —that is of the ills of life,—from which each system endeavours to find salvation either now or at some future time Even such a modern form of thought as Christian Science comes to offer remedy for the 'error" of our thinking and the ill resulting therefrom Sāyana the great Vedic commentator thus defines the Veda — 'Veda is the book that tells us of the supernatural methods of how to avoid the sufferings and how to get the desirable happiness "—In no religion is this fundamental truth of *Dukkha* so logically understood and set forth as in the *Buddhadhamma,* where it is called The First Noble Truth

Modern Pali scholars have come to realize that *Dukkha* cannot in general be adequately translated by the word sorrow It has a wider and profounder meaning It is that condition which includes ignorance from which greed (*tanha*) and sorrow (*soka* or *domanassa*) arise The Pali Text Society s Dictionary says — There is no word in English covering the same ground as *Dukkha* does in Pali *Sukha* and *Dukkha* are ease and dis ease (but we use disease in another sense), or wealth and ilth from well and ill (but we have now lost ilth), or well being and illness but illness means something else in English) We are forced therefore, in translation to use half synonyms, no one of which is exact *Dukkha* is equally mental and physical

Pain is too predominantly physical, sorrow too exclusively mental, but in some connections they have to be used in default of any more exact rendering Discomfort, suffering, ill and trouble can occasionally be used in certain connections Misery, distress, agony, affliction and woe are never right They are all much too strong and are only mental." Mrs. Rhys Davids and other scholars now favour "ill" as the English word most nearly approaching *Dukkha* The Pali Text Society's Dictionary defines *sukha* as "agreeable, pleasant, blest happy, pleased nt sukhan well-being, happiness, ease, ideal, success"

These two words -*dukkha* and *sukha* stand out with great importance for the right understanding of the Buddha-dhamma, the freedom and diversity with which they have been translated have led to much confusion and misconception The very object of the Buddhist path is the overcoming of *dukkha*, while the word *sukha* is applied constantly to the highest stages of that path, and even to Nibbāna itself Confusion has arisen from translating by the same English word various Pali words of differing import Thus the truth of the teaching is lost For instance *kama* (coming from the Vedic verb *kama* to desire) is translated as — pleasantness, pleasure giving, an object of sensual pleasure,— or subjectively —enjoyment, pleasure on occasion of sense and sense desire Who, when it is merely left at "pleasant" or "enjoyment," unless he knows what the original Pāli word is, will have an idea of the connection with sense-desire which *kāma* always conveys to one knowing the original? Says the above mentioned dictionary "*Kama* is most frequently connected with *raga* (passion), with *chanda* (im-

pulse) and *gedha* (greed), all expressing the active, clinging, and impulsive character of desire." Since both *sukha* and *kāma* may be translated by "pleasant," the result is to make the Buddha's teaching appear very inconsistent. In a great number of scriptural texts the Blessed One begins by speaking of *kāma* as that which ought to be destroyed, and from the destruction of which will arise *sukha*, which he praises. *Kāma* and *sukha* in the scriptures are constantly being contrasted. To confuse them is to make a most serious mistake. Yet in English as we have seen they may be translated by the same word. *Sukha* is the inclusive term for there is *kāmasukha* translated as "happiness from sense pleasure" and *Nibbānasukha*, the happiness of Nibbāna; but *kāma* is limited to the senses and is prominent in every list of hindrances to perfection. It is first of the four *Asavas*. Other Pāli words of similar import add to our confusion. *Nandi* is rendered: "joy, enjoyment, pleasure, delight" it is distinct from *kāma*, its moral value depending on association. *Pīti* is rendered: "joy, delight, zest, exuberance." It is a word of great significance, as can be seen by its uses. It is often combined and written as one word with *sukha*, to which it has a special relation. Buddhaghosa and other commentators describe *pīti* as that joy which a traveller in the desert, tired and thirsty, would feel upon seeing an oasis: *sukha*, they describe, as the satisfaction which he has when he enters the oasis and drinks of the water. Similarly in *Jhāna* it is *pīti* which precedes and carries the meditator into *sukha*. In the *Visuddhi Magga* (CH. IV) *pīti* is regarded as potent enough to be the immediate means by which levitation and travelling through the air were effected. It is not classi-

fied under feeling (*vedana*) but under mental co efficients and arises in all the higher stages of consciousness except the Fourth and Fifth Jhanas As a factor of Jhana it is said to inhibit aversion *sukha* to inhibit distraction and worry *Somanassa* is another word which is translated as joy

It was to be expected that the early Western interpreta tions of Buddhism would fall short of its true meaning none were more aware of this liability than those first translators to whom we owe so much Thanks to them now that we have the original Pali Canonical Texts in Roman script and translations in both German and English of many of these it is becoming difficult to excuse recurring discrepancies between Western expositions of the canonical teaching and that actually contained in those ancient scriptures Eclecticism too often colours what claims to be an impartial just presentation of the subject Perhaps this criticism applies as much to scholars unable to free themselves from their cherished theories as to anyone What does not meet their favour is ignored or its authenticity ques tioned what appeals to them is apt to be over emphasized To turn from these expositions to the Canonical writings is indeed like a change of air

One of the subjects thrown out of focus and over empha sized by such western writers is *Dukkha* Then that magni ficent work of Schopenhauer *The World as Will and Idea* seems more to shine through their words than does the light and sanity of the Blessed One of Him who taught the Middle Way Why is this ? Can it be because Western peoples not having the deep conviction of ill found in the Hindu

need to dwell upon that thought? For it is in this respect that East and West most profoundly differ. The East impregnated with so intense a knowledge of ever renewing life and its ills, seeks to transcend it. The West, fearful and doubtful that life individually will renew itself longs for its continuation and clings to the hope of personal immortality, barely conceiving the possibility of a really transcendental state. Generally, the doctrine of rebirth or reincarnation when sympathetic to the Westerner appeals because it offers him more lives! While the very object of Eastern religion is to find escape from rebirth. Thus it appears that the younger races have yet to experience that deeper sense of life and its ill. This may account for the absorption of some Western Buddhists in the subject of *dukkha*—that for them and for the West there is need of an emphasis which was not needed by the race born endowed with that knowledge. We find in the clear and beautiful writings of Paul Dahlke or in the eloquence of George Grimm such an emphasis put upon sorrow as though a patient needed to be convinced of his illness. Such a difference in emphasis does not actually constitute a difference of doctrine but surely if the Canonical books be regarded as a unified body of teaching the emphasis is on the Way and the joy of the holy life. *Dukkha* is the first of the four Noble Truths the balance of the teaching is with the other three—(the knowledge *of the cause of ill the ceasing of ill and the Way* thereto). One need but look at the scriptures as a whole to be convinced of this.

The Buddha himself has never been called 'The Man of Sorrow' on the contrary he is constantly called 'The

Exalted One" "The Happy One' or 'The Blessed One" (*Bhagavant*), and the "Well farer' (*Sugata*) His equanimity expresses that Middle Path between the extremes of sensual indulgence and asceticism He seems to us to be the perfectly balanced one Although his consciousness was awakened to the highest, he took delight in simple pleasures, such as the beauty of nature and right solitude and right conversation In *Majjhima Nikaya* (LXVII) the Buddha commends Moggallāna for thinking of him thus At the present time the Blessed One is taking his ease, and will remain enjoying the happiness experienced even in this life itself (This the commentary calls "the fruit of Arahantship") Let us consider firstly the life of the Buddha as depicted in those writings and has personal relation to the subject of *dukkha* and *sukha*

Chief among the advantages of wealth is that it may bring to its possessor the knowledge that not in material welfare is to be found the goal of life the deliverance from ill and sorrow For alas the poor in worldly goods are easily held under such a delusion Suddhodana the father of Prince Siddhārta gave to his son many luxuries gratifying all the demands of the senses hoping thus to quiet any aspirations which might lead the young Gotama away from his environment blind to the fact that for those with depth of insight such gifts could but show their futility and that from such beings the knowledge of *dukkha* could not be withheld

The simple grandeur of Buddhism its reality its freedom from theoretical or theological basis is evident from its inception when Gotama realizing that all life is subject to

suffering, to birth, old age and death (that is to *dukkha* or ill) forsakes his home to find if possible the way for their overcoming Nor from this way did he waver till the goal was won Through experience step by step he trod the Way to Nibbāna The importance can hardly be over emphasized that the Blessed One gained his knowledge of this Way through his own actual experience For although the *Dhamma* leads to the transcendental—(it is a raft—as the Buddha declared— carrying us across the sea of life) its way is found by experience Thus Buddhism is in truth as inclusive of experience as an empirical science It is more psychological than it is philosophical 'One thing only, Brothers, do I make known, now as before, Ill and deliverance from Ill,"—thus the Blessed One continued to teach throughout his entire lifetime To say that he found this deliverance from *dukkha* by turning his attention to *sukha* would not be adequately true, but *sukha* was a most important factor, indeed a primary one in his enlightenment

In Sutta 36 of the *Majjhima Nikāya* the Blessed One relates that he was led to this final enlightenment by his memory of the *joy* and *happiness* (*pītisukham*) which had come to him as a child in his early experience of Jhāna Then after his recollection he said to himself "This is the way of enlightenment" He reflects "Why should I fear this happiness, this happiness otherwise than by sense desire (*kāma*), otherwise than by things not good? And I realized no I do not fear this happiness Because he then forsook the path of extreme asceticism and self-torture he was forsaken by his fellow disciples Here, as in other passages we will give later is shown the need of a deliberate turning

toward *sukha* if *sukha* is to be realized Its appearance here preceding the great enlightenment gives it the highest significance

The fullest account of the life of the Blessed One immediately following his great enlightenment is contained in the Vinaya texts (by some scholars considered the oldest) Surely here are pages worthy of the utmost scrutiny Let us examine them relative to the subject of *dukkha* and *sukha* We find that the *Mahavagga* begins with the Blessed One just after his enlightenment, meditating on the *coming to be* and the *ceasing* of this entire body of ill (*dukkha*) , for thirty-five days he sits in meditation enjoying the bliss of emancipation (*Vimuttisukham*) It seems to us that the pages which follow are radiant with that happiness We feel here more than in most of the scriptures the vision of a younger world than ours, with something of the freshness of youth and dawn It is both the birth of a new order which we find and the redeclaration of the ever Ancient path At that time the Buddha utters these words "Verily when things become manifest to the ardent meditating Brahmin, he stands dispelling the hosts of evil, like the sun that illuminates the sky" 'Happy the solitude of him who is content, who has heard the Truth, who sees Happy is non malice in this world (self) restraint toward all beings that have life Happy is passionlessness in this world, the getting beyond all sense desires (*kāma*) The suppression of that 'I am conceit, this truly is the highest happiness (*paramam sukham*) '

Shown by Brahmā that there are those who will understand his teaching, the Blessed One here begins his long life

as Teacher of gods and men. His message was one of *glad tidings*; he did not have to go out and tell the Hindu world that life was filled with ill—this it knew, and many, like him, had been seeking escape from ill. He was not th doleful teacher; from the very first after his enlightenmer his message was of the joy and bliss of enlightenment, exu tant that he had found the Immortal (*Amata*). It is strang that this word *Amata* which is given as a synonym fo Nibbāna and recurs constantly throughout the Canon should not receive more attention from scholars and b sufficient to refute those who regard the Buddhadhamm as absolute Nihilism. In *Majjhima Nikāya* 64 it is writte of the highly developed *bhikkhu*: "He purges his min from those phenomena (of mind and body), and he applie his mind thus purged to the state which is immortal (*amatāy dhātuyā*)." As the Blessed One starts on his journey to th Five Ascetics at Benares he declares: "I will beat th drum of the Immortal in the darkness of this world," an the first words of his message to them were: "The Immor tal has been won by me." After the sermon of the Middl Way and the Four Noble Truths the five ascetics "rejoicēd at the words of the Blessed One." Then *devas* of eight differ ent realms of existence shouted with joy that the Wheel o the Dhamma had been set in motion. Follows the accoun of the conversion of many disciples and their bliss in th doctrine; Māra the evil one appears, from whom the Buddh declares his deliverance and to whom he says: "Thou ar struck down, O Death!" *Devas* come and by their bright ness illuminate the night, magic powers are shown to th Jaṭilas, whose leader Kassapa says of his conversion—"I hav

seen the good state where there is no ground for rebirth and no hindrance, which cleaves not to sensual life, which changes not, whence is no straying from , therefore I took no more delight in sacrifices and offerings " Sakka, ruler of the *devas*, assuming the appearance of a handsome youth, leads the fraternity of *bhikkhus* with Buddha at its head to Rājagaha , singing the praise of the Liberated One the Freed One—"Who has crossed over," the Released One Sāriputta is first attracted by the serenity and the bright and pure countenance of one of Buddha's disciples Then Moggallāna seeing Sāriputta after his conversion, exclaims "Your countenance, friend, is serene, your complexion is pure and bright Have you then really reached the Immortal, friend ?" Sāriputta answers "Yes, friend, I have attained to the Immortal " When "the spotless dhamma eye,"—that is, the perception that "whatsoever is an arising thing all that is a ceasing thing,"—had been attained by Moggallāna he exclaimed "Even if this alone be the *dhamma*, indeed you have seen the sorrowless way, lost sight of and passed over for myriads of æons " And so the story, as told in the Vinaya, continues , nowhere there is the doctrine, or the attitude of the people that of gloom There is awareness of ill, but the emphasis is put on the joy of having found the way of overcoming it, the way to the Immortal State Nibbāna

We should be as eclectic as we like in our own individual beliefs, but in our translations, or in attempting to give account of the Buddhism of these early scriptures, eclecticism is out of place These writings should be presented as near as possible to the original Whether the interpreter believes in the gods or not or in supernormal powers, if he would

give a truthful account of the scriptures he cannot ignore either The scriptures show that the conception of life was not one of despair but possessed a confidence in the evolutionary power of man and in a higher state of existence with which man could come into contact This undoubtedly added to his confidence that he could leave his present ill for higher powers and other conditions, finally to supersede them all in the attainment of Nibbāna Our criticism of much that has been written recently on Buddhism is that these expositions give too limited an idea of the Buddhist scriptures upon which a true knowledge of Buddhism must rest Eclecticism governs the information such authors give and we are left with very limited conceptions of all that those ancient sources hold for us A compendium of texts relating solely to *dukkha* is often made from them which thus falsely emphasises the conception of *dukkha* and its place in the scriptures Too seldom the new enquirer into Buddhadhamma goes to the scriptures themselves Because such compendiums on *dukkha* are so common that we feel obliged here to collect some of the sayings on *sukha* hoping thereby to aid in establishing the truer view The truth of *dukkha* is not being questioned

So long as the three roots of *dukkha*—greed hatred and ignorance—remain suffering (*dukkha*) remains But there are actions in thought and deed that diminish these roots and as they diminish happiness (*sukha*) arises We make our following quotations from the scriptures therefore with the aim of bringing into fuller view the idea of *sukha* of which to our minds the scriptures have more to say than concerning *dukkha*

If we turn to the thirty-four dialogues of the Dīgha-Nikāya we do not find any one of them devoted to the subject of *dukkha*, on the contrary, the emphasis is most strongly put on the joy of the holy life We find here a document whose bearing upon our subject is of the greatest importance the second dialogue, one of the loveliest in Buddhist literature, is devoted to a description of the fruits in this world of the life of the genuinely religious man The Blessed One describes how men from the simplest type to the highest may be made happier by the religious life Speaking of man in the earlier stage, he says "Uprightness is his delight Mindful and self-possessed he is altogether happy He sees no danger from any side ..he experiences within himself, a sense of ease without alloy ..into which no evil state can enter" He is content with so little that he is compared to the independence of the bird which carries with it as it flies all its possessions We regret having to condense the dozen pages of this dialogue which follow, containing the most beautiful similies of which we know When 'hankering after the world" (*kāma*), ill-will, torpor, weakness and sloth, flurry and worry, and doubt—(the five hindrances)—have been overcome, five paragraphs are taken to describe his cheer and gladness Here is the synthesis "Just so, O king the *Bhikkhu*, so long as these five hindrances are not put away within him, looks upon himself as in debt, diseased in prison, in slavery, lost on a desert road But when these five Hindrances have been put away within him, he looks upon himself as freed from debt, rid of disease, out of jail, a free man, and secure And gladness springs up within him on his realizing that and joy arises to him thus gladden

ed, and so rejoicing all his frame becomes at ease, and being thus at ease he is filled with a sense of peace, and in that peace his heart is stayed." Then follows this description of the four stages of Jhāna :[1]

"Then estranged from lusts, aloof from evil dispositions, he enters into and remains in the First Rapture--a state of joy and ease born of detachment, reasoning and investigation going on the while. His very body does he so pervade, drench, permeate, and suffuse with joy and ease born of detachment, that there is no spot in his whole frame not suffused therewith.

'Just, O king, as a skilful bathman or his apprentice will scatter perfumed soap powder in a metal basin, and then besprinkling it with water, drop by drop, will so knead it together that the ball of lather, taking up the unctuous moisture, is drenched with it, pervaded by it, permeated by it within and without, and there is no leakage possible.

"This, O king, is an immediate fruit of the life of a recluse, visible in this world, higher and sweeter than the last.

"Then further, O king, the Bhikkhu suppressing all reasoning and investigation enters into and abides in the Second Ghāna[2], a state of joy and ease, born of the serenity of concentration, when no reasoning or investigation goes on—a state of elevation of mind, a tranquillisation of the heart within.

"And his very body does he so pervade, drench, permeate, and suffuse with the joy and ease born of concentra-

[1] Our quotations from the *Dīgha Nikaya* are taken from Rhys Davids' translation in *Dialogues of the Buddha*.

[2] Ghāna : This is the form first used in English translation for Jhāna.

tion, that there is no spot in his whole frame not suffused therewith

'Just O king as if there were a deep pool with water welling up into it from a spring beneath and with no inlet from the east or west from the north or south and the god should not from time to time send down showers of rain upon it Still the current of cool waters rising up from that spring would pervade fill permeate and suffuse the pool with cool waters and there would be no part or portion of the pool unsuffused therewith

'This O king is an immediate fruit of the life of a recluse visible in this world and higher and sweeter than the last

'Then further O king the Bhikkhu holding aloof from joy becomes equable and mindful and self possessed he experiences in his body that ease which the Arahats tell of when they say The man serene and self possessed is well at ease, and so he enters into and abides in the Third *Jhāna*

And his very body does he so pervade drench permeate and suffuse with that ease that has no joy with it that there is no spot in his whole frame not suffused therewith

Just O king as when in a lotus tank the several lotus flowers red or white or blue born in the water grown up in the water not rising up above the surface of the water drawing up nourishment from the depths of the water are so pervaded drenched permeated and suffused from their very tips down to their roots with the cool moisture thereof that there is no spot in the whole plant whether of

the red lotus, or of the white, or of the blue, not suffused therewith.

"This, O king, is an immediate fruit of the life of a recluse, visible in this world, and higher and sweeter than the last.

"Then further, O king, the Bhikkhu, by the putting away alike of ease and of pain, by the passing away alike of any elation, any dejection, he had previously felt, enters into and abides in the Fourth *Ghāna*, a state of pure self possession and equanimity, without pain and without ease.

"And he sits there so suffusing even his body with that sense of purification, of translucence, of heart, that there is no spot in his whole frame not suffused therewith.

"Just, O king, as if a man were sitting so wrapt from head to foot in a clean white robe, that there were no spot in his whole frame not in contact with the clean white robe —just so, O king, does the bhikkhu sit there. so suffusing even his body with that sense of purification, of translucence, of heart, that there is no spot in his whole frame not suffused therewith.

"This, O king, is an immediate fruit of the life of a recluse, and higher and sweeter than the last."

The Insight arising from knowledge, the power of projecting mental images, the five modes of mystic Insight [(*a*) Iddhi,(*b*) Heavenly clairaudience,(*c*) thought transference,(*d*) memory of previous births,(*e*) the Heavenly Eye—insight into becoming the realization of the Four Truths, the destruction of the *Āsavas* and the attainment of Arahatship are enumerated, each being described as a realization "higher and sweeter than the last".

"In him, thus set free, there arises the knowledge of his emancipation, and he knows 'Rebirth has been destroyed The higher life has been fulfilled What *had to be done* has been accomplished After this present life there will be no beyond!"

"Just, O king, as if in a mountain fastness there were a pool of water, clear, translucent, and serene, and a man, standing on the bank, and with eyes to see, should perceive the oysters and the shells, the gravel and the pebbles and the shoals of fish, as they move about or lie within it he would know "this pool is clear, transparent, and serene, and there within it are the oysters and the shells, and the sand and gravel, and the shoals of fish are moving about or ing still'

"This, O king, is an immediate fruit of the life of a recluse, visible in this world, and higher and sweeter than the last And there is no fruit of the life of a recluse, visible in this world, that is higher and sweeter than this"

This eloquent description of the increasing happiness of the good life, which we regret having had to abbreviate, is not only contained in this second dialogue of the Dīgha Nikāya *but it is repeated in full, or nearly so, in every one of the thirty four dialogues of this collection as well as in many others of the Canonical texts*

Surely this document in itself is sufficient to establish our thesis To avoid repetition in English translation, its lengthy description is often omitted except by reference number, let this *omission not mislead us into forgetting the* great emphasis given to it in the scripture Rhys Davids says in his introduction to his translation of this

text " the whole statement, the details of it, the order of it, must have soaked very thoroughly into the minds of the early Buddhists " (We refer later to its description of Jhāna)

In the Dīgha Nikāya, XXI, Sakka, ruler of the gods, asks how to approach the path leading to the cessation of illusion The Buddha answers 'Happiness, Ruler of the gods, I declare to be twofold according as it is to be followed after or avoided And the distinction I have affirmed in happiness was drawn on these grounds — When in following after happiness I have perceived that bad qualities were diminished and good qualities developed, then such happiness was to be followed The same is declared of sorrow and tranquillity " (The word here translated happiness is *somanassa*) Then the Buddha concludes " It is thus Ruler of the gods, that a Bhikkhu must have proceeded, who has gained the path suitable for and leading to the cessation of illusion The Blessed One gives as one reason for his not answering many of the philosophical questions, that they are not concerned with the tranquillisation of heart Right mindfulness (the seventh part of The Eightfold Path) is said to overcome the ' hankering and dejection in the world)—(Digha, XXII, § 21)

Nor do we find in the Majjhima Nikaya any difference of emphasis In translations of the first discourse we read these words Enjoyment is the root of ill ' In the original it is *Nandi dukkhassa mūlam* ' This might be interpreted as morbid but if we consider such statements in connection with the teaching as a whole, it becomes obvious that by ' enjoyment here is meant what is

generally taught to be the cause of suffering—that is craving (*tanhā*) The next sentence but one of the same text confirms this —" Thus perceiving, the Tathāgata, by the destruction of all cravings, by the extinction of all passion, by the forsaking, abandonment and cessation of every desire is supremely awake with Incomparably Perfect Awakening," (By the destruction of *tanhā* and *virāgā*, not by the destruction of *nandī*—enjoyment) The second discourse of the Majjhima treating of the *Āsavas* has been translated as " All Bane," yet it ends with this joyous cry of liberation · " He has hewn down the lust of living, flung off from him the fetters, made a total end of suffering by the utter ending of pride So spake the Blessed One "

In *Majjhima Nikāya*, VII, we find · " When in the thoughts are no impurities, bliss may be expected The Bhikkhu fully converted to the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Sangha attains fruition of the higher way and of its causes, together with the gladness attendant thereon, from such gladness is born zest, bringing tranquillity to the body, now with his body tranquil he experiences satisfaction, therein he realizes peace "

In number XIII of the Majjhima (*Maha-Dukkha Khandha Sutta*) we are shown how *kāma* leads to ill But we must remember, as already noted, that even if the translator lets *kāma* be rendered as " pleasures," or " pleasures of sense," we have here the word meaning originally " sense desire " It must still have had that connotation to the Buddha, for as we know *tanha* (greed) is the cause usually given for ill Here we find the Blessed One obviously using *kāma* as a synonym for *tanha* —" Because of

kāma, from *kāma*, by reason of *kāma*, verily with *kāma*, and with *kāma* only as the cause, do men go astray in act, word and thought." Following this the Buddha then, as so often, contrasts *kāma* with *sukha* and *pīti* (joy) which comes to the disciple in increasing degrees until the highest Jhāna which is beyond *sukha*. The sutta closes with these words: "But those ascetics or Brahmins who do not know things as they really are, the satisfaction of feeling as satisfaction—misery as misery, salvation as salvation, they cannot possibly comprehend for themselves or guide another by what course to comprehend the truth about them. Only those can do this who know these things as they really are."

Again in *Majjhima* XIV, *kāma* is contrasted with *sukha* and *pīti*. The Buddha is staying near his birthplace when his elder cousin Mahānāma comes to him asking what is the undiscarded state of consciousness which causes greed, hatred and delusion to arise. At first the Blessed One replies that if Mahānāma were to leave his home and renounce all pleasures of sense (*kāma*) that state causing all the trouble would be removed Then in how brotherly a way the Buddha speaks of his own youth, when although he had had a true understanding about the pleasures of sense yet he had failed to find joy and happiness (pīti-sukham, or anything higher, free from those pleasures and wrong disposition But he says that he freed himself from this snare by adding to his grasp and understanding zest (*pīti*) and happiness (*sukha*) and something higher (tranquillity ?). "Then I became aware," he says, "of no longer being ensnared by sense pleasure." Here we find on the

authority of the Buddha himself that zest and happiness are the very means by which the lower nature is conquered. This sutta concludes with an account by the Buddha of his meeting with a group of Niganṭhas who were trying to reach salvation by self-torture. They claim just the opposite to the preceding teaching, saying to the Buddha: "*Sukha*, friend Gotama, is not won by *sukha*: *sukha* is really won by *dukkha*. If *sukha* were the way to win *sukha* then the king of Magadha, Seniya Bimbisāra, would win *sukha* for there is more *sukha* in his life than in the reverend Gotama's." The Blessed One contradicts this statement and shows to the satisfaction of the Niganṭhas that it is in his, the Buddha's life, that the greatest amount of *sukha* to be found, because unlike King Bimbisāra, the Blessed he could "rest motionless in silence for seven days and nights on end, and yet abide in *sukha* beyond compare."

In Majjhima, LIII, the gaining of Arahantship is compared to the freedom gained by the chicken in breaking its shell. On this a modern commentator in "The Blessing" writes: "The Arahant's is not a gloomy outlook on a Nibbāna of annihilation. It is that of one who, breaking through the shell of nescience, enters the freedom of enlightenment, the incomparable Security."

In Majjhima LIX we find the Buddha saying to Ananda: "It may be that the wanderers of other schools will say 'The recluse Gotama teaches the cessation of perception and feeling. This he *declares to be sukha*. What *is this*? How is it?'.....They should be answered thus: 'Not so, friends, the Blessed One does not limit *sukha* merely to the feeling regarding material happiness, but friends, the

Tathāgata recognizes under *sukha* all that is *sukha* wherever it is realized'" In this Sutta we also find the familiar enumeration of the stages of progress on the Way, described in terms of happiness each stage declared to be happier, more exalted and sublime than the previous one

Regarding Jhāna the stages are spoken of as four, and sometimes a *five-fold division is made* It is only in the highest stage that *Sukha* is said to be left behind, concerning this Mrs Rhys Davids comments that since happiness was involved as a result of such practice then it was "so far, associated with, and predicable of, that practice" *Ekatta Upekhā* is the special equanimity experienced in the Fourth Jhāna, this is said to become constant in the more exalted equanimity (*tatramajjhattatā*) of the Arahan This equanimity is not something less but more than *sukha*—is *sukha* raised to a higher degree, beyond anything that language can adequately describe Just as we find in the "Brahma vihāra's"—("Divine States")—Equanimity is placed last

Again in Majjhima Nikāya LIX the same description of Jhāna and its happiness is given we take the following commentaries on that scripture from 'The Blessing' "Altogether, ten grades of 'happiness' are recognized The first is the common, ordinary happiness of our plane,—the result of pleasant stimulation of the five senses Once we succeed in transcending this gross plane, we mount higher and higher,—'happiness' becoming ever more exalted, more sublime and more subtle, till at last it is scarcely recognizable as happiness, to the ordinary worldling But this is the nature of things If even philosophy is caviare

to the general what can one expect with regard to the dizzy 'formless' psychic heights—leaving alone the experiencing of 'the Bliss of Nibbāna while still on earth', which is the tenth and last 'happiness' For be it noted, already, in the first Jhāna, happiness is autogenous, it uplifts, and fills one with surging joy, but its source is absolutely independent of the five senses And even this type of 'happiness', though of a sublimity such as we with difficulty may now envisage, is discarded as coarse and unprofitable even in the fourth Jhāna There and in the remaining Ecstasies, it is Equanimity that is priced as 'happiness' "

Regarding this highest happiness we find in the above mentioned commentary "*Nirodha Sukha* —*Nirodha* is the experience of the Saint who brings about a temporary cessation of the flux when all cosmic activity ceases This is, in other words, the experiencing of Nibbana in this life itself As the Buddha emphasises in this Sutta, this *is the highest happiness though it must be noted, there is* no mind at this juncture to experience this bliss in the normal cosmic way The very fact of the cessation of the flux is termed bliss (*Sukha*) in conventional language which has no word to actually depict it The Thera Udayi declares (*Maj* LXVI) Truly many painful states does the Blessed One remove from us many happy states does he for us procure There the Buddha declares two kinds of happiness that of the worldling and that resulting from the seclusion from the world and the overcoming of passion Of the latter is written 'This is known as the happiness of renunciation, seclusion tranquility and enlightenment

fostering or growth or development of such ease, but a dread of it. Take now the case of an Almsman who divested of lusts and wrong disposition, develops in succession the Four Ecstasies This it is which is called the heart's ease of Renunciation, aloofness, tranquillity and Enlightenment,—of which there should be fostering, growth and development without any dread at all" [1] We are told that because a man lacks understanding of the senses, he grows enamoured of them, when he has understanding his heart is at ease (Maj CXLIX) Similarly (in Majjhima CLI) it is said that with understanding and mastery the senses will not cause longings, lust, hate, folly or repugnance of heart to arise, then the disciple will be dwelling in "joy and bliss, day and night immersed in studious aspirations for right dispositions" [2]

The Samyutta Nikāya begins with a chapter devoted to the *devas*, quaint and full of charm are the descriptions of these beings when in a dark grove they come shedding radiance" and 'effulgent beauty' They address the Blessed One in verse and he replies in like form To one such *deva* we find him saying Mourning ariseth in man through sense and saddened is no man where sense is not' The same chapter contains also these words from him

'T is the high hour of noon the birds rest silently
Boometh the mighty forest enchanting that sound to me

In Samyutta (chap IX § 6) Anuruddha quotes these lines

'Impermanent are all conditioned things
Their nature t is to rise and pass away

[1] Lord Chalmers Further Dialogues of the Buddha Ib I

When they have risen then again they cease,
Happy the mastery of them and the peace"

In chapter x § 8 the Exalted One says

"Surely at all times happily doth rest
The Arahant in whom all fires extinct
Who cleaveth not to sensuous desires,
Cool all his being rid of all the germs
That bring new life all cumbrances cut out,
Subdued the pain and pining of the heart
Calm and serene he resteth happily
For in his mind he hath attained to peace

How appealing these words of the Buddha Veri the whole of this life in religion consists in righteous friend ship righteous intimacy righteous association From bhikkhu Ānanda who is a friend to righteousness w expect that he will develop and expand the Aryan eightfol path of one who is a friend an intimate an associate o that which is righteous Verily Ānanda, it is becaus I am a friend of what is lovely and righteous that beings liable to rebirth are delivered from rebirth that beings liable to grow old are delivered from old age that beings liable to sickness are delivered from sickness that beings liable to death are delivered from death that beings liable to grief and mourning sorrow and suffering and despair are released from grief and mourning sorrow and suffering and despair (Sam III 2 § 8)

Of much interest to the student is the causal chain of becoming as given in Samyutta XII § 23 for only as given here does that chain include joy and happiness making them factors in liberation Mrs Rhys Davids writes con

cerning this ' How might it not have altered the whole face of Buddhism to the West if that sequence had been made the illustration of the causal law !' The Exalted One said Just as when brethren on some hilltop when rain is falling in thick drops that water coursing according to the slope fills the hillside clefts and chasms and gullies these being filled up fill the tarns these being filled up fill the lakes these being filled up fill the little rivers these being filled up fill the great rivers and the great rivers being filled up fill the sea the ocean —even so brethren there is causal *association of activities with ignorance of consciousness* with activities of name and shape with consciousness of the sixfold sense sphere with name and shape of contact with the sixfold, sense sphere, of feeling with contact of craving with feeling of grasping with craving of (renewed) becoming with grasping of birth with (renewed) becoming of sorrow with birth of faith with sorrow of joy with faith of rapture with joy of serenity with rapture of happiness with serenity of concentration with happiness of the knowledge and vision of things as they really are with concentration of repulsion with the knowledge and vision of things as they really are of passionlessness with repulsion of liberation with passionlessness of knowledge about extinction (of intoxicants) with liberation

Many are the passages in the *Samyutta* which refer to that highest state and perhaps more often here than elsewhere *sukha* is felt as an inadequate term to apply nevertheless that state is the utterly well the opposite to *dukkha* Thus it is translated in the following Not planning not willing he grasps at nothing whatever in the

world not grasping he is not perturbed unperturbed he is of and by himself utterly well (*parinibbāyati*) And he knows that birth is perished The divine life lived Done is what should be done There is no more of these conditions (Sam XII § 51) *Parinibbayati* means literally wholly extinct but since the Buddha emphatically declared himself as not teaching annihilation in its absolute sense, we must conclude that here is meant the extinction of life as known in our limited condition The word *parinibbayati* is also used for the pulling a man out of a bog and the completed training of a horse (See *Kindred Sayings* II p 57)

We find in the *Samyutta* such words as those of Sāriputta's Whatever is felt is concerned with pain (XII 4, § 32) Feeling is transitory, therefore there must be some oscillation from the happier to the less happy The Blessed One was subject to the physical pains of his transitory physical body We cannot think that Sariputta in this text means to say that he himself was continuously above painful and pleasant feeling although he declares

When it is discerned that that which is impermanent is painful blissful feeling is not present —for immediately preceding this he had said There are three (modes of) feeling friend which three? Pleasant painful neutral feeling Now these three modes are impermanent Either we must believe then that Sariputta has transcended all feeling for ever or that he is subject to their transition It is only pleasant feeling that the text implies was not present in Sariputta Surely it were more worthy of Sariputta to think that since his feelings must change that they moved

sometimes from neutral feelings to pleasant ones than that they were limited to painful and neutral.

Perhaps it is repeated oftener in the *Saṁyutta* than elsewhere in the scriptures that what is transitory is necessarily full of woe We only beg that such teaching be realized in the light of the entire Dhamma It is because of transiency that we *can* get free from *dukkha*. The raft (the Dhamma– is also transitory, it too must finally be abandoned, taught the Blessed One , but we do not call the Dhamma a thing of woe

Of much interest we find the following (*Sam* XIV § 11). " That radiance element, brother, is revealed through darkness That beauty-element is revealed through ugliness That space infinity-element is revealed through visible object That consciousness-infinity-element is revealed through space-infinity-element "

Is it not true that *dukkha* also reveals its opposite ? Many are the passages which declare that the actual cause of *dukkha* and *sukha* are not in anything else but some form of volition. " Where there have been deeds, Ānanda, personal weal and woe arise in consequence of the will there was in the deeds " (Sam XII 3, § 25) *Lobha, taṇhā* we translate as greed, lust, craving, indicative of the willing which results in *dukkha*, the moral form of volition—*sammāsaṅkappa*—we translate as right aspiration—(the second factor of the Eightfold Path),—it—or its psychological ultimate *vitaka*—is that which directs the mind to the right object, and results in *sukha* "And what, brethren, is the root of pain ? It is this craving that leads downward to rebirth, along with the lure and the lust, that lingers

lovingly now here, now there, namely the craving for sense the craving for rebirth, the craving to have done with rebirth"

The venerable Koṭṭhika (*Sam* XXII § 31) also penetrating deeper than the objects of sense as the cause of ill, gives this striking illustration "The eye is not the bond of objects nor are objects the bond of eye but that desire and lust that arise owing to these two That is the bond" The same is declared of the other senses Suppose friend, two oxen one white and one black are tied by one rope or one yoke tie Would one be right in saying that the black ox is the bond for the white one or that the white ox is the bond for the black one?" 'Surely, not friend' 'The rope or the yoke tie which binds the two that is the bond" that unites them So it is with the eye and objects with tongue and savour *with mind and mind states* It is the desire and lust which are in them that form the bond that unites them (Sam XXV § 19 IV 5)

There are texts in the *Samyutta* regarding the self which suggest the words of a Vedantist implying that Self beyond change and suffering (The original scripts in which Pali has come to us have not capitals and small letters) 'What is impermanent that is suffering What is suffering that is void of Self[1] What is void of Self that is not mine I am not it it is not my Self (*Sam* XXII § 15) Surely the Dhamma does not teach that suffering is devoid of the limited self therefore here must be meant devoid of Self Many other texts similarly show how *Mulla* is overcome

[1] All our translations from the Samyutta Nikaya follow Mrs Rhys Davids and Woodward in Kindred Sayings Here however we have differed in using the capital S

by the non identification of the Self with mind or body. "Thus the five groups based on grasping are not approached, not laid hold of by him, and so they turn to his bliss and pleasure for many a long day" (Sam XXII § 85) "But he who takes not delight in body, in feeling, in perception, in synergies, in consciousness, he takes not delight in suffering He who takes not delight in suffering, I declare that he is released from suffering" (*Sam* XX, § 29)

Chapters XXXV and XXXVI of the *Samyutta* are largely devoted to the danger of the senses and of that *sukha* connected therewith Morbid some of these portions may sound we must keep in mind the truths of the teaching as a whole So regarded it would seem beyond doubt that such instructions though appearing morbid, have an immediate partial truth and a pragmatic value in aiding the young bhikkhus to gain their goal of mastery over sense Here the aspect of *sukha* which is held as dangerous is that of happiness *qua* happiness as opposed to the well—the "utterly well'—which as we have shown the word *sukha* is frequently used to convey We maintain that we have here only a limited aspect of the Dhamma given in this limited form for special reasons—just as the meditation in the cemetery on corpses is for a special purpose Again comparisons are made between the entire phenominal world and an absolute state Whatsoever is experienced that is joined with Ill (*Sam* XXXVI, 2 § 11)

As though to counteract such an emphasis on ill, the chapter contains at the end texts like the following "Likewise arise feelings pleasant painful and neutral that are free from carnal taint (XXXVI 4 § 14) Then

follows the familiar description of Jhana, each stage being called a "pleasure still more excellent, still more exquisite" than the last It concludes with the Buddha forestalling those who may declare that he teaches the cessation of perception and feeling as pleasure He tells Ananda to say to such 'Friends, the Exalted One did not proclaim that as pleasure in connection with just pleasant feeling but wheresoever, friends, pleasure is obtained, the Exalted One proclaims just that pleasure, howsoever and of whatsoever nature, as pleasure' (Sam XXXVI, 2, § 19) *Pīti* and *Sukha* are defined as being of two kinds "carnal" and "not carnal" (Sam XXXVI, 3, § 29), the latter relate to the Jhānas After which is written "In a brother who has destroyed the *āsavas*, who can look upon his heart as released from lust hatred illusion there arise pleasure and happiness"

No great system of thought which includes much of the experience of life will be free from what at first appear to be inconsistences Such are the very signs of its truth its richness and its fuller grasp of the aspects of reality Also we must expect to find teaching of limited application, the Dhamma was given for beings at different stages of development

"What other men call Sukha, that the saints
Call Dukkha, what the rest so name,
That the Aryans know as happiness"
(IV *Sam* XXXV, § 136, *Sutta Nipata*, verse 759)

There is no need of reading anything morbid into such lines We must only recall how broad a significance is given to *sukha*, obviously there are sense experiences whose meanings

have been learned and which the saint has left far behind, these can no longer be *sukha* for him but only *dukkha* What for him is happiness may well seem difficult or barren or *dukkha* to those who are unable to enter into the greatness of the saint's experience Only the disciple knows the happiness, the richness, and the meaning of that self conquest, which to the worldling looks so hard, empty and futile

In *the Udāna* (VIII § 3) and in the *Itivuttaka* (§ 43) it is written the Blessed One declared that there is "an unborn, non existent, not made, not compounded, and therefore there is deliverance from the born existent, made, and compounded" The latter text continues

> " It is not possible to delight in that which is born,
> Which has existence, is produced made, compounded, unstable '

Here is the fundamental declaration of religion, the turning to the transcendental In relation to That all values are changed When the feeling has grown strong that That is all else is seen in a different light a decidedly new attitude or mode of feeling comes into existence In the above lines is only a view of the negative aspect of this change It does not say that all delight ceases but that delight in the born ceases The word in the Pāli canon for this negative aspect is *nibbindati* [1] which we have elsewhere translated turns away from becomes free from",—(Rhys Davids and Oldenberg render as becomes weary of') this is only one part of the disciple's new life, the positive side seems to contradict it What has really

[1] Brewster *The Life of Gotama the Buddha* p 67

happened to the disciple is that he is not taking delight in the external for the sake of the external, he ceases to cling to it, in one way he has turned away from it, ceased to take delight in it, but in another way he comes back to it freed from egoism, and in his new attitude there is more joy and delight than in the old, for it is awakened by the Enlightenment which has come from an awareness of the transcendental Appreciation (*muditā*), sympathy (*karunā*) friendliness, love (mettā), compassion (anukampā), these are names for the new relationship with the external concerning which the Buddhadhamma has the highest words of praise

'As a mother, even at the risk of her own life, protects her son, her only son, so let him cultivate love without measure towards all beings Let him cultivate towards the whole world above, below, around—a heart of love unstinted, unmixed with the sense of differing or opposing interests Let a man maintain this mindfulness all the while he is awake, whether he be standing, walking, sitting, or lying down This state of heart is the best in the world" (Sutta Nipāta, VIII, Rhys Davids' trans)

"All the means that can be used as bases for doing right are not worth the sixteenth part of the emancipation of heart through Love That takes all those up into itself, outshining them in radiance and glory Just as in the night, when the dawn is breaking the Morning Star shines out in radiance and glory, just so all the means that can be used as helps towards doing right avail not the sixteenth part of the emancipation of heart through Love" (*Iti vuttaka*, Rhys Davids' trans)

"If villainous bandits were to carve you limb from limb with a two-handled saw, even then the man that should give way to anger would not be obeying my teaching Even then be it your task to preserve your hearts unmoved, never to allow an ill word to pass your lips, but always to abide in compassion and goodwill, with no hate in your hearts, enfolding in radiant thoughts of love the bandit (who tortures you) and proceeding thence to enfold the whole world in your radiant thoughts of love, thoughts great, vast and beyond measure, in which no hatred is or thought of harm" (Maj xxi Chalmers' trans.)

Joy and love are felt because of a newer and higher relationship which exists between the external, ourselves and the transcendental The goal is Nibbāna but on the Way much has to be done to achieve the goal, the Way itself is blessed and many are the texts, as we have shown, which tell of the joy which the Buddha himself and his disciples experienced on that Way Indeed can man be called so utterly *dukkha* when it is within his power to attain Nibbāna? The Blessed One taught that for this reason it was fortunate to be born as man All the things of the phenomenal world have been called *dukkha* as com pared to Nibbāna—but they have to be used for attaining the goal For example we could not enter upon the Path without the mind, which must be trained before it can be transcended, it is a part of that 'raft" which the Blessed One often called *sukha*

In the *Dhammapada* we find the following "The well-doer rejoices here, he rejoices hereafter, in both states he rejoices" (§ 18) "The vigilant, the meditative attain

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great happiness' (§ 27) 'A mind controlled brings happ ness" (§ 35) "He who imbibes the Dhamma happy l dwells, with a serene mind " (§ 79)

" Happy indeed we live, among those that hat unhating
In the midst of men that hate, free from hatre dwell we

Happy indeed we live, among the ailing, unailing
In the midst of those all ailing, free from ailmen dwell we

Happy indeed we live, among the anxious, un anxious
In the midst of anxious men, all unanxious dwell we

Happy indeed we live, we that call nothing our own
Feeders on joy we shall be, like to the radiant gods

' The tranquillized lies down in happiness dismissing alike victory and defeat There is no happiness higher than the peace of Nibbāna (§§ 197—201, Sīlācāra's trans)

' Who does not grieve over what is no more such an one is truly called a bhikkhu' (§ 367) Joy supernal is his in the clear vision of the dhamma (§ 373) If by giving up a small happiness a greater happiness is seen then will the wise man give up the small happiness and look to the great (§ 290) Let a man rejoice in the solitary life of the forest (§ 305) Like water drops from the lotus, sorrows fall from him who overcomes that wretched craving so difficult to overcome in this world' (§ 336) 'When a man sees into the rise and fall of ele

ments he obtains the joy and happiness of those who realize the immortal" (§ 374) "I call him a brahmin who disburdened and unshackled, even here realizes the ceasing of ill" (§ 402) Many more such quotations can be found in that venerable anthology

In the latest book of the Pali Canon *the Kathā-Vatthu*, we find the following argument in line with our thought "Controverted Point—That all conditioned things are absolutely cinderheaps

From the Commentary,—The opinion of the Gokulikas, from grasping thoughtlessly the teaching of such Suttas as 'All is on fire, bhikkhus,' 'All conditioned things (involve) ill,' is that all conditioned things are without qualification no better than a welter of embers whence the flames have died out, like an inferno of ashes To correct this by indicating various forms of happiness, the Theravādin puts the question

(1) Th —You affirm this, but is there not such a thing as pleasurable feeling, bodily pleasure, mental pleasure, celestial happiness, human happiness, the pleasures of gain, of being honoured, of riding and driving, of resting, the pleasures of ruling, of administrating, of domestic and secular life, of the religious life pleasures involved in the intoxicants and pleasures that are not, the happiness (of Nibbāna), both while stuff of life remains and when none remains, worldly and spiritual pleasures, happiness with zest and without zest, Jhāna-happiness, the bliss of liberty, pleasures of sense desire, and the happiness of renunciation, the bliss of solitude, of peace, of enlightenment? Of course, how then can you maintain your general affirmation?

(2) G —My proposition then is wrong? But w
not said by the Exalted One "All is on fire, O Bhikkhus
How is everything on fire? The eye is on fire, visibl
objects, visual consciousness visual contact, and the plea
sure, the pain, the neutral feeling therefrom—all is on fire
On fire wherewithal? I tell you on fire with the fires o
passion, hate and ignorance, with the fires of birth, decay
and death, with the fires of sorrow, lamentation, ill, grief
and despair All the field of sense, all the field of mind
all the feeling therefrom is on fire with those fires?'
Surely then all conditioned things are mere cinderheaps
absolutely

(3) Th —But was it not also said by the Exalted One
There are these five pleasures of sense, bhikkhus—namely;
visible objects seen through the eye as desirable pleasing
delightful lovely adapted to sense desires, seductive
audible objects odorous sapid, tangible objects, desirable
pleasing delightful lovely, opposite to sense desire seduc
tive ?

(4) G —But was it not also said by the Exalted One —
"A gain is yours, O bhikkhus! Well have you won for ye
have discerned the hour for living the religious life Hells
have I seen bhikkhus belonging to the six fields of contact
Hereof whatsoever object is seen by the eye is undesired
only, not desired whatsoever object is sensed by ear,
smell, taste touch mind is undesired only not desired
is unpleasant only not pleasant is unlovely only, not
lovely?'

(5) Th —But was it not also said by the Exalted One
"A gain is yours bhikkhus Well have ye won for ye

have discerned the hour for living the religious life Heavens have I seen bhikkhus belonging to the six fields of contact Hereof whatsoever object is seen by the eye or otherwise sensed is desired only not undesired is pleasing only not unpleasing is lovely only not unlovely ?

(6) G —But was it not said by the Exalted One The impermanent involves Ill all conditioned things are impermanent ?

(7) Th —But take giving —does that bring forth fruit that is undesired unpleasant disagreeable adulterated ? Does it bear and result in sorrow ? Or take virtue the keeping of feastdays religious training and religious life —do they bring forth such fruit etc ? Do they not rather have the opposite result ? How then can you affirm your general proposition ?

(8) Finally was it not said by the Exalted One

'Happy his solitude who glad at heart
Hath learnt the Norm and doth the vision see !
Happy is that benignity towards
The world which on no creature worketh harm
Happy the freedom from all lust th ascent
Past and beyond the needs of sense desires
He who doth crush the great I am —conceit
This even this is happiness supreme
This happiness by happiness is won
Unending happiness is this alone
The threefold Wisdom hath he made his own
This even this is happiness supreme ?

You admit the Suttanta says this ? How then can you maintain your proposition ? (As translated in Points of Controversy S Z Aung and Mrs Rhys Davids)

In the *Abhidhamma* teaching. which contains the basic truths and the abstract forms of the Dhamma, (indeed the Abhidhamma must be close to just those categories which in the time of the Blessed One himself were being memorized by his disciples), is to be found an important and definite analysis regarding *dukkha* and *sukha*. We make the following summary from the *Abhidhammattha-Saṅgaha*, which is an ancient compilation from the canonical books of the Abhidhamma: Feeling is analyzed into a five-fold division,—pain (*dukkha*), and grief (*domanassa*), pleasure (*sukha*), and joy (*somanassa*), and hedonic indifference (*upekkhā*). One hundred and twenty-one classes of consciousness are recognized. Pleasure—(here sukha is well translated pleasure for both it and *dukkha* and are here limited to bodily feeling)—occurs only in one class, that is of tactile impressions, which are the result of moral deeds done in a former birth. Likewise pain arises only in one class, that is of tactile impressions which are the result of immoral deeds done in a past birth. Both of these classes of consciousness are considered unmoral. Joy arises in four classes of immoral consciousness rooted in greed, in twelve classes of Kāmaloka moral consciousness, also in "pleasurable investigation" and in the genesis of æsthetic appreciation, which are unmoral, and in forty-four classes of sublime and transcendental consciousness connected with Jhāna. Grief arises only in those two classes of consciousness connected with aversion The remaining fifty-five classes of consciousness are accompanied by hedonic indifference. It is noteworthy that out of the sixty-two classes of consciousness with which joy is accompanied

only four are immoral states, fourteen belong to ordinary unmoral and moral experience and forty six to the highest states of which we know, except one stage of Jhāna Sorrow and pain occur only in three classes of consciousness—(but how frequently they arise)

Here the genesis of æsthetic pleasure is analyzed as free from the six roots—(*hetu's* greed, hatred and ignorance and their opposites) This observation though having reference to an initial stage of consciousness is consistent with that rare, but we believe true vision into beauty which like Plato identifies it with the true and good, or with Schopenhauer who sees in the contemplation of beauty one way of losing the self-will to life,—a way to the transcendental Beauty is sometimes feared by the religious, not recognizing the impersonal æsthetic contemplation which constitutes the true appreciation of beauty, they wrongly ascribe sensual personal attachment to it, thus causing confusion and misunderstanding of a noble part of man's nature In the development of the genuine æsthetic appreciation, we maintain, there is also freedom from the *hetu's*, even as here ascribed to its inception thus it somewhat foreshadows Nibbāna itself The pure contemplation of beauty is as free from greed, hatred and ignorance as is the pleasure in a mathematical process or the first stages of Jhāna Rhys Davids in his *American Lectures* glimpsed this fact when he quoted as applicable to an Arahan certain lines by John Addington Symonds They conclude as follows

> 'Oh! that 't were possible this self to burn
> In the pure flame of joy contemplative!

Then might we love all loveliness, nor yearn
With tyrannous longings, undisturbed might live
Greeting the summer's and spring's return,
Nor wailing that their bloom is fugitive

It is such happiness and appreciation which is often shown in the early Buddhist literature toward the loveliness of nature That aspiration which beauty kindles is right aspiration toward that perfection which is Nibbāna It is one path to Nibbāna, though perhaps little realized as such to day For all of such talk, the subjective nature of the perception of beauty seems little grasped Man's creation of a vase, or his conception of a god are but means by which he frees himself from matter They are in the profoundest sense but his own nature becoming free

In the *Dīgha Nikāya* XXIV the Beautiful is given the name to the third stage of deliverance The Blessed One is saying that those recluses unfairly accuse him who say that he has taught "Whenever one has attained to the stage of deliverance entitled the Beautiful, one then considers all things as repulsive But this, Bhagavā, I have not said What I do say is this Whenever one attains to the stage of deliverance, entitled the Beautiful, one is then aware 'T' is lovely" (Rhys Davids' trans, see also *Dīgha* XVI chap III § 33)

Aesthetic culture strives for what in Buddhist terminology corresponds to the *appana bhāvanā*—"ecstatic stage of mental culture,' and it attempts to make its representations from the *patibhāga nimittam* 'the transformed after-image" (see the *Abhidhammattha Sangaha*)

We feel called to give here this brief consideration to

the subject of beauty, because of the way in which it is combined with *dukkha* and suffers misunderstanding by many Buddhist commentators

Japanese Buddhists have treated the subject of Aesthetics with more understanding and more in harmony with Buddhist Psychology

The Burmese writer Shwe Zan Aung in his introduction to the "Compendium of Philosophy" recognizes in Buddhist analysis the dependence of æsthetics upon the non causal classes of consciousness He writes ' The Beautiful does not appear to be defined anywhere in Buddhism The obvious reason is that it is largely subjective the term ' the beautiful ' (*subha* or *sobhana*) is opposed to evil (*pāpa*) Hence ' the beautiful ' is synonymous with ' the good ' And ' the good ' when applied to an object, is equivalent to the desirable (*ittha*) Thus the beautiful is more or less a matter of *taste* In other words, the Philosophy of the Beautiful is identical with the Philosophy of Taste, for what is pleasing to one may be painful to another "

Beauty has always to do with character and an inner state of realization Beauty of character must manifest beauty It can only be appreciated by a state related to it How often in Buddhist literature the higher state of some one is manifested by a radiant appearance On one occasion the Blessed One shone more than the cloth of gold put on him by a devotee The Buddha is said to have been extraordinarily tall his body superb like a lion, not only did he have super normal powers of mind but his senses were super normally developed His beauty is said to have been so great as to have offended the heretics

Space will not permit of our examination here further into the canonical Pāli texts There remains unexamined the *Thera therīgātha*, regarding which Rhys Davids says "They are, with very few exceptions pæans of joy and victory —("Early Buddhism") The *Anguttara Nikāya* we are obliged also to leave unexamined But no one will deny that we have been over the most important part of the canonical literature, and that little remains other than the above mentioned texts which would bear upon our subject We hope that the texts which we have brought together are sufficient to have some influence in modifying the gloomy pessimistic atmosphere produced by compilations largely devoted to *dukkha*

Science is coming more and more to the view that all forms of life are endowed with consciousness wherever we find life it seeks the consummation of its form, its welfare, this its welfaring is accompanied by pleasure, its ill faring by pain Buddhism is therefore based upon the primary movement of life itself The happiness which is the reward of individual welfaring is but a promise of that greater reward of the perfected life, Nibbāna Accepting evolution in a limited sense Buddhism shows that what is good for one stage is not so for another As ignorance is worn away the goal is approached Could we find permanent joy in any one stage of the way we would wish to remain there and our progress would end, on the contrary even the gods wear out their happiness—all is pushed to seek Nibbana Except for the suffering we would not be aware of the ill which produced it, the suffering is part of the ill but not the whole Thus we see why *dukkha* must not be limited

in meaning to suffering *Dukkha* is *avijjā* (ignorance) which is the ground where greed and all the hindrances exist with the sufferings which ensue In our ignorance we cling to what cannot be held—the transitory, consequently we suffer. The suffering plays a corrective part in our lives for it finally forces us to search for deeper realisations When we realize that the objective world is all transitory, and we cease to cling to it then suffering ceases and bliss and enlightenment follow

The short-sighted object that the evil ones sometimes enjoy their ways Buddhism answers that the physical body which makes this enjoyment possible is the result of right living in the past but the evil now developing must produce fruits of suffering for the future Such an evil one is like the man who enjoys spending for his undoing the money which he has earned by well doing The goal of the Buddhist way lies in the transcendental, that is beyond life as we know it Because of our delusions, because of the cravings of the form established, which resists progress, we suffer A religion which shows the way of overcoming that suffering, of passing beyond it, cannot be called pessimistic According to some Hindu conceptions Buddha was the incarnation of Visnu the Preserver , from this aspect he would be the Path Shower, thus it is true he revealed what he called the Ancient Way " From another aspect he was like Śiva the Destroyer , showing that destruction without which no progress on the spiritual way is possible the lower must be destroyed for the realization of the higher As we cannot go to another place without leaving our present abode so there must be both

the negative and positive aspects of the great Teaching. The Blessed One denied, as all great Hindu seers have done, that the highest is to be found in body or mind. But to say that he denied that highest the other shore to which the raft of the Dhamma would bear one, is to falsify his teaching. So consistently logical was the Buddha that he refused to describe that which is beyond the power of description. He not only saw the logical necessity of such a state, but what is of more importance the scriptures make evident that he himself experienced the Path to that very state, far beyond all *dukkha*, and that Path he described as *sukha*; he repeatedly declared it: "Of a happiness not to be feared."

CHAPTER XII

FAITH IN BUDDHISM

Comment on the *Abhidhamma* definition of Faith.

In the Pāli Abhidhamma Books the term faith (*saddhā*) has been defined thus: "The faith which on that occasion is a trusting in, the professing confidence in, the sense of assurance, faith, faith as a faculty and as a power—this is the faith that there then is."[1] This definition obviously follows what Mrs. Rhys Davids aptly describes as "the method of the dictionary," since it is presented in terms which "mutually overlap in meaning, without coinciding."[2] It is to be understood that the three terms, Faith (*saddhā*), the Faculty (*saddhindriya*), and the Power (*saddhābala*), are not exactly synonyms but are slightly different from one another in their connotation. This kind of specification implies a logical division, which is not rigid but flexible enough to allow one species of faith to pass imperceptibly into another that is higher. These so called species are no more than so many "aspects and phases" which, when viewed psychologically, admit only of a difference of degree, and not of kind. Faith in its specific sense, *i.e.*, as distinguished from the Faculty and the Power, denotes only a kind of blind or professed faith as distinguished from a realised one.

[1] Dhammasanganī, 12, 15, Vibhaṅga, p 123 · "Yā saddhā saddahanā okappanā abhippasādo saddhā saddhindriyam saddhābalam : idaṁ vuccati saddhindriyam." The above translation is an extract from the Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics by Mrs Rhys Davids.

[2] A Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics, Intro., p xxxv

The all important discrimination of the three species of Faith could not be achieved in a day or two, and not until the 4th or the 3rd century B C when a Buddhist school, viz, the Hetuvādin, pressed home a clear cut distinction 'The average man of the world," they affirmed, "possesses Faith but not the Faculty '[1] In the same vein they sought to maintain that knowledge was not within the reach of the average man[2] And in vain the Theravāda or Orthodox school contended for a difference of kind logically considered The latter appear to have conceded so far to the former that the uninstructed might possess practical wisdom but not knowledge in its higher technical sense By knowledge the Hetuvadin meant the philosophic insight which consists in "analytic discernment analytic understanding, ability to investigate or examine the faculty of research, etc' Similarly they appear to have conceded to the Orthodox claim that the average man is "capable of liberality and so forth,' but they definitely stated that the average man is incapable of faith as a Faculty and far more so of faith as a Power, for these higher forms of faith are impossible without the understanding of the true nature of things In the case of the untutored faith does not come from knowledge but originates from hearsay or time-honoured religious tradition That is to say the faith of the average man is not what the Buddha himself termed "the reasoned or rational faith' (*paññanvaya saddha*)[3]

The Hetuvadin distinction between Faith and Faith the Faculty between practical Wisdom and Knowledge

[1] Kathavatthu xix 8 Natthi lokiyam saddhindriyam Here Lokiyam puthujjanassa Mrs Rhys Davids and Mr Shwe Zan Aung translate lokiyam "in worldly matters see the Points of Controversy p 349

[2] Op cit xx 9 Natthi puthujjanassa ñanam

[3] The expression has been quoted in the Attha sal n p 69

Thus the Hetuvādin effected a significant distinction between the ordinary faith and the philosophic.

The characterisation of *saddhā* and *pasāda* in the *Netti pakaraṇa*

We obtain from the Netti-pakaraṇa, a work which is attributed to Mahākaccāna, a characterisation of faith showing some improvement on the older *Abhidhamma* definition: "The absence of impurity is the mark of assurance and tranquillity or satisfaction its consummation. Solicitation is the mark of faith, and unflinching devotion its basis. Steadiness is the mark of assurance, and faith its basis."[1]

The characterisation of faith in the *Milinda*.

Mahākaccāna's analysis of faith in the *Netti* is illustrated in the *Milinda*. Faith is characterised by these two marks: (1) *Sampasādana*, tranquillizing in the sense of making the hindrances subside, and rendering consciousness clear, serene and untroubled; (2) *Sampakkhandhana*, leaping high in the sense of aspiring to attain that which has not been attained, to master that which has not been mastered, to realise that which has not been realised. Further, in the *Milinda*, faith is contrasted in a general fashion with the hindrances (*Nīvaraṇas*) of which *Vicikicchā* (doubt or perplexity) is one.[2]

Buddhaghosa's account of faith is based upon earlier conceptions.

Buddhaghosa in his *Atthasālinī*[3] gives an account of faith which is mainly based on the analysis in the *Milinda*. It is truly observed by Mrs Rhys Davids that "Faith is

[1] Netti, p 28 "Okappanalakkhanā saddhā adhimuttipaccupaṭṭhānā ca Anāvilalakkhano pasādo sampasidanapaccupaṭṭhano ca Abhipatthiyanalakkhana saddhā. assā aveccappasādo padaṭṭhanam Anavilalakkhaṇo pasādo. Tassa saddhā padahānaṁ"

[2] Milinda Panha, ed Trenckner pp 34 38 The Questions of King Milinda, B. E., xxxv, pp 54 58

[3] Atthasalini, pp 119 120 Saddhā uppajjamanā nivaraṇe vikkhambheti

characterised and illustrated (by Buddhaghosa) in the same terms and approximately by the same similes as are used in the *Milinda* That is to say, it is shown to be a state of mind where the absence of perplexity sets free aspiration and energy It is described as trust in the Buddha and his system "[1] Investigating the matter a little more closely, we can say that his account of faith is in reality a synthesis of analyses found in all earlier Buddhist writings inclusive of Asvaghosa's philosophical work, *"The Awakening of Faith"* (*Sraddhot patti Sūtra*)

He maintains on the authority of the *Petakopadesa* that the antithesis of doubt is discursive thought[2] Following other older authorities he speaks of doubt as "the contrary of belief, confidence, or faith."[3] Believing or professing confidence in is the characteristic mark of faith, and its chief function is tranquillisation or aspiration Sudden spiritual elevation of mind or emancipation is its ultimate end, and its basis is the object of reverence or the condition of *Sotāpatti*[4]

Buddhaghosa's definition of faith which is very similar to the Hindu doctrine of Bhakti

The Abhidhamma definition of faith assumes a popular character when it is restated in terms of Buddhaghosa's commentary "Faith is a trusting and taking refuge in the Buddha and other Jewels—the Doctrine and the Order It is an act of believing in the sense of plunging, breaking entering into qualities of the Buddha and the

[1] Mrs. Rhys Davids A Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics p 14 f n 3
[2] Atthasālinī p 160 "Vicaro vicikicchaya (pat pakkho) ti Petake vuttam
[3] A Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics p 44 f n 3
[4] Atthas. Intī, p. 100 "Aparo nayo Saddahati—lakkhaṇa saddhā okappana lakkhaṇa va pasadana—rasa pakkhandana—rasa va. akalussiya paccupatthana adhimutti paccupatthanā va sa iddhe vyavatti u padatthana sotapattiyaṅga padatthana vā

rest, and rejoicing over them "[1] "Faith is the guiding factor of charity, morality and religion in the sense that it precedes all charitable, moral and spiritual instincts and dispositions "[2] Buddhaghosa refers elsewhere to faith (*saddhā*) as transforming itself or deepening into devotion (*bhakti*) by repeated practices Love (*pema*) is invariably associated with faith The other element which accompanies it is *pasāda*, a sense of assurance, attended by serene delight out of satisfaction of a man's spiritual need[3]

Buddhaghosa's classification of faith and love

Buddhaghoṣa's division of faith into four classes is a novel feature in the Buddhist analysis There are four species of faith —

(1) Āgamanīyasaddhā, adventist or adventitious faith, *e g*, the epoch making faith of a Bodhisatta who is destined to become a supreme Buddha

(2) Adhigamasaddhā, realised faith, *e g*, the philosophic conviction, gained by the Ariyapuggalas or Buddhists in the eight higher stages of experience

(3) Pasādasaddhā, unshaken faith, *e g*, the unwavering faith (aveccappasāda) of a stream attainer in the Buddha, the Doctrine and the Order

(4) Okappanasaddhā, professed faith, which is, according to Childers,[4] "outward or seeming faith which makes a man keep up appearances, but does not touch his heart, *e g*, the faith of Vakkali which consists in service rendered in connection with the shrine, the bodhi terrace, teachers and

[1] Atthasalini p 145 Buddhadini va ratanani saddahati pattiyayati ti saddha buddhadinam guṇe ogahati bhinditva viya anupavisati pasidati

[2] *Ibid*, p 120 saddha pubbangama purecarika hoti

[3] Puggala Pannatti Commentary p 248 Punappunam bhajanavasena saddha va hatti Pemam saddhapemam sahajatapemam pi vattati Pasado saddhapasādo va

[4] Childers Pali Dictionary p 410 The above classification of faith has been noted from the Commentary on the Mahaparinibbana Suttanta

preceptors." Again his reference to two kinds of love temporal (*gehasita*) and spiritual (*saddhāpema*) is interesting enough as forestalling Śvapneśvara's division of faith into *aihika* and its opposite.[1]

The self-discrepancy involved in Buddhist conception of faith.

The Buddhist conception of faith is apparently involved in self-discrepancy. Buddha in agreement with Mahāvīra and other predecessors was of opinion that Doubt and Faith are two opposite states of mind, so that the affirmation of one implies the negation of the other: "If a person entertains doubt, is perplexed about the Teacher and the rest, he does not attain *mukti* by reassuring faith, and his mind does not bend towards earnestness, application, perseverance and energy—this is the first bolt of the heart in his case."[2] Buddhaghosa, on the other hand, asserts on the [illegible] of the Peṭakôpadesa that the contrary of doubt is discursive thought (*vicāra*). How are we then to distinguish realised or articulate faith (*adhigamasaddhā*) from faith unwavering (*aveccappasāda*), when both are within the reach of a stream-attainer? The discrepancy involved may be explained away if we can effect a sharp distinction between religious

[1] Śvapneśvara's Commentary on the Śaṇḍilya-Sūtra, Aph 18

[2] Majjhima Nikāya, 1, p 101 "Yo so. .Satthari (tathā Dhamme Saṁghe Sikkhaya) kankhati vicikicchati nādhimuccati na sampasidati tassa cittaṁ na namati ātappaya anuyogāya sātaceiya padhānāya ayam paṭhamo cetokhilo" Cf Sthānaṅga (ed. Dhanapati) p 289 'Se naṁ muṇḍe bhavittā agaram anāgariyam pabbaie Niggaṁtha pāvayane saṁkhie kaṁkhie vitigicchie bhoyaṁmi vanne kalusasamāvaṇṇe Niggaṁthapāvayanam no saddahai no patthiyai no roei Niggaṁthapāvayanam asaddahamane apatthiyamāne aroemane manam uccacaṁ niyacchati vinidhāyaṁ āvajjati paṭhama dubhasejja"

"If a person does not leave home as a shaveling to become a homeless recluse according to the Niggattha ordinance, seized by fear and sunk in sin he hesitates, doubts is perplexed about the Jaina system, he does not believe in, does not take to, does not rejoice in the Niggaṁtha mode The result is that his mind gravitates from high to low and ultimately destroys his prospects. This is the first way of lying on a thorny bed."

belief and philosophic conviction, that is, if we can show that the sceptic is the common enemy of "divines and graver philosophers"

Faith *versus* Doubt in its varying degrees

Supposing that doubt is the contrary of belief, it necessarily follows that, like faith, doubt admits of various stages of growth To resist an overpowering doubt we require an unwavering faith The Arahant is equipped with faith and other faculties and powers in a higher degree than the Buddhist Aryans who occupy the lower ranks, that the Sotāpanna or stream attainer who fills the lowest rank among the Aryans can claim a higher order of faith and the rest than a Kalyāna Puthujjana or good average man who is undergoing training, preliminary to the Aryan stage, and that such a good average man is entitled to a higher position than a most ordinary man of the world. Among ordinary men, too, there are some who cherish high ambition, and others who do not Thus it is clear that faith can be classified as follows with reference to the persons concerned —(1) the faith of the ordinary man of the world, (2) the faith of an inquirer before he receives instructions, (3) the faith of an inquirer who is undergoing preliminary courses of training, (4) the faith of the Sotāpanna an Aryan who has graduated himself in the Buddhist system (5) the faith of the Aryans who have not as yet reached the goal, and (6) the faith of an Arahant who has realised Nirvāna The first of these may be named for convenience' sake *Okappana saddha* the blind or professed faith, characterised by the mark of satisfaction (*sampasādana*), and the last named is the highest faith, characterised by the same mark in a deeper sense of purity,

tranquillity and bliss. The Arahant is said to be devoid of faith (*assaddha*) because there is nothing left for him to desire, that is, he needs no faith or aspiration (*sampakkhandhana*) of any kind. Similarly the second and the third can be classed together under the professed faith marked by aspiration, and which is in a preliminary stage of articulation. The fourth is the faculty or articulate faith (*saddhindriya*) and the fifth is the power or strengthened faith (*Saddhābala*).

Three species of Doubt and three species of faith.

Doubt or Scepticism is broadly divided into three classes *viz.*—(1) Doubt as a first Obstacle (*Vicikicchā Nivaraṇa*) (2) Doubt as a Fetter (*Vicikicchā Saṁyojana*), and (3) Doubt as a Fetter inherent in lower nature (*Orambhāgiya Saṁyojana*) This division of doubt runs parallel to that of *Saddhā* into Faith, the Faculty and the Power. It is, therefore, conceivable that doubt is capable of as elaborate a classification as faith.

Religious doubt and philosophic doubt, contrasted: Cetokhila and Avijjā in relation to Scepticism in general.

The common name for religious doubt is *Cetokhila* (the bolt of the heart), and philosophic doubt is in some way allied to *Avijjā* (Ignorance or Agnosticism). There are five *Cetokhilas*, the bolts which steal the heart against all tender feelings and higher aspirations, *viz.*, entertaining doubt, getting perplexed about the Teacher, the Doctrine, the Order, the Training (*Sikkhā*), and the want of fellow-feeling.[1] That the first four bolts represent together what is termed above religious doubt is manifest from Buddha-

[1] Saṅgīti Suttanta (Dīgha, III) *sub voce* Cetokhila; Majjhima Nikāya, I, Cetakhila-Sutta, p 101.

ghosa's comments He says that these are the four specific forms of doubt entertained

Buddhaghosa's explanation of the four *Ceto khilas* The definition of *Avijjanivarana*

"(1) as to whether or no the Teacher has the 32 major bodily marks, or the 80 minor bodily marks of a Buddha, or the requisite omniscience with respect to things past, future and present, (2) as to the adequacy of the Paths and their Fruits to lead indeed to the grand ambrosial *Nirvana*, (3) as to whether those of the Order are indeed at various stages of the path to salvation or have rightly won their way so far, (4) as to whether the Training is helpful"[1] *Avijjānīvarana* is defined in the *Dhammasangani* (1152 1162) as the ignorance of, or an agnostic attitude towards, the four truths *viz*, things past future and present and causality *Avijjā* thus defined is distinguished at once from *Cetol hila* as an intellectual element from a spiritual one

The Hindrance the Fetter and the *Orambhāgiya* Fetter contrasted

The difference between the Hindrance and the Fetter of doubt, *or between the Fetter and the Orambhāgiya* Fetter, is one of degree rather than of kind The differentia (*pabheda*) provided by the ancient writers is thus —the Hindrance is a state of mind to be put away by religious belief and discursive thought the Fetter by faith unwavering and insight philosophic and the *Orambhagiya* Fetter by *bhāvanā* (contemplation introspection)[2] In the Abhidhamma books the two pairs of words are set forth in definition in identical terms although it must not be supposed that

[1] Atthasalini pp 354 355 A Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics p 270 f n 2

[2] Cp Vibhanga 1 16 Dassanena pahātabbo bhavanāya pahātabbo

the conceptions themselves are identical. The Hindrance for instance, can be got rid of by an average man through professed faith in the Teacher and the System, and by a young inquirer through faith in the system which he aspires to be acquainted with, or by a reflective student who is undergoing the preliminary courses of training. The Fetter on the other hand, can be got rid of by a Stream-attainer through faith now confirmed and intellect now sharpened. Lastly, the *Orambhāgiya* Fetter which lies deep in the heart[1] or flows in and out,[2] can be got rid of by the Aryans in higher stages through the power of faith and by circumspection. The Sutta-Piṭaka gives a category of five Hindrances of which Doubt is one, whereas the Dhammasaṅgaṇi enumerates six Hindrances of which Doubt and Ignorance are two.[3] Evidently the six Hindrances were the outcome of a further analysis of Doubt. However, the interest of the enumeration of first four bolts and the definition of *Avijjā* is that they enable us to discriminate two sides of doubt. Each species of doubt presents two sides, *viz.*, spiritual and intellectual. On its spiritual side it can be put away by faith professed or realised, and on the intellectual side by judgment and insight. Thus the Buddhist division of doubt shows a resemblance to Hume's division into two species, *viz.*, "Scepticism antecedent to all study and philosophy," and "Scepticism consequent to science and enquiry." The former is broadly represented by the Buddhist Hindrance, and the latter by the Fetter. So far as the Hindrance is

The Buddhist and Hume's classifications of doubt compared.

[1] Anusaya [2] Āsava.
[3] Hume's Essays, R. P. A., No. 28, pp. 70-71

concerned, doubt before instruction and enquiry can be removed by faith of which the characteristic mark is aspiration and doubt at the inception of the career of a reflective student by discursive thought Sāriputta, the chief disciple of the Buddha, holds that it is within the power of a Stream-attainer[1] to shake off all kinds of doubt except those which are deep rooted in our lower nature, and removable by introspection

Twofold function of a Buddhist Sotapanna

It is stated that the four conditions of *Sotapatti* on the side of feeling are unwavering faith in the Teacher, the Doctrine, the Training, that is, the four *opposite states of the four bolts of the heart* The four conditions on the intellectual side refer to association with the wise, hearing of the good doctrine (study in the wider sense), reflective reasoning, and systematic knowledge of things[2] Thus it can be proved that the Buddhist Sotāpanna is a religious philosopher whose duty it is to confirm the faith and understand the truth

The Philosophic significance of the Fetter of *Doubt*

The Fetter with which the Sotāpanna is confronted is a *philosophical doubt or scepticism proper with regard* to the beginning and the end of things, or to use the words of Nāciketa in the Kathôpaniṣad (I 1-20), a doubt as to whether a person continues to exist or not after death[3] But doubt which the Buddhist philosopher has to overcome is bound up with the question as to whether there is a twelve graded *cycle of causation taking effect here and now or not taking*

[1] Saṅgīti Suttanta (Dīgha Nikaya III) *sub voce* Sotapattiyangani

[2] *Sotapattiyangani enumerated in the Saṅgīti suttanta* (Dīgha Nikaya III include Satthari Dhamme Saṃghe Sikkhaaya avecappasado sappurisasamseve saddhammasavanam yonisomanasikaro dhamm ni lhammanupatipatti

[3] Yeyam prete vicikitsa manuṣye astīti eke nāstīti caike

effect at all,"[1] or as to whether, in the language of the Buddha causality (*dhammatā, idappaccayatā*) is objectively and universally valid.[2]

Thus the faith of a Sotāpanna is intended to put away doubt regarding the five points denoted by the Teacher, the Doctrine, the Order, the Discipline and the natural causation. So we read in Aśvaghoṣa's Awakening of Faith,[3] a work which belongs to the same period as "The Questions of King Milinda." "There are four aspects of faith.—(1) To believe in the fundamental truth, *i.e.*, to think joyfully of suchness (*bhūtatathatā*). (2) To believe in the Buddha as sufficiently enveloping infinite merits, *i.e.* to rejoice in

The articles of faith in Aśvaghoṣa's views

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The articles of faith Aśvaghoṣa's views

Those who are still in doubt that the Buddhist division into two every sense an Indian who like his compatriot study and philo- and enquiry"

[1] Atthasalini I 3 5 dvadasapalibham paccaya atthi ist Hindrance, kaṅkha

[2] Samyutta Nikaya II 25 Tathata Avitathata Anañnatha Hindrance is Dhammatthitata Idappaccayata these are all synonyms of Pati The same holds true of Bhutatathata and Dharmakaya Kathavatthu Lankavatara Sutra Fasc II ed Vidyabhusan last page

[3] Suzuki The Awakening of Faith p 198

analysis of mind for the purpose of discriminating the virtuous deeds sanctioned by religion[1] conclusively proves that such a critical faculty was unknown to the ancients. For instance, charity which is one of the ten virtuous deeds, is defined by the Buddhist thinkers as an excogitation or conscious yearning of the heart coming into play since the gifts are produced, before these are made over, and subsequently when the donor recollects these with a mind gladdened with joy."[2]

As to the close affinity between Jainism and Buddhism let one instance suffice The Jainas enumerate nine obstacles to faith:—Sleep, dozing, half sleepy state, deep sleep, deep-rooted greed, obstacles concerning faith in the objects of the four kinds of knowledge[3] The five hindrances to faith as enumerated by the Buddhists include sensual desires, hatred, sloth and torpor, worry and flurry, and doubt to which may be added ignorance[4] Of these torpor (*middha*), as appears from its definition in the Abhidhamma Pitaka, covers the first four obstacles, mentioned by the Jainas[5]

The obstacles to faith as enumerated in the Jaina and Buddhist texts

"Faith is perfected," says Aśvaghosa, " by practising the following five deeds Charity (*dāna*), morality (*sīla*), patience (ksānti), energy

Conditions promoting faith

[1] Abhidhammāvatāra, pp 2 4 Atthasālini, pp 157 162 Saddhā is conceived as a cetana

[2] Atthasalini p 157, d navatthūsu tan tam dentassa tesam uppadanato pattbava pubbabhāge pariccāgakale paccha somanassacittena anussaranakale cā ti tisu kalesu pavatta cetana dānamayam puñnakiriyavatthu nama

[3] Uttaradhyayana Sutra, xxxiii 2

[4] Kāmacchanda, vyāpada, thinamiddha, uddhaccakukkucca, vicikicchā (avijja)

[5] Uttarādhyayana Sutra xxxiii, f n, 2 nidra pracala, nidrānidra, pracalapracala. Cf Vibhanga, p 254 "Middham soppam pacalayiki soppam supanā supitattam" Atthasalini, p 378 'Supanti tenati Soppam, akkhidaladinam pacalabhāvam karoti ti pacalayikā " The Jaina Commentator explains *pracala* as the "slumber of a standing or sitting person

vested with wisdom." The thought occurs to him, "Alas Would it be possible for me to be reborn so as to gain the status of powerful Nobles (or any higher condition of existence) on the dissolution of the body, after death. It burns his heart, it occupies his thought, it makes his mind contemplate. Such dispositions of his, and pondering over things, developed and enlarged in this manner, pave the way for the attainment of his ultimate end. This is the road, this the path which leads to his goal."[1]

(3) Faith is the guiding factor which precedes all charitable, moral, religious and spiritual functions,[2] the basic principle of all virtuous deeds (*puñña-kiriyā vatthūni*), sanctioned by religion. The magnanimity of heart makes itself felt when something is given in faith.[3] These statements are made by the Buddhist commentator Buddhaghoṣa in a manner far more precise and definite than the crude fashion in which Yājñavalkya expressed the same thought, itself an improvement on the popular notion of faith in the Rg-veda: "Sacrifice is based on charity, charity on faith, faith on the heart. Faith is conceived by heart, faith is established indeed in the heart."[4] Moreover, the manner in which Buddhadatta and his younger contemporary Buddhaghosa applied the older psychological

Faith is the basic principle of all virtuous deeds sanctioned by religion.

[1] Majjhima Nikāya, III, pp 99 103 Idha bhikkhu saddhāya samannāgato hoti, sīlena samannāgato hoti, sutena samannāgato hoti, cāgena samannāgato hoti, paññāya samannāgato hoti Tassa evam hoti —

"Aho vatāhaṁ kayassa bhedā parammaraṇā khattiyamahāsālānam sahavyatam uppajjeyyan ti So taṁ cittaṁ dahati, tam cittam adhiṭṭhāti, taṁ cittaṁ bhaveti; tassa te saṁkhārā ca vihāro c' evaṁ bhāvitā bahulīkatā tatrūppattiyā saṁvattanti Ayaṁ maggo,ayam paṭipadā tatrūppattiyā saṁvattanti "

[2] Atthasālini, p 120

[3] *Ibid*, p 162, Saddahitvā okappetva dadato pana cetanāmahattaṁ nāma hoti

[4] Brhad. Ār. Up, III 9 21

analysis of mind for the purpose of discriminating the virtuous deeds sanctioned by religion[1] conclusively proves that such a critical faculty was unknown to the ancients For instance, charity which is one of the ten virtuous deeds, is defined by the Buddhist thinkers as an excogitation or conscious yearning of the heart coming into play since the gifts are produced, before these are made over, and subsequently when the donor recollects these with a mind gladdened with joy."[2]

As to the close affinity between Jainism and Buddhism let one instance suffice. The Jainas enumerate nine obstacles to faith :—Sleep, dozing, half sleepy state, deep sleep, deep-rooted greed, obstacles concerning faith in the objects of the four kinds of knowledge.[3] The five hindrances to faith as enumerated by the Buddhists include sensual desires, hatred, sloth and torpor, worry and flurry, and doubt to which may be added ignorance.[4] Of these torpor (*middha*), as appears from its definition in the Abhidhamma Pitaka, covers the first four obstacles, mentioned by the Jainas.[5]

The obstacles to faith as enumerated in the Jaina and Buddhist texts

"Faith is perfected," says Aśvaghosa, " by practising the following five deeds Charity (*dāna*), morality (*sīla*), patience (ksānti), energy

Conditions promoting faith

[1] Abhidhammāvatāra, pp 2 4, Atthasalini, pp 157 162 Saddhā is conceived as a cetanā

[2] Atthasālini, p 157, dānavatthusu tan tam dentassa tesam uppādanato patthāya pubbabhage pariccagakāle pacchā somanassacittena anussaranakale cā ti tisu kālesu pavatta cetanā danamayam puññakiriyavatthu nama

[3] Uttarādhyayana Sūtra, xxxiii 2

[4] Kāmacchanda, vyāpāda, thīnamiddha, uddhaccakukkucca, vicikicchā (avijja)

[5] Uttaradhyayana Sūtra xxxiii, f n 2, nidrā pracalā, nidrānidrā, pracalāpracala Cf. Vibhanga, p 254 "Middham soppam pacalāyikā soppam supanā supitattam" Atthasalini, p 378 "Supanti tenāti Soppam, akkhidalādinam pacalabhāvam karoti ti pacalāyikā" The Jaina Commentator explains *pracala* as the "slumber of a standing or sitting person "

(*viriya*), cessation (or tranquillisation, *samatha*) and intellectual insight (*vidarśana, vipassana*).[1] This pronouncement of Aśvaghoṣa reminds us of the word of the Buddha, quoted in the Milinda :—

"By faith he crosses over the stream,
By earnestness the sea of life;
By steadfastness all grief he stills,
By wisdom is he purified."[2]

Faith is the germinating principle of human culture.

It is clear from this oft-quoted verse that mukti in its negative and positive aspects is attainable by faith, although human perfection requires the proper cultivation of other faculties and powers. Buddha has declared elsewhere that faith is the first principle to which penance, wisdom and the rest are subordinate. "Faith is a seed, penace the rain, wisdom my yoke and plough, consciousness the pole, modesty the tie, mindfulness my plough-share and goad.....such is the tilth that I till, the tilth of which the fruit is immortal life, the tilth by which one gets rid of all kinds of suffering."[3]

The Arhant is indeed a person who has fully developed or cultivated these five moral or spiritual faculties—faith, energy, mindfulness, concentration, and reason.[4] Those who fill the lower and lower ranks are persons who cultivate these in a weaker and weaker degree. Those who are completely devoid of these five essential moral or spiritual faculties

[1] Suzuki, "The Awakening of Faith," p 128
[2] Sutta-Nipāta, Ālavakasutta, v 184 :
"Saddhaya tarati ogham appamādena aṇṇavam,
viriyena dukkham acceti, paññāya parisujjhati"
[3] Sutta Nipāta, Kāsibhāradvāja Sutta, vv 77-78
[4] saddhindriyam, viriyindriyam, satindriyam, samādhindriyam, paññindriyam

are placed outside the category of Aryans, and they are said to belong to the ranks of average men [1]

The relative position of Faith and Reason in Buddhism The Classification of Arhants illustrating the point

It is clear from this that, according to Buddha Gotama, the higher is the plane of cognition, the finer is the type of religion, the deeper are the convictions, the stronger are the expressions of faith There are, in other words, the degrees of faith corresponding to the degrees of knowledge Reason or Wisdom determines the quality of faith (*paññanvayā saddhā*)[2] the relative position of faith and knowledge in the wider sense can be inferred from the accepted Buddhist classification of Arahants into two orders (1) Sukhavipassaka, the subtle seer, (2) Samathayānika, the mystic "who makes quietude his mode" This shows that among the Buddhist saints all were not gifted with higher perception, *i e*, not philosophers There is another classification by which the Arahants are divided into three orders, *viz*, (1) Kāyasakkhi, the intuitionist, (2) Ditthippatta, the Intellectualist, (3) Saddhāvimutta, the Rationalist Savittha considered the devout mystic as the best of all, Sāriputta preferred the Intellectualist, and Mahākotthita preferred the Intuitionist When the matter was referred to the Buddha for a final decision he regretted his inability to make any dogmatic assertion[3], for any one of the three classes might appear to be superior to others according to circumstances Although in this particular passage of the Anguttara Nikāya (III 21) the Buddha

[1] Samyutta Nikaya v p 202 Imesam kho bhikkhave pancannam indriyanam samatta paripuratta Araham hoti Yasmā kho bhikkhave imani pancindriyani sabbena sabbam Sabbatha sabbam natthi tam aham Bahiro puthujjanapakkhe ṭhito ti vadami

[2] *Quoted in the Atthasalini p 69*

[3] Na sukaram ekamsena vyakatun

refrained from delivering a definite judgment on the question at issue, there are other passages[1] to indicate his real position. There he enumerates seven classes of Arahants, according to the highest place to the Ubhatobhāgavimutta, one who attains perfection by means of concentration and reason. The second place in his opinion is occupied by the Paññāvimutta, one who attains mukti by means of reason. Below him stands the Kāyasakkhi, the intuitionist who aspires to envisage the real as a single whole.[2] To an intuitionist analytical functions of the understanding, that is, all perceptual and conceptual reconstructions of reality are ultimately futile. The Intellectualist (Diṭṭhippatta) standing fourth in order of merit is a learned man who has ability to grasp and explain the philosophy of the Buddha. The Rationalist (Saddhāvimutta) who occupies the fifth place is a strong believer plus one who fairly understands the import of Buddha's system. Next comes Dhammānusārī, the good man who develops the five faculties by faithfully carrying out the moral principles of the Teacher. In the lowest rank is placed the Saddhānusārī who develops the five faculties, essential to mukti, by way of blind faith in and through the love of the Buddha.[3] Here Buddha adds a word of explanation. In the case of the first two classes there is no further need of earnestness, for it is impossible for them to be careless. The remaining classes are nevertheless recognised in his system, *because all cannot attend* to a complete course of spiritual training.[4]

[1] Majjhima Nikāya, I. 478 ; Puggala—Paññatti, III. 3.
[2] *Ibid.*, I. 292. Mahākoṭṭhita who was an Intuitionist forces Sāriputta to admit that the real is an indivisible whole.
[3] *Ibid.*, I. p 479 :"Tatthāgate c'assa saddhāmattaṁ hoti pemamattaṁ."
[4] *Ibid*, anupubbasikkhā, anupubbakiriyā, anupubbapaṭipadā.

The complete course of spiritual training[1] is to be gone through only by an earnest seeker of truth, who, full of faith, approaches a teacher with whom he associates himself Thus with rapt attention he hears the doctrine which he remembers, examines, and understands, whereby he begins to feel love for the subject, and finally he realises the highest truth by his own efforts and acquires deep insight by his wisdom

The Buddhist faith is essentially that of a religious student

The character of the early Buddhist faith is set forth in the last utterance of the Buddha to his disciples, which is as follows —"*Handa dāni, bhikkhave, āmantayāmi vo vaya dhammā sankhārā, appamādena sampādetha*" "Now I charge you, bhikkhus All composites are subject to decay, be earnest in your duties' And this *appamāda* or earnestness is the one word by which the Master summed up his whole life, nay, this is the one expression whereby he summed up his whole teaching "Regarded as a subjective element O bhikkhus, I do not find," he said, 'any other element which conduces to the greatest good, than earnestness (*appamada*), nor do I find any other element than earnestness which conduces to the stability of the faith, and preserves it from getting perverted and from disappearing"[2] It is well said in the Milinda which is a classical Pali composition dated about the 1st cent A D, that energy (viriya, which is the positive nomenclature for appamāda) is the mainstay of all good qualities illustrated by the following similes —

The heroic character of the Buddhist faith The relation between *saddha* and *appamada*

(1) Just as a man if a house were falling would make a

[1] Majjhima Nikaya I p 480 Anguttara II 56
[2] Anguttara I pp 16 17

prop for it of another post, and the house so supported would not fall, just so is the rendering of support the mark of perseverance;

(2) Just as when a large army has broken up a small one, then the king of the latter would call to mind every possible ally and reinforce his small army, and by that means the small army might in its turn break up the large one, just so is the rendering of support the mark of perseverance, and all those good qualities which it supports do not fall away[1]

In support of this interpretation of energy, the Milinda cites the following words of the Teacher from an unknown source "The energetic hearer of the Noble Truth, O Bhikkhus, puts away evil and cultivates goodness, puts away that which is wrong and develops in himself that which is right, and thus does he keep himself pure" The earnestness or energy here contemplated with which he held fast to meditation under the Bodhi tree, is the determination so well expressed in many later poetical works, the determination not to deviate from the path of duty even if the heavens be rent asunder or the earth's stability be disturbed (*nabham phaleyya pathavim caleyya*)

When a man steps into a Buddhist sanctuary, I shall not be surprised if he will meet a votary or superstitious worshipper taking refuge in the Triad by repeating the set formula—"I take refuge in the Buddha, I take refuge in the Dhamma, I take refuge in the Sangha once, twice and thrice' But whatever be the interpretation of these commonly accepted formulæ to me the servile expression "I take refuge" seems utterly incompatible with the heroic

[1] Miln. p. 37

spirit which the Buddha sought to impart to all that he said and to all that he did. It calls up a train of cowardly associations which befits a degenerated age. This is not verily the way in which a Buddhist who is to appear as a conqueror was called upon by the Master to profess his faith. The proper way to express one's faith is to say and feel.

CHAPTER XIII

SAṀSĀRA OR BUDDHIST PHILOSOPHY OF BIRTH AND DEATH

That birth precedes death, and death, on the other hand, precedes birth, is one of the principal tenets of Buddhism. This constant succession of birth and death in connection with each individual life-flux constitutes what is technically known as Saṁsāra (=wandering again and again).

What, then, is the absolute beginning of Saṁsāra? Or to put it in other words, what is the ultimate origin of life? This is a question which perplexes the mind of every profound thinker. The expected answer has not yet been obtained despite the fact that it has received the attention of all thinking men, and it is not too much to say that in all probability it will never be.

The intellectual Indian Ṛsis have expended an enormous amount of labour and energy in order to comprehend this riddle of life. Deluded by the web of illusion, they have deduced all their so-called facts from the unwarranted hypothesis of an imaginary "self," and have concluded that life has for its origin the mystical *Paramātmā*.

Christianity, in attempting to give an explanation, attributes everything to the fiat of an Almighty God.

With due deference to the teachings of Christ, suffices it merely to state in the words of Schopenhauer "the birth of an animal as an arising out of nothing, and accordingly, its death as an absolute annihilation whilst man who has also

originated out of nothing has yet an individual existence is really something against which the healthy mind revolts and which it must regard as absurd '

Unfettered by any religious belief freed from all dogmatic assertions but solely relying on *common sense* modern science steps in and endeavours to tackle the problem with her usual accurate investigation and ingenuity In spite of her systematised knowledge she may fairly be compared to a child making its first observations in natural history Nevertheless we gladly welcome her to our midst for she neither claims to be perfect nor does she deem it a sacrilege if one has the audacity to contradict her views To an age or rather to people who strongly believe in the creation of an Omnipotent God the scientific theories that life has had a beginning in the infinite past and that man is evolved from the ground ape are indeed very valuable substitutes

Buddhism interposes and pertinently says *without beginning and end is Samsara A beginning of beings encompassed by nescience* who fettered by the thirst for life pass on to ever new births verily is not to be perceived It seems further to address the enthusiastic seekers after truth and say Young friends worry not in vain seeking for a beginning in a beginningless past If life is an *identity* it must necessarily have an ultimate origin Life strictly speaking is a flux or force like electricity or gravitation and as such it necessitates a beginningless past Whether you are descended from an arboreal or ground ape created by God or Brahma birth death and suffering to which all are subject in the long run are inevitable Seek therefore the cause of this faring on that concerns all humanity and

utilise your valuable energy to transfer this life stream to the sorrowless and peaceful state, the Nibbāna

To a materialist who loves to speculate for the mere sake of argument, these words will of course be of no avail Well, it makes no great difference to Buddhism The word of Buddha is intended only for those sorrow afflicted brethren to whom the Dhamma has become a necessity "The Dhamma is like some painful cure which no rational person would undergo on its own account but because necessity compels"

In the search after the cause of birth and death Buddhism takes for its starting point the *being as he is*, here and now, and traces back the causes of his conditioned existence

From the Buddhist point of view all men and animals are composed of inter related mind and matter (Nāma and Rūpa) which constantly change with lightning rapidity, not remaining even for two consecutive moments the same Though all are identical inasmuch as they possess the two common factors mind and matter, yet they are all so varied that, leaving animals aside, even amongst mankind no two persons are found to be alike in any respect—each person having his particular traits of character

One might say the variation is due to heredity and environment No doubt they are partly instrumental, but surely they cannot be solely responsible for the subtle distinctions between individuals Otherwise we fail to understand why twins often physically alike, sharing equal privileges of up bringing are often temperamentally, intellectually, and morally totally different

Tracing back the individual, therefore, to the fœtus in the womb to see where lies the cause, we again discover

two common factors—the sperm cell and the ovum cell Now a question might arise as to whether these two are the only materials for the production of the fœtus We must perforce answer the question in the negative For we cannot comprehend why precisely "*he*" should spring from the particular sperm and ovum cell in question and not another, since one has equal claims as the other Buddhism makes the matter clear by attributing this appropriation of cell matter to the existence of a *third element* "By the conjunction of three things, O Bhikkhus," runs a passage in the Mahātanhā Sankhaya Suttanta (No 38) of the Majjhima Nikāya, "does the formation of a germ of life come about If mother and father come together but it is not the mother's proper period and the 'exciting impulse' (Gandhabbo) does not present itself a germ of life is not planted If mother and father come together and it is the mother s proper period, and the 'exciting impulse' also presents itself, then a germ of life is there planted "

This newly discovered element is, in the words of Abhidhamma, termed Paṭisandhi Viññāna (Linking consciousness)

We have now found the first term of the life's progression, but our limited knowledge does not help us to proceed further and determine the cause of this 'exciting impulse' The Buddha, however, developing a supernormal insight so as to penetrate into realms beyond the reach of normal sense, comprehended also the root of this third element He tells us that the coming into being of the linking consciousness is dependent upon the passing away of another consciousness in a past birth and that the process of coming into being

and passing away is the result of an all ruling powerful force known as Kamma One might call for proofs It must frankly be admitted that this proof cannot be furnished by an experiment upon the lecture table Whether we believe in a past existence or not, it forms the only reasonable hypothesis which bridges certain gaps in human knowledge concerning facts of everyday life Our reason tells us that this idea of past birth and kamma alone can explain the degrees of differences that exist between twins, how men like Shakespeare with a very limited experience, are able to portray with marvellous exactitude the most diverse types of human character, scenes, and so forth,of which they could have no actual knowledge, why the work of the genius invariably transcends his experience, the existence of infant precocity, the vast diversity in mind and morals, in brain and physique, in conditions, circumstances, and environments, observable throughout the world, and so forth

There is yet a further cause besides Kamma continues the Buddha Not knowing the four realities (Saccas), allured to life by the wholly illusory inclination to sensual pleasures, one does good and evil, which constitute what is known as kamma energy that materialises in multifarious phenomena Unknowingness (Avijjā) is, therefore, the cause of birth and death , and its transmutation into knowingness or Vijjā is consequently their cessation

The result of this Vibhajja method of analysis is summed up in the Paticca Samuppāda The Patthāna succinctly expresses the same in the following words In virtue of unknowingness (Avijja) Craving (Tanhā), Activities (Sau-

khārā), Attachment (Upādāna), and Volition (Cetanā), arise Rebirth-Consciousness (*Patisandhi-Viññāna*), *Mind and Matter* (Nāma-Rūpa), Six Senses (Saḷāyatana), Contact (Phassa), and Sensation (Vedanā).

The first set of five causes produce the second set of effects, which, in their turn, play the part of cause to bring about the former five. Thus the process of cause and effect continues *ad infinitum*. The beginning of the process cannot be determined as it is impossible to say since when this *life-flux was encompassed by nescience*. But when this nescience is turned into knowledge, and the *life-flux* diverted into *Nibbāna-Dhātu*, so to say, then the end of the life process or Saṁsāra comes about.

Briefly expounding the cause of Saṁsāra, set forth in these enigmatic formulas of thought, and dealing with the not less interesting problem of life's last episode, we find Buddhism assigning death to one of the following four causes :—

(1) The exhaustion of the force of Reproductive Kamma (Janaka Kamma) that gives rise to the birth in question (Kammakkhaya). The Buddhist belief is that, as a rule, the thought, volition, or desire, which is extremely strong during life-time, becomes predominant at the point of death and conditions the subsequent birth. In this last thought-moment is present a special potential force which may be either weak or strong. When the potential energy of this Reproductive Kamma is exhausted, the organic activities of the material form in which is corporealised the life-force, cease even before the approach of old age.

(2) The expiration of the life-term (Āyukkhaya). What are commonly understood to be natural deaths due to old age, may be classed under this category. There are various planes of existence according to Buddhism and to each place is assigned a definite age limit. Irrespective of the Kamma force that has yet to run, one must, however. succumb to death when the maximum age limit is reached. It may also be said, if the force is extremely powerful the Kamma-energy re-materialises itself in the same plane or even in some higher realm as in the case of Devas.

(3) The simultaneous exhaustion of the Reproductive Kamma-energy and the expiration of the life-term (Ubhayakkhaya).

(4) The action of a stronger Kamma (Upacchedaka) that suddenly cuts off the Reproductive Kamma before the expiry of the life-term. A more powerful opposing force can check the path of the flying arrow and bring it down to the ground. Just in the same way a very powerful Kammic force of the past is capable of nullifying the potential energy of the last thought-moment and destroying the psychic life of the being. The death of Devadatta, the Judas of Buddhism, was due to an Upacchedaka Kamma which he committed during his current lifetime. The premature death of the Crown Prince of Russia may also be instanced as an example of this class.

The first three types of death are collectively called Kalamarana (timely death), and the last one is known as Akālamarana (untimely death) An oil lamp, for instance may get extinguished owing to any of the following four causes, namely the exhaustion of the wick, consumption of oil, both exhaustion of the wick and consumption of oil and some extraneous cause, such as wind Death of an individual may similarly be caused by any of the above mentioned four ways

Explaining the causes of death in the foregoing manner Buddhism tells us that there are also four modes of birth, *viz*, egg born creatures (Andaja), womb born creatures (Jalabuja), moisture born (Samsedaja), and creatures having spontaneous births (Opapātika) This broad classification embraces the entire range of beings that possess life

Birds and snakes that are born of eggs belong to the first division

The womb born creatures comprise all human beings, some devas inhabiting the earth and those animals that take their conception in a mother's womb Those that take moisture as material for their growth, such as mosquitoes, are grouped in the third class

Creatures having a spontaneous birth are generally invisible to the naked eye They are said to be born with a form as if of fifteen or sixteen years of age appearing suddenly, independently of parents Since they do not pass through the embryonic period which tends to obliterate the memories of the past, it is stated, they are capable of recollecting their past births Passing thence he was born as a Deva and glanced into the past to see what good act conditioned him

to be born thus," is a passage which oft recurs in the Sutta tas. Brahmās, Devas of heavenly realms, Petas, and th miserable ones who are subject to torments and sufferin in the wicked states (Nirayas) belong to this last division

It must be mentioned here, before we come to deal with th actual process of re-birth, that Darwin's theory of evolutio finds no place in Buddhism. Buddhists do not believe in *succession of physical forms.* The new *physical vehicle is n the successor of the past,* though it must be admitted that th coming-into-being of the present is conditioned by the passin away of the past. The multifarious forms are merely th manifestation of Kamma-force. "Unseen it passes whithe soever the conditions appropriate to its visible manifestatio are present, here showing itself as a tiny gnat or worm, ther making its presence known in the dazzling magnificence of Deva or an archangel's existence. When one mode of it manifestation ceases it merely passes on, and where suitabl circumstances offer, reveals itself afresh in another name o form."

It is common to say after witnessing an outbreak o passion or sensuality in a person whom we deemed character ised by a high moral standard—' How could he have commit ted such an act, or followed such a course of conduct ? It was not the least like him. It was not the least like what he appeared to others, and probably to himself." What did it denote ? It denoted, Buddhists say, part at any rate of what he really was, a hidden but true aspect of his actual self, or in other words his Kammic tendencies.

Dormant but undestroyed, and with an ever present pos sibility of rising again there lie in us all—according to

Buddhism—five natures, viz., divine (Dibba), human (Mānusika), brutal (Tiracchīna), ghostly (Peta) and hellish (Nerayika). These natures—however civilised we may be—may rise in disconcerting strength at unexpected moments so long as we are worldlings (Puthujjana). We live for one thought-moment just as the wheel rests on the ground at one point, and are always in the present. The present is constantly slipping into the irrevocable past. Now we sow the seed of the future. Now, even now, we are creating the hells that we will be hurled into. Now, even now, we are building the heavens that will comfortably accommodate us. *What we shall become is determined by this present thought-moment.* In just the same way, according to Buddhist philosophy, the impending birth is determined by the immediately preceding thought, which is the volition or desire that was extremely strong during our life-time. Therein, therefore, lies the possibility for the Kamma force that manifested in the form of a human being to re-manifest itself in the shape of a brute, ghost, Deva or a human being, or, in other words, for a *Kammic descent in one bound* in the so called evolutionary scale of forms.

As there is the possibility for a *Kammic descent* so there is also the possibility for the contrary—a *Kammic ascent.* When the animal is about to die, for instance, it will experience a moral consciousness that will ripen into a human birth. This last thought-moment does not wholly depend on any action or thought of the animal, for generally it is dull and incapable of morality. It depends on some ancient good deed which it has done in the round of existence, and, which, for a long time, has been prevented from producing

its result. In its last moment the animal, therefore, cherishes ideas, desires or images which will cause a human birth.

Poussin, a French writer, illustrates this fact well by the law of heredity. "A man may be like his grandfather but not like his father. The germs of a disease have been introduced into the organism of an ancestor; for some generation they remain dormant; but suddenly they manifest themselves in actual diseases." "So intricate is the living complex, so mysterious the law of heredity," a Westerner says. "So intricate is the law of Kamma, so mysterious the effects of Kamma," a Buddhist would say.

And now, to come to the most interesting and an extremely subtle point of our subject :—

Suppose a person is about to die. From the seventeenth thought-moment reckoned backward from the point of death no renewed physical functioning recurs. Material qualities born of Kamma (Kammaja Rūpa) arise no more, but those which come into being before the static phase of that thought-moment persist till the time of the dying thought and then cease.

This critical stage may be compared to the flickering of a lamp just before it is extinguished.

To this dying man is presented a Kamma, Kamma Nimitta, or Gati Nimitta. By Kamma here is meant some action of his whether good or bad. It may be a weighty action (Garuka Kamma) such as Samādhi (established one-pointedness of the mind) or parricide, and so forth. These are so powerful that they totally eclipse all others and appear very vividly before the mind's eye. If experience has afforded him nothing weighty, he may take for his object of thought

a Kamma done immediately before death (Āsanna Kamma) It would not be far from wrong to say that most of the soldiers who die fighting, would be having a death proximate Kamma, such as the killing of their fellowmen Consequently their rebirth *cannot possibly be good* *In the absence of an* Āsanna Kamma a habitual meritorious or demeritorious act (Āciṇṇa Kamma) is presented, such as stealing in the case of a robber, or the curing of the sick in the case of a physician Failing all these, some casual act, that is, one of the cumulative reserves of the endless past (Katattā Kamma), becomes the object of thought

By Kamma Nimitta is meant any sight, sound, taste, touch or idea which was obtained at the time of the commission of the Kamma, such as knives in the case of a butcher, patients in the case of a physician, and object of worship in the case of a devotee, etc

Gati Nimitta is some sign of the place where he is to take birth, a thing which invariably happens to dying individuals When *these indications of the future birth occur, and if they* are bad, they can be turned into good This is done by influencing the thoughts of the dying man, so that his good thoughts may now act as the proximate Kamma and counteract the influence of the reproductive Kamma which is about to effect in the next rebirth

Taking for the object one of the above, a thought process (Citta Vīthi) then runs its course even if the death be an instantaneous one *It is said that the fly which is crushed* by a hammer on the anvil also experiences such a process of thought before it actually dies Abhidhamma enumerates twenty types of rebirth processes, but as space does not

permit of their description here, let us imagine for the sak of convenience that the dying person is to be re-born i the human kingdom and that the object is some goo Kamma.

The process of decease—consciousness (Cuti-citta-vīth is as follows :—His Bhavaṅga consciousness is interrupte vibrates for two thought-moments and passes away, afte which the mind-door consciousness (Manodvārā Viññāna rises and passes away. Then comes the psychologicall important stage—Javana process. which here runs only fo five thought-moments by reason of its weakness instead o normally seven. As such it lacks all reproductive power its main function being the mere regulation of the new exist ence. The object in the present case being desirable, th consciousness he experiences is probably moral one— automatic or volitional, accom anied by pleasure, and co nected with knowledge or not as the case may be. The Tadālambana consciousness which has for its function a registering or identifying for two moments of the object so perceived may or may not follow. After this occurs the death-consciousness (Cuti-Citta), the last thought-moment to be experienced in this present life. There is a misconception among some that the subsequent birth is conditioned by this thought. What actually conditions re-birth, let it be said, is not this decease-thought, which, in itself has no special function to perform, but that which is experienced during Javana process.

With the ceasing of the consciousness of decease, death actually occurs. Then no more material qualities born of mind and food (Cittaja and Āhāraja Rūpa) are produced.

Only a series of material qualities born of heat (Utuja) goes on till the corpse is reduced to dust.

By death is here meant, according to the Abhidhamma, *the ceasing of psychic life of one's individual existence*, or, to express it in the words of a Western Philosopher, the *temporal end of a temporal phenomenon*. It is not the complete annihilation of the so-called being, for, although the organic life has ceased, the force which hitherto actuated it, is not destroyed. As the Kammic force remains entirely undisturbed by the disintegration of the fleeting body, the passing away of the present consciousness only conditions a fresh one in another birth. In the present case the thought experienced whilst dying being a moral one, the rebirth-resultant takes for its material an appropriate sperm and ovum-cell of human parents. Simultaneous with its rising spring up the 'body-decad,' 'sex-decad,' and 'base-decad'—the seat of consciousness—(Kāya-Bhāva-Vatthu-Dasaka) The re-birth consciousness then lapses into the sub-conscious state (Bhavanga).

"The new being which is the present manifestation of the stream of Kamma-energy is not the same as, and has no identity with, the previous one in its line, the aggregate that makes up its composition being different from, and having no identity with those that make up the being of its predecessor And yet it is not an entirely different being, since it is the same stream of Kamma energy, though modified perchance just by having shown itself in that last manifestation, which is now making its presence known in the sense perceptible world as the new being—" (*Na ca so na ca añño* —neither the same nor another)

The transition of the flux is also instantaneous and leaves no room whatever for any intervening stage (Antara Bhava) The continuity of the flux at death is unbroken in point of time The time duration is equal to the time occupied by one thought moment i e , less than the billionth part of the time occupied by a flash of lightning The only difference between the passing of one thought moment to another so to say, and of the dying thought moment to the re birth consciousness, is that in the latter case a marked perceptible death is visible

One might say here that a subject cannot exist without an object What then is the object of this sub conscious state ? The reply is self same object which was presented to the mind's eye immediately before death

One might further ask —Are the sperm and ovum cells always ready waiting to take up this rebirth thought ? As Dr Dahlke puts it ' this taking hold is not something that has law, that runs its appointed course according to definite laws, but it is law itself A point on the ground is always ready to receive the falling stone "

We are as water drops rushing ever onward to empty themselves into the measureless ocean Stealthily the days slip by , almost imperceptibly weeks gather into months months into years , unexpectedly death finally steps in and puts an end to this brief span of life Thus does this process of birth and death ever recur as long as the inexorable law of Kamma prevails

CHAPTER XIV

BUDDHIST VINAYA DISCIPLINE

OR

BUDDHIST COMMANDMENTS

Everybody is aware of the existence of very rigid inhibitions in Buddhism, but not many persons seem to know for certain what their nature is, what significance and value they possess in Buddhism, how far they can be practised in the present age and if practised what value they possess The object of this chapter is to throw some light on such questions

The position of the Vinaya pitaka in Buddhist texts

Vinaya has been recognized from ancient times to be so important a component of Buddhist texts that in the first period of Buddhism it was given the same position as Dhamma (Dhamma and Vinaya), and in the next was included in the Ti pitaka (three baskets) or the complete holy texts of Buddhism in the order of Sutta, Vinaya and Abhidhamma In fact from very ancient times Vinaya has been given so great regard that at one time it was even put first in the order of the Ti pitaka, Sutta being placed next and Abhidhamma last, it being believed that Vinaya was āyu (life) or the very life of Buddhism and as long as it was observed the true religion would live but if it were ignored the true religion would perish Even at the present time this belief is very much alive among the so called Southern Buddhists of Ceylon and Siam In China

only the first half of the Vinaya pitaka, which corresponds to Suttavibhanga, is existent It is probably for this reason that it is not usually included in the list of the Vinaya pitaka in Chinese, At any rate, these six Vinaya pitakas are existent, in addition to a Pali version We have thus seven varieties of the Vinaya pitaka, but looked from the point of the so called Mahāyāna Vinaya, they belong to the so called Hīnayāna Vinaya and are substantially the same As commentaries on the Vinaya pitaka, we have five treatises These are the Bimo ron (lit Vinaya mātā vaṇṇanī), the Matoroga ron (lit, mātikā or mātṛkā vaṇṇanā), the Zenken ron (lit pāsīdikā vaṇṇanā), the Sabbata ron (lit sabbatthu vannanī) and the Myōryō ron (lit pākata vannanī), and set against the above mentioned four Vinaya pitakas are called five *ron* (the classical Chinese for vibhāsā or vaṇṇanā in this case). Of these the Zenken ron or Zenken ritsu bibasha was for a long time considered a commentary on the Shibun ritsu, the Vinaya of Dhammaguttika but this idea is wrong It corresponds to the Samantapāsādikā which is a commentary on the Pāli version, and should not be taken as a commentary on any of the Chinese versions of the Vinaya pitaka In order to know the contents of the Vinaya any version will serve the purpose As however, the Shibun ritsu was the foundation on which the Risshū (Vinaya Sect) was set up and has a close relation with Japanese and Chinese Buddhism, I propose to discuss the subject of Buddhist inhibitions with this version as pivot

Now in this version of Vinaya there are found 250 inhibitions (sikkhāpāda) for bhikkhus (priests) and 341 for bhik

khunīs (priestesses) The 250 inhibitions for priests are classified as follows

1	pārājika	4
2	saṅghavaśesa (saṅghādisesa)	13
3	aniyata	2
4	nihsargika pātayantika (nissaggiya pācittiya)	30
5	pātayantika (pācittiya)	90
6	pratideśaniya (patidesaniya) ..	4
7	saiksa (sakhiya)	100
8	adhikaraṇa śamatha (—samatha)	7
	Total	250

It may be said of the above mentioned inhibitions, the most important for Buddhist priests are the four parajika These are (1) Inhibition against any amourous relation with a woman which is called inhibition against impurity or against lusts of the flesh This inhibition has an additional one which is an injunction against similar connection with a beast (2) Inhibition against taking possession of anything not given namely against stealing This is called *inhibition against taking possession of things not given* or against stealing (3) Inhibition against homicide including any act extolling the beauty of death which might tempt a man to seek death This is called inhibition against cutting off the life of a man or against homicide (4) Inhibition against speaking as if one has already mastered all that could be learned concerning the way of entering priesthood before he has not with the object of obtaining gifts from laity This particular kind of lying set against ordinary

Four parajika

and Japan we have a sect known by the name of Risshū (lit Vinaya Sect), which was founded on the teaching contained in the Shibun-ritsu (Vinaya of Dhammaguttika). It goes without saying that this sect makes the Vinaya-piṭaka the fountain-head of its life.

What is vinaya which has been given such importance

Fundamentals of the Vinaya-piṭaka.

In a word, it is nothing but a series or collection of prohibitions placed on the conduct of bhikkhus and bhikkhunīs in their daily life, prescribing what they should not do. It is a code of negative morality, consisting as it does of so many "don'ts." It is true that the Risshū (the Vinaya Sect) divides its text (the Shibun-ritsu) on which it stands, into two parts, so as to make the first part (Sutta-vibhaṅga in Pāli) contain only negative commandments aimed at prevention of evil doings and the second (Khandhaka in Pāli) positive commandments aimed at encouragement of good deeds. But even the second part is in its essentials but an array of prohibitive or negative commandments, so that it is only right to regard it as an extension of the negative commandments making up the first part. A passage found in the preface to the commentary on a Vinaya-piṭaka in Chinese, which is to the effect that the fundamental character of Vinaya is restraint or prohibitive and negative one, well defines the basic motive with which it was instituted. In the Zenken-ritsu-bibasha or Shan-chien-Li-p'a-sa (lit. the well-looking-Vinaya-Vibhāṣā)[1] in Chinese and also in the Samantapāsādikā in Pāli, which are commentaries on the Vinaya-piṭaka, it is explained that Vinaya is the checking of various

[1] See Takakusu's 'A Pali Chrestomathy', pp. lxxii—lxxix.

evil deeds of body (kāyakamma) speech (vacīkamma, and thought (manokamma) In such ways, Vinaya being mainly inhibitions concerning the daily life of priests and priestesses we have to see why were and what made such prohibitions necessary In other words, we have to investigate the condition of society or background existing at the time it appeared which made its institution imperative It would be a great mistake, were one, without paying due attention to the causes, time, place and men that necessitated the institution of it, to conclude that only because Buddha had instituted it, it should be strictly and literally observed Such idea, it seems to me, is born of the narrow spirit of the so called Hīnayāna school and will ultimately lead to the death of the spirit of Buddhism On the contrary, we should understand the fundamental motive with which Vinaya was instituted and adapt it to the needs of age, country and men, *viz*, society This is realizing the true spirit of the so called Mahāyāna school That Buddhism continues to be a great living force in Japan is due to the fact that this spirit has never died among Japanese Buddhists

Varieties of the Vinaya pitaka

Six Chinese translations of the Vinaya pitaka are existent, these being the so called four Vinaya pitakas consisting of the Jūju ritsu (Vinaya of old Sabbatthivādin), the shibun ritsu (Vinaya of Dhammaguttika), the Makasōgi ritsu (Vinaya of Mahāsanghika), and the Gobun ritsu (Vinaya of Mahimsāsaka), one called the Konpon setsu issai ubu Vinaya (Vinaya of new Sabbatthivādin), which was translated very much later than those four and one called simply Vinaya, which was translated earliest of all Of the last mentioned

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lying was considered graver in wickedness and the inhibition against it is called inhibition against pretending enlightenment or against major lying.

A priest violating any of the above-mentioned four pārājika is excommunicated, that is to say, disqualified from re-entering into priesthood. These inhibitions are represented as four 'not to be done' (cattāri akaraṇīyāni) in the Mahāvagga of the Vinaya-piṭaka and the Kammavāca, which came into being sometime later. According to these, a priest, who has committed an act of impurity, is no longer a follower of Buddhá and like a man, who cannot live on after having had his head cut off, has lost his life as a priest. Such a priest is so utterly condemned that he is compared to a dead leaf torn off from a branch, which can never recover its green freshness, or a rock split into two, which cannot be joined together, or a tāla-tree or fan-palm which, having had its upper stem cut off, cannot grow and is doomed to death. It appears to me that of the above-mentioned four pārājika the most difficult to keep for priests of the present time is the first, namely the inhibition against impurity, the other three being comparatively easy to be confronted. As for the first inhibition, I propose to deal with it a little more fully later on.

Thirteen saṅghāvaśeṣa.

The thirteen saṅghāvaśeṣas that come next are inhibitions of less gravity, it being prescribed that a priest who has violated any of the inhibitions in this group shall be condemned to isolated living that is to say, he shall be isolated from his saṅgha (church) to live alone for six days to undergo mānatta (penance) and be recalled when he has

shown himself repentant The acts which are forbidden under this penalty are (1) self abuse, except involuntary pollution while asleep, (2) touching a woman with an immoral motive, (3) speaking loosely to a woman with an immoral motive, (4) insinuating a woman to offer her person after praising himself, (5) arranging a marriage or helping lovers to meet, (6) exceeding prescribed measures in building unaided by donors a small house on his own account without hearing the opinion of his sangha (church), (7) exceeding prescribed measures in building aided by donors a large house without hearing the opinion of his sangha, (8) attempting in an excess of anger to charge without ground another priest with an offence of parajika, (9) persecuting another priest by interpreting as an offence of pārājika a blunder committed by him which bears resemblance to it, (10) plotting rupture of his sangha and refusing to listen to advice to stop it, (11) abetting the above mentioned act (12) breaking into another man's house and acting violently without listening to remonstrance and (13) being obstinate refusing to follow advice of other priests All these acts were no doubt of great importance to the sangha at that time the inhibition was laid down and established against them Even now such an act as plotting rupture of one's sangha (church) is highly objectionable and one must refrain from committing any of the acts above enumerated towards women In fact the above mentioned inhibitions contain much which priests and laymen of today alike must faithfully observe

Next in order come two Aniya dhammas the term meaning indefinite rules It was so called because a priest who was

found to be sitting with a woman in a secluded or exposed place, and was suspected of his act was judged on the strength of evidence given by a trustworthy upāsikā (believing woman) whether he was guilty of violation of pārājika, saṅghāvaśeṣa (saṅghādidesa) or (pātayantika-pācittiya). Seen from the standpoint of to-day, the acts prescribed are not of much importance.

Thirty niḥsargika-pātayantika.

The fourth class of inhibitions is thirty niḥsargika-pātayantika (nissaggiya-pācittiya). These are mostly inhibitions concerning clothes and contain two concerning bowls. Briefly all these may be said to be commandments requiring a priest to hold a spirit of unselfishness by getting rid of avarice and be content with only a little in regard to these things. It must not be forgotten that the inhibitions grouped in this class were instituted more than 2,000 years ago and had as their background life in a warm country like India. To try to obey the inhibitions literally without regard to time, place and society, is, in my opinion, next to madness. There is, however, one inhibition which holds good for all times, places and men. It is to the effect that a priest shall not try to make his own anything that has been given to be made the common property of a body to which he belongs.

Ninety pātayantika.

Next come ninety pātayantika (pācittiya). A priest committing any of the sins prescribed against in this class of inhibitions was pardoned on repentance being shown. Ninety items are mentioned in the Shibun-ritsu-biku-kaihon (Bhikṣu-Prātimokṣa-Sūtra of the Dhammaguttika) but

the Bhikkhu-Pātimokkha of Pāli version contains ninety-*two*.

Many of the inhibitions in this group appear to us to be nonsensical. For instance, a priest is forbidden to dig the ground by himself or cause somebody to do so. He is also prohibited from travelling together or taking the same boat with a priestess or a laywoman by appointment. At the time these inhibitions were instituted, there was no doubt good reason, but were we to try to obey them to-day formally without considering the motive underlying them, we would be compelled to keep ourselves away from a railway train, a steamer or a tram-car. There is one inhibition, which is particularly anachronic. It is to the effect that a priest shall not take meal after midday. Such an inhibition cannot be observed at the present time unless by a man in certain special conditions. These are also inhibitions against witnessing a military review or a battle after spending a few nights with troops. But the ninety Pātayantika include some commandments, which hold true for all time, places and men, these being inhibitions against lying, using abusive language, being double-tongued and drinking.

One hundred śaiksa.

We now come to four ways of repentance and one hundred śaikṣa. The latter consist chiefly of detailed injunctions concerning the etiquette and manners of a priest, the way of wearing clothes and the table manner. In this case, too, we should remember the conditions of the church and society of the time which necessitated the institution of these injunctions and appreciate the fundamental motive with which they were established, which was, after all, to enjoin dignity

and politeness in the daily life of a priest For instance, there is no reason why a priest, when taking meal, should follow the table manner, which was prescribed on the basis of the Indian custom of eating with hand, instead of using chopsticks or a knife and a fork As for the seven Adhikaraṇa śamatha (settlement of cases) that constitute the last class of inhibitions, any full discussion may be dispensed with, as they are simply rules showing how to settle disputes that may arise in the church

The inhibitions so far dealt with are those that may be called fundamental inhibitions and looked from the stand point of the Mahāyana school of Buddhism are what are made light of as of the Hinayāna school And as time went on, the 250 inhibitions (as specified in the Shibun ritsu) were found to be insufficient and some were supplemented thereto, these new additions being minor inhibitions found at intervals among the so-called positive commandments, which are included in the Khandhaka of Pāli version In the Pāli version or others it is mentioned that priests can eat fish and meat which are pure to them in three cases, if they do not see slaughter, if they do not hear of it, if they do not suspect it to have been done for them Such fish and meat are pure ones In the Shibun ritsu it is mentioned that eating of the meat of an elephant, a horse, a dog or a dragon is dukkata-offence and that of human meat thullaccaya offence Eating of garlic (lasuna) is also mentioned as dukkata offence, but this offence being one later added is not found included in the fundamental inhibitions It is noteworthy that these supplementary

Meat and garlic

inhibitions are given the name of thullaccaya or dukkaṭa and are not mentioned under the old classification such as pārājika and saṅghāvaśeṣa.

Motive underlying inhibitions.

According to the Vinaya-piṭaka, the fundamental inhibitions were as a matter of course, but all the supplementary minor ones were instituted by Buddha from time to time as the occasion demanded. This allegation was most probably made for the purpose of making the commandments authoritative. In fact, I can hardly believe that even the fundamental inhibitions were all established by Buddha, for it is impossible to think that He was so lacking in personal authority and influence that in order to maintain discipline in His saṅgha or church He was obliged to draw up a code very much akin in character to a penal law, No doubt He had occasions to reprove some of His disciples for misdemeanours and it is most likely that words spoken by Him on such occasions were remembered and later compiled a sort of law. In all likelihood it was in such a way that the fundamental inhibitions were set up. In other words, as it was found that after the demise of Buddha, His influence gradually waned, while the saṅgha, He had founded, gained in extension but lost in discipline, the institution of such strict inhibitions was, as I take it, made imperative in order to be kept intact. Thus undue importance began to be given to the commandments, until they were made into a sort of sacred and inviolable rules and in regard to their application their underlying spirit was sacrificed for formality. For instance, it was considered that in an act of stealing there must be five conditions in order to interpret it as an offence of pārājika:

first, the thing stolen must be the property owned by another person; secondly, the man stealing it must be conscious that it belongs to another person; thirdly, it must be a valuable thing worth more than five māsaka (penny); fourthly, than stealing it must have an intention to do so; fifthly, it must be removed from the position which it occupies. Suppose a man goes in search for a treasure with the intention to steal it. In India valuables are kept buried under the ground. Accordingly, on such an expedition he carries with him a hoe and a basket (piṭaka). He reaches a spot, where he thinks some treasure lies buried under, and after removing grass and vines growing over it, digs the ground and finds as he expects, a pot containing treasures. In case he moves it, he is considered guilty of thullaccaya, but he is guilty of pārājika only in case he removes it even by an inch. With regard to the inhibition against drinking too, wine is defined in respect to colour, smell and taste and one is said to have committed dukkaṭa-offence when he drinks what he takes for wine but which is not really wine, while one is said to be guilty of pācittiya in case he drinks wine without being aware that it is wine. All such restrictions place importance on results only at the expense of motives and are incompatible with the fundamental spirit of Buddhism, which regards will (mano) as of supreme importance. Were this sort of things carried to the extreme, the spirit of Buddhism would be destroyed by formality.

Commandments to Bodhisattva.

There are also commandments to Bodhisattva, which were drawn up after the example of the above-mentioned commandments to Bhikkhus. These inhibitions include four pārājika,

which are (1) to abuse other persons by speaking highly of one's virtues with some selfish aim, (2) to be chary of one's property and not to pity the poor and give them alms and to refuse to teach the Dhamma to those who desire to learn of it, (3) to utter abusive language against some person and not content with it, to strike him with hand or stick or stone and to refuse to listen to remonstrances, and (4) to speak ill of the Pitaka of Bodhisattva and preach a similar dhamma and endeavour to establish it, but afterwards to repent and follow the advice of other persons The commandments to Bodhisattva also contain about forty inhibitions, under the name of 'many dukkata offences' As for the four pārājika included in the commandments to Bodhisattva, they are altogether different in character from those included in the commandments to bhikkhus In short the former is found to be much more altruistic than the latter In a chapter entitled the Bosatsu shin-ji-Kaihon (Bodhisattva-citta bhūmi sikkhāpada) of the Bonmo kyō (the Brahmajāla sutta),[1] ten pārājika offences are mentioned These are (1) homicide, (2) stealing, (3) indulging in licentiousness, (4) criticising other persons' sins and shortcomings, (7) denouncing other persons by praising oneself, (8) refusing to give alms by being miserly, (9) abusing another person in anger and striking him with hand, sword or stick, and (10) disparaging "three sacred treasures"—namely, Buddha Dhamma and Sangha These are offences, against which major inhibitions are provided Next to them forty eight minor offences (dukkata) are described Among the inhibitions of this group there are one against taking

[1] Quite different from Brahmajala Sutta in the Digha-Nikaya

up a wine cup with the object of urging a man to drink, it being said that one who commits this offence will be reborn five hundred times without hands, one against eating all kinds of meat and five things of hot taste (such as garlic and onion) and one against killing and eating all living creatures, it being taught that as all men are one's father and all women one's mother, while all creatures transmigrating the six stages or existence are one's parents, one who kills and eats any of them is guilty of patricide and also of eating one's own flesh in a former existence. As compared with the inhibitions for bhikkhus (priests), these inhibitions for Bodhisattva display a spirit of altruism. The following comparison will classify the point just mentioned :

Pārājika for Bhikkhus.

1. Obscenities.
2. Stealing.
3. Homicide.
4. Major lying.

Pārājika for Bodhisattva.

1. Obscenities.
2. Stealing.
3. Homicide.
4. Lying.
5. Selling intoxicants.
6. Criticising shortcomings of four classes of people (bhikkhu, bhikkhunī, sāmanera, sāmaṇerī).
7. Denouncing other persons and praising oneself.
8. To be miserly and to inflict injuries on other persons.
9. To be in anger and reject advice.
10. To slander Three Sacred Treasures (Budd Dhamma, Saṅgha).

Looked from the standpoint of the Mahāyāna school, these inhibitions for bhikkhus are nagative commandments and are no more than so-called Setsu-ritsugi kai (controlling one's acts) The commandments laid down by the Mahāyāna school, however, are more positive and lay stress on Setsu Zenbō kai (holding of good deeds) and Setsu Shujō kai (benevolence towards all creatures) While *Vinaya* is negative in nature as already explained, *Sila* comprises all Buddhist moral rules both positive and negative. In this essay, I confine myself to the discussion of Vinaya

Five and ten commandments

There are five commandments for devout laymen (upāsaka) and devout laywomen (upāsikā), these being not to kill, not to steal, not to commit adultery with others' wives, not to tell a lie, and not to drink, while for novices (sāmanera) the following ten commandments are laid down not to kill, not to steal, not to commit obscenities, not to speak falsehood, not to drink, not to see plays and dancing, not to apply perfumed oil to the body, not to sit high, not to eat at an unusual time, and not to accept money " As the result of my study of this subject, I have arrived at a theory that for devout laymen (upāsaka) the Three Refuges (Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha) only were established, but in view of the fact that before them bhikkhus were given 250 inhibitions (227 in Pāli version) and novices ten commandments, it was concluded that they should have at least five commandments and the first five were chosen for them from the ten commandments for novices, amending the third commandmont not to commit obscenities (abrahmacariyā veramanī), not to

commit an illegitimate act of lewdness (kāmesu micchācārā veramaṇī) As a matter of fact although killing, stealing, visiting a woman who is not one's lawful wife, telling a lie and drinking wine are mentioned in the Dhammapada as five evils and in the Chinese versions of the Vinaya pitaka the five commandments to be strictly observed by devout laymen (upāsaka) are mentioned, yet in the Vinaya pitaka and Nikāya of Pāli version devout laymen are described to have taken refuge in Three Treasures only, it seems that the Chinese versions were brought into being after the five commandments for laymen were established I cannot believe by all means that during the time Buddha walked on earth, anything like penal code was in force requiring even priests and priestesses to observe "such and such commandments under such and such penalties," though he no doubt warned them against misconduct from time to time Much less can I believe that such formal commandment as the ten for novices or the five for devout laymen were established in this time It may be supposed that those, who followed Buddha during his lifetime, did not need any formal commandments as they lived and behaved themselves under influence and inspiration of the perfect personal character of their great teacher As Buddha taught during a long period of forty five years, even if inhibitions were given in order to maintain order and discipline in the church, they no doubt came into being as already said, with place, time and actor as background In view of this, there is no need for Buddhist priests and believers of the present day, who live in different time, place and environment, to observe those commandments literally, though of course they must

respect the spirit with which the inhibitions were established and live in conformity with it

With regard to the problem of inhibition for priests, one that will remain perplexing for a long time to come is the inhibition concerning sexual relations To me it appears that the problem of inhibitions for the Buddhist priests of the present day (except those belonging to the Shinshū Sect) depends upon the manner of interpretation of this particular inhibition If it is interpreted as one requiring all Buddhist priests to observe celibacy, I fear that very few priests will be found living in Japan, who are really worthy of the name bhikkhu With regard to the five commandments for laymen, the one, that will be found extremely difficult to keep by ordinary devout laymen is the commandment not to kill (even a worm) For fishermen and hunters and people like Mongolians who make pork their staple food, the commandment is one that is impossible to obey If the five commandments must be strictly obeyed a man like myself has no qualification even of an upāsaka I would rather be a simple upāsaka taking refuge in the Three Sacred Treasures In one of his messages to his believers, Saint Shinran, the founder of the Shinshū Sect, wrote, "I should think it very wicked to believe to be right for a man to act as he pleases, namely to allow himself to do what he should not do, to say what he should not say and to think what he should not think" The idea underlying the passage quoted of the great exponent of the doctrine of salvation by faith seems to sum up the proper attitude of mind the present day followers of Buddha should take In other words, we should always bear in mind the spirit of the commandments, which

requires us to abstain as much as possible from doing all evils of body, speech and mind, and endeavour to elevate our character. We should look within ourselves, find out whatever shortcomings we may possess and then institute inhibitions for ourselves in whatever number. In my opinion, in order to become true followers of Buddha we need not literally follow the five commandments, or the ten commandments or the two hundred and fifty commandments.

CHAPTER XV

SOME NUMISMATIC DATA IN PĀLI LITERATURE

An interesting, but somewhat obscure, chapter of Indian history is that which is connected with the Śaka satraps of Malwa. Their history has been mainly recovered from inscriptions and coins, but very little from literature. The lost drama entitled *Devīcandraguptaṁ* of Viśākhadatta, *Harsacarita*[1] of Bāna, *Sanketa*[2] of Śankara, *Nāṭyadarpana*[3] of Rāmacandra and Gunacandra, *Śṛngāra-prakāśa*[4] of Bhoja, and *Kāvyamīmāmsā*[5] of Rājaśekhara have referred to a Śaka king who was killed by Candragupta, evidently, the Gupta emperor Candragupta II But the name of this Śaka chief is not mentioned in any of these texts. The only satrap whose name has hitherto been found to occur in literature is Castana, the founder of the Śaka dynasty of Malwa, who under the name of Tiastanēs, has been referred to by Klaudios Ptolemaios in his *Geogra-*

[1] *Śrī Harṣacaritamahākavya*, ed. by Fuhrer, p 270
The passage in question is as follows *Aripure ca parakalatrakamukam kaminī eśaguptaś ca Candraguptah Śakapatim praśasaseti* For '*aripure*' (enemy's city) we find '*alipure*' and '*alipure*' in some Mss Alipura or Alipura seems to be the name of a city

[2] *Śrī Harsa-caritamahakavya*, ed, by Fuhrer, p 270 *Candraguptabhratrjāyam Dhruvadevim prārthayamanas Candraguptena Dhruvadeviveśadhārinā strijanaparivrtlena ahasi vyāpadita iti*"

[3] " *Yathā Devīcandragupte dvitiye 'nke prakrtinamaśvasanaya Śakasya Dhruvadevīsampradane abhyupagate rajnā Ramaguptenavadhanartham yiyasuh pratipanna Dhruvadevinepathyah KumaraCandragupto vijnapayatinucyate yathā* Cf *Journal Asiatique*, Tome 203, p 201, f n 1

[4] "*Strivesanibhrutah Candraguptah saltroh skandavaram Alipuram Śakapatira bhāyagamat*" Indian Antiquary, 1923, p 183

[5] ' *Datva ruddhagatih Khaśādhipataye* (read *Śakadhipataye*) *devim Dhruvasvāminim Yasmatkhandita sahaso nivartte Śri Śarmagupto* (read *Ramagupto*) *nrpah*"
Rajaśekhara's *Kavyamimamsa* (Gaekwad Oriental Series, No I) p 47

Translation

(The expression) *'porānakassa'* (*i e.* of the ancient) applies to the *Kahāpana* manufactured with marks according to the ancient (numismatic) treatises, and resembling the *Nīlakahāpana.* By this (expression) are excluded the *Rudradāmaka* (coin) and those which have been modelled after it *Māsala* is, indeed, the twentieth part of an ancient *Kahāpana,* which is also called *Mañjetthī* in this world.

The extracts quoted above occur in three Pāli works compiled in Ceylon by different authors, Indian and Ceylonese. Extract No I occurs in the *Samantapāsādikā,* the commentary on the *Vinaya Piṭaka* by Buddhaghosa Thera, the contemporary of Kumāragupta [illegible] and of Skandagupta (455 *c* A D. 467) of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. He went to Ceylon during the reign of the Sinhalese king Mahānāma (458-480 A.D)[1] Extract No II is from the *Sāratthadīpanī,* which is again a commentary on the *Samantapāsādikā,* by Sāriputta Thera [2] Extract No III is from the *Vinayatthamañjūsā* which is a commentary attributed to Buddhanāga Thera[3] on the *Kankhāvitaranī,* another work, of Buddhaghosa Thera It has to be admitted, therefore, that a considerable portion of the numismatic data contained in the Pāli passages quoted above, are traceable to Buddhaghosa as the ultimate source

The extracts from the Pāli works bring to our notice for the first time the following numismatic terms, *viz*,

[1] *Mahāvaṃsa* (Pāli Text Society Translation Series) W Geiger, intro p xxxix
[2] *Gandhavaṃsa,* ed. by Prof Minayeff (Journal of the Pali Text Society, 1886, p. 61).
[3] J P T.S. 1886, pp. 61-62 *Cf Sasanavaṃsadīpa,* (Sinhalese Ed.) 1212.

Rudradāmaka, (2) *Rudradāmakādi*, (3) *Nīlakahāpana*, (4) *Pāda* of *Nīlakahāpana*, (5) *Māsaka* of *Nīlakahāpana*, and (6) *Mañjeṭṭhī*. The purpose of this paper will, therefore, resolve itself into a study of the character of the monetary issues referred to by these terms with reference to metal, standard weight, fabric, style, and other important features, in the light of our numismatic knowledge

The term '*Rudradāmaka*' has been explained in the *Sāratthadīpanī* as a class of coins struck by Rudradāma (*Rudradāmena uppādito*) The preliminary point that has to be settled at the very outset is, of course, the identification of the name Rudradāma in this reference It is hardly necessary to point out that the name Rudradāma is not to have been the name of any kings other than those of the Śaka dynasty of Malwa ; while among these the name has been applied to two 'mahāksatrapas' as mentioned in the legends of the coins belonging to that dynasty,[1] which were issued before the days of Buddhaghosa Thera. Of *these two Rudradāmas, the first in chronology is Rājā* Mahāksatrapa Rudradāma, son of Rājā Ksatrapa Jayadāma, as described in the coin-legends, and the second is Rājā Mahāksatrapa Svāmi-Rudradāma, father of Rājā Mahāksatrapa Svāmi-Rudrasena (Rudrasena III). Thus we have to find out which of these two Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāmas is referred to by Buddhaghosa and other commentators as being the originator of a new and depreciated type of coinage

There is, however, no doubt that the more famous of the two was Rudrādāman I. He is mentioned in no fewer than

[1] Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kṣatrapas, the Traikūṭaka, and the Bodhi Dynasties, Rapson, Intro. p. cciii and p. cevi.

Translation

(The expression) '*porānakassa*' (*i.e.* of the ancient) applies to the *Kahāpana* manufactured with marks according to the ancient (numismatic) treatises, and resembling the *Nīlakahāpana*. By this (expression) are excluded the *Rudradāmaka* (coin) and those which have been modelled after it*Māsaka* is, indeed, the twentieth part of an ancient *Kahāpana*, which is also called *Mañjetthī* in this world.

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1 *Mahavamsa* (Pali Text Society Translation Series), W Geiger, intro p xxxix
2 *Mandhavamsa*, ed by Prof Minayeff (Journal of the Pali Text Society, 1886, pp. 61 62 *Cf Sāsanavamsadipa*, (Sinhalese Ed.) 1212.

Extract II[1]

Iminā'ca sabbajanapadesu kahapanassa vīsatimo bhāgo māsako 'ti, idañ ca vuttameva hoti'ti datthabbam Porāna-satthānurūpalakkhanasampannā uppaditā nilakahāpanā ti veditabbā Rudradāmena uppādito Rudradāmako So kira nīlakahāpanassa tibhāgam agghati

Translation

It must be borne in mind that by this (referring to the *Samantapāsādika* passage cited above)[2] it has been said that in all the provinces the twentieth part of a *Kahāpana* is a *Māsaka* A *Nilakahāpana* is to be understood as being manufactured with marks following the ancient (numismatic) treatises *A Rudradāmaka* (coin) is one which has been manufactured by Rudradāma This (money piece) is said to be equivalent to three quarters of a *Nīlakahāpana*

Extract III[3]

Porānakassā ti[4] *porānasatthānurūpamuppāditassa*[5] *lakkhanasampannassa*[6] *nilakahāpanasadisassa kahāpanassa. Etena Rudradāmakādīni*[7] *patikkhipati Māsako nāma porānakassa kahāpanassa vīsatimo*[8] *bhāgo, yā loke Mañjetthī ti pi vuccati*

[1] *Saratthad pan* (on the *Samantapāsādikā* passages cited above) Sinh Ed Vol I, p 493

[2] *Etenalakkhanena ve ditabbo* (*Samantapāsād kā* Sinh Ed Vol I, p 172)

[3] *Vinayatthamanjusa* ed by P Ekanayaka Sinh Ed (Colombo 1912) p 77

[4] Cf *Kankhavitarani* (on *Patimokkhā* II) Burmese Edition p 36 (Published by the Hanthawaddy Press Rangoon)

[5] Sinh. Ed *porānasatthānurūpa h.*

[6] Sinh Ed *lakkhanasampannassa*

[7] Sinh Ed *Dudradā nakādi ni*

[8] Sinh Ed *sat mo*

phike Upheqesis as the contemporary ruler of Oẓēnē (Ujjain)[1] Thus, up to now, we do not know of any work in Indian literature which has furnished any of the names of the long line of the Śaka rulers of Malwa. It is somewhat disappointing to find that literature has nothing to say even about the most important of these Śaka rulers, *viz*, Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman I, who had played such an important part in Indian history.

There are, however, several interesting passages in the Pāli texts, which record the name of Rudradāman I in connexion with certain numismatic facts which, I believe, have hitherto remained unnoticed These passages are as follows :

Extract I[2].

Tadā Rājagahe vīsatimāsako kahāpano hoti, tasmā pañcamāsako pādo. Etena lakkhanena sabbajanapadesu kahāpanassa catuttho bhāgo pādo 'ti veditabbo So ca kho porānassa nīlakahāpanassa vasena, na itaresam Rudradāmakādīnam

Translation

At that time in Rājagaha (Rājagṛha), one *Kahāpana* was equal to twenty *Māsakas*, wherefore, one *Pāda* was equal to five *Māsakas* By this standard it is to be understood that, in all the provinces, the quarter of a *Kahāpana* is a *Pāda* But this is in respect of the ancient *Nīlakahāpaṇa*, (and) not of these (latter day) *Rudradāmaka* (coin) and those which have been modelled after it

[1] Ancient India as described by Ptolemy, McCrindle, p 155.
[2] *Samantapasadika* (on *Suttavibhanga Pārajika* II 1 6 See *Vinaya Pitaka* ed by H Oldenberg Vol III, p 45) Sinhalese Edition, Vol I p 172.

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Translation

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[3] J P T S. 1886, pp. 61 62 *Cf Sasanavamsadipa*, (Sinhalese Ed.) 1212

1. Rudradāmaka.

Thus by the term '*Rudradāmaka*' are to be understood the coins that were issued by the Mahāksatrapa Rudradāman I. Archæological evidence shows that Rudradāman I struck coins in silver and copper, but the former much more widely than the latter, of which there have been brought to light up to now five specimens only.[1] As regards his silver issues, it is known from the numismatic finds of the age that these corresponded in many respects to the standard silver coins which were current before the days of Rudradāman I in the localities ruled by him, such as, Malwa, Kathiawar, Cutch, Gujarat, the Northern Konkan, and the Nasik and Poona districts. We may, therefore, take it for granted that Rudradāman I was more known for his silver coins, which he must have struck as the standard money,

Satraps	Earliest and latest date	Uparkot hoard*	Sarvania hoard†	British Museum Cabinet‡	Remarks
Yaśodāman II	Latest	254 Ś.E	254 Ś.E.	249 Ś.E	
Rudradāman II	Earliest	..			Ś.E. 254+x (=c 332 A.D.)
"	Latest	.		.	Ś E. 270—x' (=c . 348 A D)
Rudrasena III	Earliest	270 Ś.E	270 Ś E.	270 Ś.E.	

* Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol XX, 1899, pp. 208 209

† Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India, 1913 14, p. 242.

‡ Brit Mus Cat —Indian coins, Rapson, p 177 and p 170 See also p. 178, *fn* 1

[1] Of these five copper coins, three have been described by Mr K. N Dikshit in Indian Antiquary, Vol XLVIII, 1919, pp 121-122. For the description of the remaining two, I am indebted to Mr D. B Diskalkar, Curator, Mathura Museum, Mathura

five inscriptions of his time found at Andhāu[1] in Khāvḍā (Cutch State), while a sixth which is one of the most important inscriptions of Indian history found at Junāgaḍh,[2] in Kathiawar, not only mentions his name and title, but also describes his exploits and achievements, whereby he firmly established the independence and power of the Śaka kingdom, which survived him for nearly three centuries From the epigraphic evidence he appears to have ruled from 130 to 150 A D (Śaka 52 to 72)[3]

As regards the other Rudradaman, the coins which are the only source of information about him, are those of his son and successor, Mahāksatrapa Rudrasena III, in the legend of which he is described as Rāja Mahāksatrapa Svāmi-Rudradāma[4] From the evidence of the coins, his rule may be dated between *c* A D 332 and 34 Though the second Rudradama was thus nearer in time to Buddhaghosa, he is not known up to now to have issued any coin of his own, and, thus is not likely to have been referred to by Buddhaghosa in connexion with the coins that passed current under that name That name must, accordingly, be supposed to point to the first Rudradāma, the most powerful and famous king of his dynasty, samples of whose coins have been discovered in sufficient numbers to indicate their distinctive place in the evolution of Indian coinage

[1] Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of India Western Circle 1914 15 p. 8 and pl. 67 *Epigraphia Indica* Vol XVI pp 19 23.

[2] *Epig Ind.* Vol VIII pp 36 44

[3] Indian Antiquary Vol XLVII June 1918 p 104 f n. 5 see also Ancient History of the Deccan by Dr C J Dubreuil p 72 *et seq* *Epig Ind* Vol XVI pp 20 21

[4] Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum Papson p 179

[5] Mahāksatrapa Svami Rudradaman II appears to have ruled for about 16 years His date can be ascertained from the table on the next page

in these two classes of coins In the copper coins it appears sometime on the *obv* and sometime on the *rev*, while in the silver coins it figures on the *rev* only

Thus the only feature, common to the silver and copper coins of Rudradāman I, lies in the symbol of the *Caitya* appearing on the *rev* as well as legend of the forms : *'Rājño Ksatrapasa Jayadāmaputrasa Rājño Mahāksatrapasa Rudra dāmasa,' 'Rājño Ksatrapasa Jayadāmasa putrasa Rājño Mahāksatrapasa Rudradāmasa,' 'Rājño Mahāksatrapasa Svāmi Rudradamasa,' 'Mahāksatrapasa Svāmi Rudradāmasa,'* and *'Svāmi Rudradāmasya,'* on the strength of which the coins, whether of silver or of copper, are traced to the Mahāksatrapa Rudradāman I [1]

That the term *'Rudradāmaka'* thus stood for the more well known and widely current silver coins of Rudradāman I, will also be apparent from other considerations Buddhaghosa assigns to the *'Rudradāmaka'* coins the same place in Indian currency as he assigns to the *Nilakahāpana* of the good old days of the Buddha Both, in their respective periods and regions, were current as the standard money, to which were related, by a regulated system of values and weights, the subordinate or smaller coins It is to be finally noted that in referring to the *'Rudradāmaka'* coin in terms of the *'Nīlakahāpana,'* Buddhaghosa must have in view the silver variety only of the *'Rudradāmaka,'* which constituted the standard coin of Rudradāman's dominion

[1] Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Rapson pp 78 79, Ind Ant., Vol XLVIII 1919 pp 121 122

rather than for the copper issues which were called for merely as token money or as smaller coins for petty transactions.

His silver coins are also easily distinguished from the copper ones as is indicated below :

(i) They differ in standard.

(ii) They differ in fabric. While the silver pieces are round, the copper ones are rectangular.

(iii) They differ in style and type. The silver coins show on the *obv.* 'Head of king,' and on the *rev.* '*Caitya* of three arches surmounted by a crescent,' 'Rayed sun,' a 'Crescent' symbolising moon, and 'Waved line' below the *Caitya*[1] The *obv.* of the copper coins shows the figure of an animal, either 'Elephant standing left,'[2] 'Horse to left facing a post,'[3] or 'Humped bull facing,'[4] diagonally impressed on the field , while on the *rev.* are to be seen '*Caitya* of three arches surmounted by a crescent,' 'Rayed sun,' 'Crescent,' and 'Waved line' below the *Caitya* Even on the *rev.* there is a further difference shown in the arrangement. Thus, while on the silver coins the second 'Crescent' appears invariably on the left and the 'Rayed sun' on the right of the central device, *i e.*, the *Caitya,* no such regularity is to be observed in the copper pieces[5] The 'Waved line,' too, which is invariably to be found in the silver issues below the *Caitya*, does not always figure in the copper coins. Irregularity in respect of the border of dots is also to be noticed

[1] Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Rapson, p. 78 See also Intro p clxxm

[2] Ind Ant , Vol XLVIII, 1919, p 121

[3] From the letter of Mr D B Diskalkar (30th Sept 1926)

[4] Ind Ant , Vol XLVIII, 1919 p 122

[5] Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Rapson, p 78, Ind Ant Vol. XLVIII, 1919, pp 121 122

also several non-Śaka rulers whose silver coins resemble those of Rudradāman I in many important respects

(iii) The copper and leaden coins, which were struck by the rulers not belonging to the line of Castana, do not appear to have been modelled after the silver coins of Rudradāman I

(iv) A few uninscribed and undated square copper coins,[1] the issue of which can justly be ascribed to the Śaka successors of Rudradāman I in Malwa, as well as the leaden coins[2] of Rudrasena III, resemble the '*Rudradāmaka*' silver issues as regards the *rev.* type only.

(v) There is very little similarity between the potin coins of the non-Śaka rulers and the silver coins which were struck by Rudradāman I. This mighty satrap did not issue any potin coin, so far as we know. The potin coin which was wrongly attributed by Sir Alex Cunningham to the Mahāksatrapa Rudradāman I,[3] was really struck by his son, the Mahāksatrapa Rudrasiṁha I.[4]

(vi) The inscribed and dated potin coins, issued by Jīvadāman and Rudrasimha I, resemble the silver coins of Rudradāman I in respect of fabric, *rev* type, and the use of the Græco-Roman characters.

(vii) The points of semblance existing between the dated but uninscribed potin coins of Rudrasena I and his brother, Dāmasena, and the '*Rudradāmaka*' silver issues are fabric and *rev.* type. It must, however be observed that the *rev.* type of these potin coins appears in exergue, which is con-

[1] Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Rapson, p 94
[2] *Ibid*, pp 187-188
[3] Coins of Mediæval India, Cunningham, p 7
[4] J R A S, 1899, p 402

2. Rudradāmakādi.

We shall next consider the significance of the term '*Rudradāmakādi*' The first part of the two words, *Rudradāmakādīnaṁ* and *Rudradāmakādīni* occurring in the *Samantapāsādikā* and the *Vinayatthamañjūsā* respectively, is *Rudradāmaka*. On the analogy of the derivation given by Sāriputta of the word '*Rudradāmaka*' to mean the coin that was manufactured by Rudradāma (*Rudradāmena uppādito*), we may take it that the word '*Rudradāmakādi*' should also mean the coins modelled after the '*Rudradāmaka*' coin as their prototype. Thus the word necessarily points to the coinage of the kings who followed Rudradāman I. The exact significance of the word which is left undefined in the Pāli texts may, however, be recovered from the actual numismatic finds bearing on the subject. It is, of course, apparent that the word '*Rudradāmakādi*' refers to a class of coins which bear a close resemblance to the silver currency instituted by that mighty satrap whose name they commemorate.

A comparison of the coins which have been actually discovered and which belong to the period, between the time of the Mahāksatrapa Rudradāman I and that of Buddhaghosa (*c.* A.D. 130—465), will bring to light the following facts :—

(i) No gold coin of the period has been discovered, of which the '*Rudradāmaka*' silver issues might be considered to be the prototype.

(ii) The silver coins of the twenty-three successors of Rudradāman I belonging to the line of Castana, bear a close resemblance to the '*Rudradāmaka*' silver issues. There are

of the '*Rudradāmakādi*' coins ? Other questions that may arise, are perhaps more important than these We may ask, for example what led Buddhaghosa or his contemporaries to apply the term '*Rudradāmakādi*' (*Rudradāmakādikahāpanāni*) to a particular class of silver coins ? Is that term acceptable in the history of Indian numismatics ? What does Buddhaghosa mean by saying that the '*Rudradāmakādi*' coins are three fourths of the *porāna Nīlakahāpana* ? What is a *Nīlakahāpana* ? As the Pāli passages cited above do not furnish any clue to the solution of these questions, the only course left to us is to take into consideration, for the purpose, the history of the standard of the silver currency of Rudradāman I and those which have been modelled after it, as well as the evolution of their characteristic features.

Coins of the class designated 'Rudradamakadi'

(a) Their origins and standard

It is a generally accepted conclusion among numismatists, that there were current in ancient India silver coins struck on indigenous as well as on foreign standards The so-called 'Attic standard' was made universal by Alexander the Great in the regions which he conquered[1], and it is an established fact that the silver coins of the early Hellenistic kings of India conform thereto On the other hand, in the territories ruled earlier by the Achaemenid kings, silver coins were struck on a different standard which is distinguished as 'Persian standard' by the metrologists[2] As a consider-

[1] Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum Gardner Intro p lxvii
[2] *Ibid* p lxviii It is sometimes called Persic standard.

trary to the system followed in the silver currency of Rudradāman I.[1]

(viii) The uninscribed and undated potin coins, possibly struck by the Kṣatrapa Vīradāman, the son of Dāmasena, do not appear to have been modelled after the '*Rudradāmaka*' silver issues. The potin currency of the Śaka dynasty of Malwa seems to have been discontinued after the reign of Vīradāman (*c.* A.D. 234-238).[2]

It is evident from the results thus obtained that by the expression, *Rudradāmakādīnaṁ*, Buddhaghosa has, undoubtedly, referred to the silver coins of Rudradāman I and his Śaka successors in Malwa. It is no less significant that in the opinion of Buddhaghosa or according to the tradition current in his days, Rudradāman I was alone responsible for issuing a new variety of coins which subsequently came to be imitated by the later generations of kings. It is an established fact that the silver coins of the Śaka satraps of Malwa form a class by themselves, and, as such, the term '*Rudradāmakādi*' as used by Buddhaghosa, is appropriate. A few questions, however, still remain to be examined or answered. We have observed already that there are silver coins of several non-Śaka rulers, *e.g.*, Yajña Śrī, Īśvaradatta, Candragupta II, Kumāragupta I, and Skandagupta, which also approximate to the silver coinage of Rudradāman I in many important respects. It may, therefore, reasonably be asked : how far do their coins resemble the '*Rudradāmaka*' silver issues ? Would it not be proper to bring the silver issues of the non-Śaka rulers mentioned above, in the category

[1] Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Rapson, p 105, and p 113 *et seq*

[2] *Cf ibid* Intro pp cxxxii cxxxiii

dominions. passed to the Parthians (Pahlava) of Kandahar, the next suzerain power in Afghanistan and N. W. India.[1] The adoption of an oriental standard by Eucratides, which was subsequently continued by his Hellenistic successors in India, was possibly necessitated by economic rather than political exigencies.[2]

The immense popularity of the silver hemidrachms struck on the Persian standard, both in and outside the Indo-Greek dominions, was possibly due to some of the Hellenistic kings, like Apollodotos Soter, Apollodotos Philopator,[3] Menander, Strato I Soter, Zoilos, Apollophanes,[4] and Antimachos II Nikephoros, who issued this variety of silver coins in greater proportion than others The immediate consequence of such an extensive issue is obvious In respect of weight, size, and fabric, these silver pieces set a standard, which was followed not only by the Śakas,[5] Pahlavas,[6] and the Audumbaras[7] but also by Mahārājā Amoghabhūti of the

[1] J R A S, 1906, p 194, note 1

[2] In the opinion of Sir Alex Cunningham, this change of standard was due to an alteration in the relative value of gold and silver (Numismatic Chronicle, 1888, p. 216)

[3] Dr P Gardner distinguishes Apollodotos Soter from Apollodotos Philopator (British Museum Catalogue, pp 34 39), and Prof E J Rapson is disposed to accept this view (Cambridge History of India, Vol I, p 547 *et seq*) Mr R B Whitehead (Punjab Museum Catalogue, Vol I, pp 40 49), following Mr Vincent A. Smith (Indian Museum Catalogue, Vol I, pp 18 21), has combined the coins under one king of the name

[4] Apollophanes appears to have struck silver hemidrachms only on the Persian standard

[5] The Śaka suzerains who struck silver hemidrachms are the following —
(i) Maues, (ii) Azes I, and (iii) Azilises

[6] Silver hemidrachms of the following kings of Parthian (Pahlava) origin are known to the numismatists
(i) Vonones—(*a*) struck conjointly with his brother Spalahores, (*b*) struck conjointly with his nephew Spalagadames,
(ii) Spalirises—(*a*) as *Mahārājabhrata*, (*b*) struck conjointly with Azes II
(iii) Hyrkodes, (iv) Phseigacharis, and (v) Sapaleises
Nos (iii), (iv), and (v) are possibly of Scytho Parthian origin

[7] The following Audumbara (Odumbara) kings appear to have issued silver hemidrachms:
(i) Dharaghosa, (ii) Rudravarma, and (iii) Mahadeva No (i) is undoubtedly an Audumbara king, but Nos (ii) and (iii) are nondescripts In the opinion of White

able portion of the Punjab and Sind, and also the provinces lying beyond India on the west, were under the sway of the Achaemenid kings before the advent of Alexander, we have reasons to believe that the Persian coins were freely circulated in those parts. In fact, a large number of silver *sigloi* stamped with the figure of the Persian king, have been discovered in the Punjab and the north-western frontier region.[1] The drachm of the Persian standard weighs a little more than 86 grains (*Siglos*=86·45 grains or 5·601 grammes). Therefore, the smaller silver pieces, which weigh as a maximum 43·2 grains, are to be considered as the hemidrachms of the Persian standard, which exceed those of the Attic standard in weight, roughly speaking, by 10 grains (drachm of the Attic standard=67·5 grains or 4·37 grammes). Eucratides was the first of the Hellenistic kings of India to strike silver hemidrachms on the Persian standard,[2] although other denominations in silver, *viz.*, tetradrachms, drachms, and obols were issued by him on the basis of the Attic standard. Coins indicate that like Eucratides, Heliocles, Antialcidas, and Apollodotos Soter also made use of both.[3] In the régime of the later Indo-Greek princes, the Attic standard was gradually replaced by that of the Persian,[4] and the latter appears to have been continued till the reign of Hermios when the upper Kabul valley, the last remnant of the Greek

[1] J. R. A. S., 1895, p. 867.

[2] Catalogue of Indian coins in the British Museum, Gardner, Intro. p. lxvii, and *ff*., See also p. 165. A fine specimen of this variety is now in the Cabinet of the Indian Museum, Calcutta (Indian Museum Catalogue, Vol. I, p. 13).

According to Von Sallet, the silver coins of Eucratides which weigh nearly 2·5 grammes (about 39 grains), are drachms of a standard reduced from the Attic. His opinion, however, has not found a favourable acceptance on all hands (See '*Die Nachfolger Alexanders des Grossen in Baktrien und Indien*,' Von Sallet, pp. 76, 78, and 99).

[3] Indian coins, Rapson, p. 6.

[4] Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Gardner, Intro. p. lxvii.

dominions, passed to the Parthians (Pahlava) of Kandahar, the next suzerain power in Afghanistan and N W India.[1] The adoption of an oriental standard by Eucratides, which was subsequently continued by his Hellenistic successors in India, was possibly necessitated by economic rather than political exigencies.[2]

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Kunindas,[1] Rājā Jñāgana of the Vṛṣṇis,[2] Svāmī Brahmanya (Deva) of the Yaudheyas,[3] Mahākṣatrapa Rañjubula (Rājula) of Mathura,[4] and the Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapa Nahapāna. We are told in the *Periplus*,[5] that the coins of Apollodotos and Menander were current in Barygaza (Broach, Bombay Presidency), which at the time of its author was a flourishing port and an important centre of trade in the

head and Cunningham Nos (i) and (ii) are Audumbara kings No. (iii) is considered to be an Audumbara king by Cunningham alone (Punjab Museum Catalogue, Vol I p 167, Cunningham's Coins of Ancient India, pp 67 68)

[1] Coins of Ancient India, Cunningham, p 72, Indian Museum Catalogue, Vol I. pp 167 168

[2] Coins of Ancient India, Cunningham, Plate IV, 15, see also p. 70

There is hardly any reason to suppose that this unique silver piece was issued by an Audumbara king as appears from the classification of Cunningham His reading of the legends of this coin is as follows —

(i) *Obv* (in Brahmi)
Vṛṣṇi Pāja jñāgaṇasya bhubharasya.

(ii) *Rev* (in Kharoṣṭhī)
Vṛṣṇi Rāja jñāgaṇasya bhubharasya

According to Cunningham this coin was issued by Pāja Vṛṣṇi The correct reading of the legends is due to Mr A V Bergny (J R A S, 1900, pp 416-17, and p 420) and it has also been accepted by Prof E J Rapson (J R A S, 1900, p 416, f n 1). Mr Bergny reads the legends in the following way —

(i) *Obv* (in Brāhmī)
Vṛṣṇir (ā) jajnagaṇasya tr (a) tārasya

(ii) *Rev* (in Kharoṣṭhī)
Vṛṣṇirajaṇṇa trā

While Mr Bergny's reading of the legends may be taken to be correct, his interpretations do not seem to be so The compound *Vṛṣṇi-raja-Jñaganasya* literally, means 'of Jnagana, the Vṛṣṇi king' The name of the king who issued this coin is, undoubtedly, Jñāgana *'Tratarasya* corresponds to Sans *trātuḥ*, i e, of the Saviour (cf *tratarasa* and *tradarasa* appearing in the coins of Diomedes, Apollodotos I, Apollodotos II, Strato I, Menander, etc.)

The theory of Mr K P Jayaswal that this coin is struck in the name of the Rājanya and Gaṇa of the Vṛṣṇis *Vṛṣṇi rajannā-gaṇasya*," does not seem to be tenable (Hindu Polity, Pt I, p 40) We are also not prepared to accept the correction which he proposes in support of his theory (p. 40, f n. 7) Mr Jayaswal has, apparently, overlooked the fact that ṇṇa of the Prākritic dialects may also correspond to jña of Sanskrit, e g, Skt *yajna*=Prak. *jaṇṇo*, *vijnanam*=*viṇṇāṇa*, *prajna*=*paṇṇa*, *rajna*=*raṇṇa*, *sarvajna*=*savvaṇṇo* etc.

[3] Coins of Ancient India, Cunningham, p 78. The round silver hemidrachmas of the Yaudheyas are extremely rare According to Vincent A Smith and Prof Rapson, *Brahmanya (Deva)* is the name of the Yaudheya king (Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta Vol I p 181, J R A S, 1903 p 291) For the opinion of Mr Jayaswal see 'Hindu Polity, Pt I p 150 and p 218

[4] Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Gardner, p 67, Indian Museum Catalogue, Vol I p. 196.

[5] The *Periplus* of the Erythræan Sea, Schoff, pp. 41 42

western coast. 'The coins,' says Mr. Schoff, 'must have been 200 years old, and the preservation of small silver coins in commercial use for that length of time is remarkable.'[1] The coastal region of Western India, which at the time of the *Periplus* was a bone of contention between Nambanus and Sandares,[2] thus afforded a hospitable quarter for the free-circulation of the silver hemidrachms which, being acceptable to the Indian and foreign merchants alike, became the most popular medium of exchange and were possibly valued more than the standard money current in that part of the country.

In the opinion of Sir Alex. Cunningham, the silver pieces of the Western satraps are, apparently, copies of the coins of Apollodotos Philopator,[3] and this view has found a favourable acceptance on all hands. Nambanus (Mambarus ?) of the *Periplus* is supposed to be the same as Nahapāna,[4] the only prominent member of the Ksaharāta Ksatrapa family. And if this identification be correct, then, there can be no doubt, that the prolonged circulation of the hemidrachms of Apollodotos and Menander, which were struck on the Persian standard, had a direct influence on the silver issues of Nahapāna, in whose satrapy they were current for a considerable period of time, and that even in the more important centres of trade. Silver hemidrachms of Nahapāna, which were of extreme rarity only a few years ago, have become abundant since the discovery of a treasure in 1906, near the village of

[1] The *Periplus* of the Erythræan Sea, Schoff, p 185
[2] *Ibid* pp 39 and 43, also pp 197 200
[3] Coins of Mediæval India, Cunningham, p 3
[4] The *Periplus* of the Erythræan Sea, Schoff, pp 197 200, Political History of Ancient India, Dr Roy Chaudhury, p 258 Mr Kennedy is, however, not disposed to accept this identification See J R A. S, 1918, p 108, and *ff*

Jogalthembi[1] in the Nasik District (Bombay Presidency), containing 13,250 coins, of which 9,270 coins had been restruck by Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi—'the exterminator of the Kṣaharāta family,[2] who, however, took care to impress upon them the Andhra *types*.[3] Silver pieces of Gautamīputra conforming to the weight-standard of the hemidrachms, other than those which were restruck by him are, however, unknown. The coins, which have been conjecturally attributed to this powerful Śātavāhana king, are all of either lead, potin, or copper. Of silver coins he had none, except those which he, thus, took over from the vanquished Kṣaharāta chief, Nahapāna. Under Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Pulumāvi, the son and successor of Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi, the Andhra control over the Kṣaharāta provinces seems to have been short-lived, considering that he did not issue silver coins, although the standard that prevailed in those regions,[4] since the time of Nahapāna, was silver. Epigraphic evidence also attests that the provinces of Kathiawar, Gujarat, Malwa, and a considerable portion of the coast-land of the Bombay Presidency were conquered by Gautamīputra,[4] only to be lost in the next generation. Mahāksatrapa

[1] Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXII, p 223 *et seq*

[2] *Epig Ind*, Vol. VIII, p 60

[3] Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Rapson, Intro pp clxv clxvii

Types of Gautamiputra Śrī Śātakarṇi to be found in the hemidrachms of Nahapāna are:

(i) *Obv* 'Caitya' of three arches having a pellet within each, beneath, 'Waved line' The pellets in some of these coins are found missing

(ii) *Rev* 'Ujjain symbol surmounted by a crescent Each orb of the 'Ujjain symbol' has a pellet in the centre

The *obv* type of Gautamiputra is sometimes impressed upon the *obv* type ('Head of king'), and sometimes upon the *rev* type ('Arrow, Discus, and Thunderbolt') of Nahapāna's silver coins The same is the case with the *rev* type of Gautamiputra The Andhra types *obv* 'Caitya,' *rev* 'Ujjain symbol' had not, previously, been found associated on his coins

[4] *Epig Ind*, Vol. VIII, p. 60

Rudradāman I wrested from Śātakarni, 'the Lord of Daksinā-patha', possibly Vāsisthiputra Śrī Pulumāvi,[1] nearly all those provinces which were previously included in the kingdom of Nahapāna, after having defeated him 'twice in fair fight.'[2] .

Indeed, the Andhra supremacy over the Kṣaharāta provinces was replaced by that of a new dynasty, *viz.*, the Śaka satraps of Malwa, whose founder was Castana, son of Ysāmotika. The change in political history is also reflected in numismatic history. Caṣṭana inaugurated a new type of silver coinage which agreed with that of Nahapāna in all respects, excepting the designs, on the reverse,[3] which were expressive of the new sovereignty. This type of silver coinage was continued by his successors with slight modification, as regards, weight, size, fabric, style, and types. It is also to be noted that though there were occasional changes of sovereignty in those regions, there was no change in the established silver currency, which was inaugurated by Castana, and, subsequently, modified and continued by Rudradāman I. For instance, as Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi had conquered the provinces of Mahārāṣṭra[4] and Aparānta[5] from a certain Śaka satrap of Malwa, he had to strike silver coins in imitation of the standard, fabric,

[1] According to Prof E J Rapson, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Pulumāvi must be identified with the 'Śātakarṇi, Lord of the Deccan', whom Rudradāman 'twice in fair fight completely defeated, but did not destroy on account of the nearness of their connection' (Brit Mus Cat, Rapson, Intro pp xxxvii xxxviii) In the opinion of Prof D R Bhandarkar, this Śatakarṇi was Gautamiputra himself, whose son Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śiva Śrī Śātakarni was Rudradāman's son in law (Indian Antiquary, Vol XLVII, pp 154 155)

[2] *Epig Ind* Vol VIII, p 44

[3] Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Rapson, Intro pp cxlii-cxiv and p clxxiii

[4] *Epig Ind* Vol VIII, p 94

[5] Archæological Survey of Western India, Vol V, p 70, see also p 57.

and style of the silver currency of the Śaka rulers, which was firmly established as the standard money in those provinces, prior to his occupation.[1] Likewise, the temporary supremacy for two years (*c.* A.D. 237-239) of Iśvaradatta (probably the same as the Ābhīra Iśvarasena, whose name we come across in one of the Nasik Cave Inscriptions[2]) over the Kṣatrapa provinces, *viz.*, Malwa, Gujarat, Kathiawar,[3] Cutch, etc. is well demonstrated by the closest similarity existing between his silver coins and those of the Śaka satraps in respect of standard, size, fabric, style, and types, and also by the use of the title 'Mahākṣatrapa' in the coin-legend. The silver currency associated with Caṣṭana and Rudradāman I had lasted for over two centuries, up to the time of Rudrasiṁha III, the last known Śaka satrap of Malwa, whose silver coins are dated 310 or 31*x* of the Śaka era (=A.D. 388 or 388+*x*).[4] It is probably this Śaka satrap who was connected with the Gupta history.

The Udayagiri Hill Cave Inscription of the Sanakānika king whose name is now illegible, testifies to the fact that as early as the year 82 of the Gupta era (=A.D. 401-402) Eastern Malwa (*Ākara*) had at least come under the sway of the Gupta emperor, Candragupta II.[5] Another undated

[1] The find spots of the three hemidrachms of Yajña Śrī described in the British Museum Catalogue (p. 45) are (i) Sopara (Śūrpāraka, the ancient capital of Aparānta), (ii) Amreli (in Kathiawar), and (iii) Baroda. No. (i) was discovered by Pundit Bhagwan lal Indraji in a *stūpa* where it appears to have been deposited together with the relics. It, therefore, should be considered to be a specimen of the coinage current in Aparānta when the *stupa* was erected.

In the opinion of Pundit Bhagwanlal, the Sopara coin of Yajña Śrī most resembles the silver coins of Rudradaman I in style and workmanship (cf. Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XV, p. 88.)

[2] *Epig. Ind.* Vol. VIII, p. 88.

[3] Most of the hemidrachms of Iśvaradatta were collected in Kathiawar (*Cf.* Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XVI, p. 624).

[4] Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Papson, Intro. pp. cxlix cl.

[5] *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, p. 25.

inscription incised in the same cave, records that the emperor, 'seeking to conquer the whole world' (*kṛtsnapṛthvī jayāṛtthena*), came to Udayagiri in person,[1] evidently, to measure his strength with the powerful Śaka satrap of Malwa, and the petty chiefs ruling in that part of the country Of the Gupta conquest of Western Malwa (*Avanti*), there seems to be no epigraphic record, but the data available from the numismatic sources, throw some light on the subject The closest semblance, which the silver issues of Candragupta II bear to those of the latest Śaka satraps as regards, weight, size, fabric, and style, proves conclusively that the incorporation of the Kṣatrapa provinces into the Gupta empire by Candragupta II, took place shortly before the year 90 or $90+x$ of the Gupta era ($=$A D 409 or $409+x$)[2] In addition to these, we have a curious piece of literary evidence, recently discovered, in the apparently lost drama, the *Devicandraguptam* of Viśakhadatta, and also stray allusions in Bāna's *Harsacarita*, Bhoja's *Śṛngāraprakāsa* and Rāja śekhara's *Kāvyamīmāmsa*, to the murder of a Śaka king courting a Gupta princess by a Gupta prince acting as her avenger[3] On this event appears to have been based an entire drama, the *Devīcandraguptam*, wherein it is related that the Gupta princess in question was no other than Dhruvadevī, represented to be the wife of the unknown Gupta emperor, Rāmagupta, for whose recovery from the clutches of the Śaka king Candragupta goes to the Śaka in the guise of his paramour and eventually kills him If follow-

[1] *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Vol III p 35
[2] Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum Papson Intro p cli Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum Allan Intro pp xxxvii xxxix
[3] See above p 383

ing the inscriptions[1] we take Dhruvadevī as the wife of Candragupta II, the date of this event tallies with that of Rudrasiṁha III and his supposed successor,[2] either of whom must thus be held to be the libidinous Śaka whose lust brought about the ruin of his dynasty.

The monetary issues of Candragupta I, the founder of the Gupta Imperialism, and those of his son and successor, Samudragupta, were exclusively of gold and were struck on the Kuṣāṇa gold standard.[3] It is therefore evident that the first two Gupta emperors sought to gain acceptance for their new gold currency by placing it on an equality with the popular Kuṣāṇa gold. Like his predecessors, Candragupta II also struck gold pieces in Northern India, but on the basis of three different standards,[4] and issued silver coins in the Kṣatrapa provinces in imitation of the standard of the silver hemidrachms of the Śaka satraps of Malwa The reason for maintaining the silver currency in those conquered provinces is obvious. The government of Candragupta II, undoubtedly, felt the difficulty of supplanting the silver standard, which held the field in the territories of the Śaka satraps for nearly three centuries, by the gold standard of Northern

[1] *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol III, Inscr Nos 10, 12, and 13, Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India, 1903 4, p 107 (Dhruvasvāmini seems to have been another name of Dhruvadevī *Cf* the extract from Rājaśekhara's *Kavyamīmāmsa* cited above).

[2] Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Rapson, Intro. p cl.

[3] In the regime of Wema Kadphises and his Kuṣaṇa successors, the standard money in Northern India was made of gold and was struck on the same standard as the Roman *aureus* (124 grains) Of the three classes of gold coins struck by Wema Kadphises, *viz*, the double stater (248 grains or 16 070 grammes), the stater (124 grains or 8 035 grammes), and the quarter-stater (31 grains or 2 008 grammes), the second one, *i e*, the stater, which was extensively issued by Kaniṣka and the succeeding Kuṣāna rulers, appears to have acquired the status of a current coin in Northern India.

[4] Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Allan Intro pp cxxxii cxxxiii

India Epigraphic evidence, however, tends to show that about the year 93 of the Gupta era (=A D 412 413), the gold pieces called *Dināra*,[1] which were hitherto current as standard money in Northern India, had begun to assume the very same status in Malwa[2]

The practice of issuing silver coins, which were intended for 'hemidrachms' of the Persian standard, was continued during the next two succeeding reigns The circulation of the silver pieces of Kumāragupta I and of those of his worthy successor, Skandagupta, was surely not confined within a particular portion of their empire As a large number of them have been found in Northern, Central, and Western India,[3] it appears that in the lifetime of Buddhaghosa, the silver hemidrachms of the Guptas were current as subsidiary coins throughout their extensive dominion There are reasons to believe that prior to the reign of Candragupta II, the silver currency of the Ksatrapa provinces was in no case auxiliary either to the gold coinage of the Kusāṇas, or to that of the Guptas

As in the Persian standard the unit or drachm weighs 86 45 grains, the small silver pieces of the Indo Greek, Indo-Scythian, and Indo Parthian kings, which weigh as a maximum 43 2 grains or 2 8 grammes, are, therefore, to be considered as the hemi drachms of the Persian standard But this weight standard existed merely in theory, and in reality great diversity prevailed in the weights of the actual speci

[1] The stater pieces of the Kuṣaṇa emperors as well as the gold coins of the Gupta monarchs weighing about 124 grains were known as *Dīnāra* (from Latin *Denarius aureus*)

[2] *Corp s I script onu n Ind carum* Vol III pp 31 32. (For the currency of the *Dīnāra* in Malwa during the reign of Kumaragupta I see *ibid* pp 261 262)

[3] Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum Allan Intro pp cxxix cxxxi

mens.[1] The silver issues of the Western satraps as well as those of Yajña Śrī and Iśvaradatta, seem to follow a standard reduced from the Persian, the weight of which may be fixed at about 42 grains. Like their prototypes, the Græco-Indian hemidrachms, these silver pieces, too, show considerable variations in weight which, so far as we know, ranges from 10 6 grains[2] to 20·8 grains[3] The silver issues of the Gupta emperors also seem to follow the same weight-standard, *i.e.*, 42 grains, but their conformity to it is in most cases, by no means evident. Like the silver coins of the preceding dynasties, those of Candragupta II, Kumāragupta I, and Skandagupta also show much diversity in

[1] In order to understand this fact, we shall have to take into consideration the maximum as well as the minimum weight of the hemidrachms of any Indo-Greek king in any well known Collection The under mentioned weights are of the coins belonging to the Punjab Museum Collection (Vide Catalogue of the Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore, Vol I, R B Whitehead)

Name	Maximum	Minimum	Remarks
Apollodotos Philopator	40 grains (Reg No 291)	32 grains (Reg No 283)	Difference of 8 grains
Apollodotos Soter	37 grains Reg No 239)	28 grains (Reg No 232)	Difference of 9 grains
Strato I Soter	38 grains (Reg No 360)	21 grains (Reg No 362)	Difference of 17 grains
Menander	42 grains (Reg No 446)	31 grains (Reg No 397)	Difference of 11 grains

[2] Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Rapson, p 103

[3] *Ibid*, p 166 There is a coin of the Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasena II in the Cabinet of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, which weighs 19 1 grains only (Supplementary Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol I, p 30)

Sometimes extraordinary weights in the silver issues of the Śaka satraps are also to be noticed Two hemidrachms one of Bhatṛdaman and another of Vijayasena, weighing 43 6 and 44 2 grains, respectively, may be pointed out as illustrations thereof (Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Rapson, p 158 and p 134)

weight. The history of this class of silver coins, which have been styled 'hemidrachm' by the numismatists, can thus be traced from the time of Nahapāna (*c.* A.D 120) to that of Skandagupta (*c.* A.D. 467), the contemporary of Buddhaghosa. It is interesting to note that throughout this long period of nearly three hundred and fifty years, the average weight of these degenerate descendants of the Indo-Greek hemidrachm, from about 33 to 36 grains, is preserved without any noticeable depreciation.*

(*b*) Their other characteristic features.

The Græco-Indian hemidrachms are all round, with the exception of a few square issues of Apollodotos Soter[1] and Philoxenos.[2] The silver hemidrachms of Nahapāna, Caṣṭana, and Rudradāman I are also round in shape After Rudradāman I, the Śaka rulers of Malwa as well as the non-Śaka rulers like Īśvaradatta, Yajña Śrī, Candragupta II, Kumāragupta I, and Skandagupta also maintained this feature in their respective silver currency. Does it not, therefore, stand to reason that the '*Rudradāmakādi*' coins lit, 'the coins which have been modelled after those of Rudradāman,' imply these small round silver coins, the circulation of which became the fashion of Indian rulers of different dynasties during this period ?

Next, the size of the coins, too, shows a diversity corresponding to that in weight. The size of the round variety

[1] Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Gardner, p 34, Catalogue of the Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore, Vol I, pp 40 41, Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol I, p 19

[2] Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Gardner, p 56, Catalogue of the Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore, Vol I, pp 71 72, Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol I, p 30

of the Indo-Greek hemidrachms ordinarily ranges from ·75 to ·65. The maximum size on record is ·8, and it has been found in one of the silver hemidrachms of Zoilos.[1] The minimum size of these coins is ·55[2]. Among the Western Kṣatrapas, silver hemidrachm of ·7 size was issued for the first and last time by Nahapāna. Caṣṭana, Rudradāman I, Dāmajadaśrī I, Jīvadāman, and Rudrasiṁha I appear to have issued coins of three sizes only, *viz.*, ·65, ·6, and ·55. Hemidrachms of Rudrasiṁha I measuring ·65 are extremely rare, and it is evident that with the exception of Vijayasena, the satraps who came to rule after him, discontinued the issue of coins conforming to that size. Hemidrachms of ·5 size appear to have been struck for the first time either by Ābhīra Īśvaradatta, or by Yaśodāman I. The silver issues of the successors of Yaśodāman I are of three sizes only, *viz.*, ·6, ·55, and ·5. The silver coins of Yajña Śrī, in respect of size, should be classed with the earlier issues of the Śaka satraps of Malwa. As can be naturally expected, the hemidrachms of Candragupta II conform to those sizes, *i.e*, ·6, ·55, and ·5, which are to be found in the hemidrachms of the latest Śaka satraps. Silver coins of the central and the western fabric of Kumāragupta I, present much diversity in respect of size. Among the Gupta emperors he was the first to issue hemidrachms measuring ·45 and ·4. Some of his coins measure ·7 and ·65, but generally they conform to those three sizes which are to be found in the silver coinage of his father. The misshapen silver coins of rude fabric,

[1] Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Gardner, p. 52

[2] Catalogue of the Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore, Vol I, p 51 (Reg No. 302, Four specimens) ; Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol I, p 28.

which were issued by Skandagupta, apparently, for the western provinces of his empire, measure ·6, ·55, ·5, ·45, and ·4; while the silver pieces issued by him in the home territories, which are more uniform in respect of size than the western issues, measure ·6 and ·55 only. It is evident therefore that the '*Rudradāmakādi*' coins are those round silver pieces, the size of which ranges from 7 to ·4; and it is interesting to note that all the seven standard sizes are to be met with in the silver issues of Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta, which were current in the days of Buddhaghosa.

The third feature, which is invariably to be found on the obverse side of the '*Rudradāmaka*' and the '*Rudradāmakādi*' coins, is the 'Head of king.' Nahapāna was the first ruler to introduce it in his silver coins; and this obverse type, like weight-standard and fabric, was continued by the Śaka satraps and also by the non-Śaka rulers aforesaid. The obverse type, *i e*, the 'Head of king' is supposed to have been derived from the Greek as well as from the Roman sources.[1] It appears from the *Periplus*[2] that the hemidrachms of Apollodotos and Menander as well as the Roman *aurei* and *denarii* were, at the time of its writer, pouring into the maritime provinces of Western India in a steady stream. The scheme of the portraiture shows the head of the king facing right, wearing a rimmed close-fitting cap, and a collar, and having curled hair at the back It is surprising that the portraiture on the silver coins of the

[1] According to Prof Rapson Nahapana derived his *obv* type, 'Head of king,' from the hemi drachms of the Graeco Indian Kings, and probably also partly from the Roman *denarii* which were brought in the way of commerce to the western ports of India (British Museum Catalogue, Intro pp cviii cix)

[2] The *Periplus* of the Erythraean Sea, Schoff, pp 41 42

subsequent Śaka and non-Śaka rulers, through the succeeding centuries, has practically followed this scheme with but slight variations in very few cases. The technique and style of the portraiture, which have thus remained unchanged during this long period, must, naturally, have counted as the criterion of a new type of coins, aptly styled, the '*Rudradāmaka*', and their imitations, the '*Rudradāmakādi*.'

The next noticeable feature of the '*Rudradāmakādi*' coins is that while their obverse shows a uniformity of type, the reverse presents a diversity of type with different ruling families. There is, however, a unity even in the diversity. 'Arrow, Discuss, and Thunder-bolt', which constitute the reverse type of Nahapāna's hemidrachms, are distinctly individual and peculiar to him and his dynasty.[1] But the *border of dots* marking the reverse, is a feature that is transmitted and continued after him. It figures in the coins of the Śaka satraps, Yajña Śrī, and Īśvaradatta, and is even retained on the Gupta silver comages of both the central and western fabric. Another common element in the reverse type of the silver coins of the Śaka satraps[2] and Īśvaradatta, comprises : (*a*) '*Caitya* of three arches surmounted by a crescent' with a 'Waved line' underneath, and (*b*) a 'Crescent' on the left and 'Rayed sun' or 'Star' on the right of the '*Caitya*.' In the silver issues of Yajña Śrī, the reverse type comprises :

[1] Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Rapson, Intro., p. cvii

[2] The reverse type in one variety of the hemidrachms of Çaṣṭana, comprises, (i) 'Crescent' (on the left), and (ii) 'Star' (on the right) In this variety, the predominant figure in the *rev* type, i e, the '*Caitya*' with its adjuncts, viz., 'Crescent' and 'Waved line,' is conspicuous by its absence The only surviving specimen of this variety can no longer be traced, but there is an electrotyped representation of it in the British Museum Cabinet (Brit Mus Catal., Rapson, Plate X, E1)

(*a*) 'Ujjain symbol surmounted by a crescent,' (*b*) on the right of the 'Ujjain symbol' a '*Caitya* of six arches surmounted by a crescent,' and (*c*) a 'Rayed sun' or 'Star between the crescents In the hemidrachms of Candragupta II the 'Crescent' and the '*Caitya*' with its adjunct, the surmounting crescent, which had figured for nearly three centuries on the Kṣatrapa coins, were replaced by 'Garuda standing facing with outspread wings,' but the 'Rayed sun' or 'Star' above on the right, represented by a 'Cluster of dots,' and the 'Waved line' beneath were retained The silver coins of Kumāragupta I can, conveniently, be divided into the following four classes, according to the devices which constitute the reverse type

In Class I, 'Garuḍa' is represented as standing, facing with outspread wings A 'Waved line' below the 'Garuda,' and above it on the right, a 'Cluster of seven dots' are also to be met with There are two figures beneath the 'Waved line,' one of which appears to be a 'Circle,' and the other, a 'Semi circle'

In class II, 'Garuḍa' and the 'Waved line' have been retained, while the 'Cluster of seven dots,' as well as the 'Circle', and the 'Semi circle' have been removed

In Class III 'Garuda' is very crudely represented It is all neck with practically no body, but the wings are carefully treated The 'Waved line,' and the 'Cluster of seven dots' as well as the 'Circle', and the 'Semi circle' have not been retained

In Class IV, the standing figure of Paravāni' with wings and tail outspread takes the place of 'Garuda' In some coins of this class an Unblossomed lotus' appears on the

left of 'Paravāṇi'; while in others, only three dots are to be seen in the place of 'Unblossomed lotus'. There are also some coins which show neither lotus nor dots.

It is evident from the find-spots that the hemidrachms of Kumāragupta I bearing the figure of Garuḍa, were current in the western provinces; while those in which Paravāṇi (the peacock of Kārttikeya, who is otherwise known as Kumāra) is represented, were issued in the central provinces of the Gupta empire.[1] The silver coins of Skandagupta may also be divided into the following four classes, as they present either of the four different *rev.* types, *viz.*, 'Garuḍa', 'Nandi,' Tulasī-vṛndāvana, and Paravāṇi.

In Class I, 'Garuḍa' is represented as standing, facing, with outspread wings. A 'Waved line' below the 'Garuḍa' and above it a 'Cluster of seven dots' are to be met with. Below the 'Waved line' there are two figures, one of which appears to be a 'Circle,' and the other a 'Semi-circle.' In some coins of this class, the 'Cluster of seven dots', as well as the 'Circle', and the 'Semi-circle' are not to be found.

In Class II, 'Nandi' (the bull of Śiva) is represented as recumbent and facing right. There is a 'Waved line' below the figure of 'Nandi.'

In Class III, the plant 'Tulasī' (the holy basil, which is held in veneration by the worshippers of Viṣṇu) figures along with the alter, *vṛndāvana*, upon which it is planted. Both the plant and the alter are very crudely treated.

In Class IV, 'Paravāṇi' (the peacock of Kārttikeya, who is also known as Skanda) is represented as standing, facing

[1] Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Allan, Intro p xcvii

with wings and tail outspread A curved line is also drawn beneath the peacock, which touches its feet

It is evident from the *provenance* that the silver coins of the following three types, *viz*, 'Garuda,' 'Nandi,' and 'Tulasivrndāvana' belonged to the western provinces, while those of the 'Paravāni' type only were intended to be circulated in the central provinces of Skandagupta's empire.[1]

One of the essential features of the Græco-Indian hemidrachms is that the Greek coin legends on the obverse and their Indian equivalents on the reverse are inscribed in Greek and Kharosthī respectively Although Greek, or more correctly Græco Roman characters and the Kharosthi were not in usage in the provinces ruled over by Nahapāna and Castana, still they figure in their silver coins together with a third script, *viz*, the Brāhmī, in which are transliterated the coin legends in the other two scripts But the use of scripts in areas in which they are not known, was entirely uncalled for, and was due merely to imitation and borrowing It was, accordingly, a mere passing phase The Kharosthi not being indigenous to the provinces like Malwa and Surāstra, was dropped by Rudradāman I, and was not revived He returned to the Græco Roman letters and the Brāhmi script in obedience to his local needs In the hemidrachms of Yajña Śrī, however, we find two different forms of the Brāhmī script of the period, *viz*, Northern and Southern, the former appearing on the obverse and the latter on the reverse.[2] Thus from the time of the Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman I, through the succeeding periods

[1] Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum Allan Intro p c

[2] Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum Rapson p 45, see also Intro p cxcv

of the Śaka rulers of Malwa, up to the time of the Guptas, it is the Northern Brāhmī that is shown on their silver coins. Then there came a change in the form of the script under the Gupta emperors. The change is first noticed in the silver issues of Candragupta II, under whom, what is known as 'Gupta script,' is first distinguished. From the standpoint of palæography, it must be noticed that the Gupta script of the silver coins does not represent a development of the Brāhmī, but rather a retrogation.[1] Although the Kharoṣṭhī script was given up, a few Græco-Roman letters continued to figure as relics of the past in the hemidrachms of the Śaka rulers of Malwa, Īśvaradatta, and also in the silver coins of Candragupta II, simply, as a sort of ornamental border. They are even to be found in most of the western silver issues of Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta. It is only in the silver coins of Yajña Śrī, as well as in the central silver issues of Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta, that they have not been retained.

The next feature to be discussed in connexion with the '*Rudradāmakādi*' coins, is in respect of their dating. The first dated coins in this series are possibly those of Caṣṭana, which bear some indistinct marks behind the 'Head of king' on the obverse. If there were at all any date in that position, it was, perhaps, expressed in Kharosthī letters and numerals.[2] The silver coins of Rudradāman I and his son Dāmajadaśrī I are not dated. Mahāksatrapa Jīvadāman, grandson of Rudradāman I, issued dated silver coins, and the practice was continued by the succeeding Śaka satraps

[1] Indian Palæography by Buhler (Indian Antiquary, Vol XXXIII, 1904, Appendix p 47).
[2] Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Rapson, Intro. p cxiv

till the downfall of this dynasty The year of the Śaka era was expressed in Brāhmī numerals, which occur behind the 'Head of king' on the obverse side On the silver coins of Īśvaradatta, the regnal year takes the place of the Śaka era, and is expressed twice in Brāhmī numerals in the usual place on the *obv*, and in words in the *rev* inscription[1] Dates are not to be found in the silver coins of Yajña Śri The word *varse* before the date, seems to occur for the first time in the coins of Svāmi Simhasena, and possibly the practice was continued by other satraps who came after him, but in most cases, like the numerals, the word is not legible, excepting in the coins of Svāmi Rudrasimha III In the hemidrachms of Candragupta II, *varse* is expressed by the letter *va*, and the Śaka era is replaced by the Gupta era In the silver coins of Kumāragupta I of the western fabric no trace of date is to be found although the word *varse* appears in full on the obverse side in some of them Dates in Brāhmī numerals, without the word *varse* preceding them, occur in some of the central silver issues of both Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta In some of the western silver issues of Skandagupta the dates in Brāhmī numerals are preceded by the word *varse* which occurs in full

Lastly, it may be noted that coin legends invariably occur on the reverse side, and are conveyed either in Prakrit or in Sanskrit There also appear on the obverse of these coins certain Græco Roman letters which were first introduced by Nahapāna[2] and were afterwards continued by

[1] Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum Rapson Intro p cxvii

[2] In the opinion of Prof Rapson the Græco Roman characters like the *obv* type i e Head of king were derived by Nahapana from Roman *denarii* (Brit Mus Catal Intro pp cviii cix)

Castana, in order to represent the Indian legends appearing on the reverse Later on, however, the mere characters remained without any meaning, as a memento of the past

It is evident from the results thus obtained that the silver issues of Rudradāman I along with those of his Śaka successors in Malwa, can justly be designated '*Rudradāmakādi*,' because they are so very alike in respect of standard fabric, style, types, and scripts But it would be wrong on our part to presume that '*Rudradāmakādi*' points to the monetary issues resembling those of Rudradāman I, which have been struck by successive rulers belonging to one particular family, specially, those of the house of Castana, because the etymology of the word does in no way support this restricted sense Etymologically speaking, the word '*Rudradāmakādi*' refers to all such coins as have been modelled after those of Rudradāman I, irrespective of their issuing authorities, and the families to which they belong In the preceding pages we have seen that besides the silver issues of the Śaka satraps of Malwa, those of Yajña Śrī, Īśvaradatta Candragupta II, Kumāragupta I, and Skandagupta resemble the silver coins of Rudradāman I as regards standard, fabric, style, portraiture, and also, in most cases, the use of Græco Roman characters These are the criteria whereby the amount of similarity and the degree of relationship existing between the silver issues of Rudradāman I and their imitations, have to be judged No numismatist can possibly deny that these later imitations of the Græco Indian hemi drachms form a series by themselves despite their divergence with regard to the reverse type or to the style of the coin legend through which the individuality of each and every

dynasty has been manifested Likewise, we can never expect that the form of the script would remain unvaried for more than three centuries, as also the representation of eye, nose, and lips in the portraiture Such slight variations in the style and technique do neither stand in the way of bringing them under the same category, nor can prevent them from being designated by a common expression The word '*Rudradāmaladi*' should, therefore, be taken to refer not only to the silver issues of the Mahaksatrapa Rudradāman I and his twenty three Saka successors in Malwa but also to those of Yajña Śrī Īsvaradatta Candragupta II Kumāra gupta I, and Skandagupta Numismatically speaking, the word '*Rudradāmakādi*' is a misnomer because this new type of silver coinage which is, thus, attributed to Rudra dāman I as its originator, had really originated with his predecessors, Nahapāna and Castana, specially Nahapāna, and, as such words like '*Nahapanadi*' or '*Castanadi*' would have been most appropriate But these silver coins have come to be associated with the name of Rudradaman I, because he is by far, the most notable of all the Western satraps, and is more worthy of being remembered by the posterity for many reasons, too numerous to be enumerated here, with regard to which his famous Junāgadh epigraph bears an eloquent testimony It is really interesting to note that although a long period covering more than three cen turies had gone by between the time of Rudradaman I and that of Kumāragupta I the memory of that mighty satrap's exploits and achievements, instead of being cast into oblivion, was still looming large in the days of Buddha ghosa

On the testimony of the *Samantapāsādikā* passages it may be observed that in order to refer to the later imitations of the Græco-Indian hemidrachms. Buddhaghosa has made use of the expression by which they were popularly known in the eastern as well as in the central provinces of the Gupta empire.[1] Inscriptional evidence, however, goes to show that in the western provinces of the Gupta empire, *viz.*, Malwa, Kathiawar, N. Konkan, Nasik and Poona districts, etc., about the time of Nahapāna and after, these silver pieces were called *Kāhāpana*[2] (Skt *Kārsāpana*). This is perfectly in consonance with the statement of Nārada, in whose opinion *Kārṣāpana* is a silver coin in the southern country and is equal to an *Andika*, forty-eight pieces of which are equivalent to a *Dīnāra*.[3] As the author of the *Nārada-smrti* lived in the fifth century A D , we have every reason to believe that by the term *Kārsāpana*, he has not only referred to the silver hemidrachms of the Traikūtakas and the Imperial Guptas, but also to those of the other preceding dynasties, which were current as the standard money over a considerable portion of the Deccan It has been suggested by some scholars that the word *Paḍika* (also *Palika*), which we also come across so often in the cave inscriptions of Western India, is an equivalent of *Kārṣāpana*.[4] There is, however, no positive evidence in

[1] According to the ancient traditions of Ceylon and Burma, Buddhaghosa was born in a village near the Bodhi tree at Buddha Gaya (*Mahâvamsa*, Turnour, p 250) The village was called Ghosagāmo (*Buddhaghosuppatti*, James Gray, p. 37) Buddhaghosa was thus a native of Magadha.

[2] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol VIII, pp 78 and 82, see also p 83, Archæological Survey of Western India, Vol V, pp 79, 80, and 83, Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Rapson, Intro , pp clxxxiii clxxxv

[3] Sacred Books of the East, Vol xxxiii, pp. 231 32

[4] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol VIII, pp. 82 84, Archæological Survey of Western India, Vol V, pp. 79 (No 15), 80 (No 16), and 83 (No 21)

the inscriptions to show that *Kārsāpana* and *Paḍika* are identical terms, and that, like the former, the latter, too, signifies the standard silver money of the Ksatrapa provinces, i.e., the later imitations of the Græco-Indian hemidrachms.

3 Nīlakahāpana

(a) The metal and standard

The Pāli passages under discussion are chiefly interesting for their use of the somewhat uncommon expression *Nīlakahāpana*, which, so far as I know, must be a strange term to the numismatists. The Pāli word *Kahāpana* denotes a coin of silver as well as of copper,[1] but not of gold, for which there are two separate Pāli terms, viz., *Hiraññа* and *Suvanna* The word *Kahāpana* is also used in the Pāli literature in a general sense for a coin or money-piece without any reference to its metal[2] Sometimes again the metal of the *Kahāpana* is separately stated as a prefix, as in *Sīsa-*

Prof D R Bhandarkar suggests that the word *Kusaṇa* occurring in the Nasik Cave Ins No 12 (*Epig Ind* Vol VIII, p 82) denotes the silver coinage of Nahapāna (Indian Antiquary, p 76 and ff, Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics, pp 169 200)

[1] Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics, D R Bhandarkar, pp 77 80, J R A S 1901, pp 877-879

[2] *Jataka* ed by Fausboll, Vol I, pp 478 79, Vol II, p 313 (*Dhammapada*, 186, Cf *Dirydradana*, p 224), Vol IV, p. 378, Vol V, p 135 *Vinaya Piṭaka*, ed by Oldenberg, Vol II, p 294, Vol III, p 238, and p 240, *Khuddakapāṭha Commentary* (P T S), p 37, *Sumangala Vilasini* (P T S), p 78, *Kankhāvitaraṇī* (published by the Hanthawaddy Press Rangoon), p 87, *Samantapāsādikā* (or *Vinayaṭṭha* xviii, see *Vinaya Piṭaka*, Vol III, p 238) Sinhalese Edition, Vol I, p 356, etc., etc.

"The word *Kahapaṇa* is used very frequently to imply a coin of very little value, as when we say penny, or farthing, e g, in Jataka Nidana, '*sakalam pi cakkavāḷa eka kahāpaṇam pi gahetva na gata*,' when they went to the other world, they did not take with them even a single *Kahapaṇa* (Ancient Indian Weights, E Thomas, p 41, f n 6)

kahāpana, i.e., the *Kahāpana* of lead.[1] The existence o leaden coins in the pre-Śuṅga period cannot be proved in view of the fact that they have been referred to in the Pāli compilations of later ages when they were, undoubtedly, current, and not in the canonical works.[2] The *Piṭakas* refer to the *Kahāpanas* of silver and copper only. In Sanskrit also *Kārṣāpana* generally stands for the copper as well as silver coin, though there is special term *Pana* for the copper, and *Dharana* or *Purāna* for the silver coin. The usual term for a gold coin in Sanskrit is *Suvarna*, for which the earlier terms met with are, *Niska*, *Satamāna*, and *Krsnala*, and later ones, *Kāñcana dramma*,[3] and *Dināra*

But the epithet *nīla* applied to *Kahāpana*, is rather unusual in the entire range of Sanskrit and Pāli literature or even of epigraphic records. Its meaning, however, can be recovered from a critical consideration of the data given in the Pāli passages cited above, as also in some numismatic

[1] *Jataka*, Fausboll, Vol. I, p 7 (*Nidanaka ha*)

[2] Leaden coins appear to have been struck in Northern India for the first time, conjointly by Strato I Soter and his grandson, Strato II Philopator (*c* 140 B C). About the same period, the Andhra King Śri Śata, who has been identified with *Siri Satakaṇi of the Nanaghat Inscription* (*c*, *150 B C*), *issued coins in lead for* the first time in the Deccan. (The leaden coins of the two Stratos have been described by Prof Rapson in *Corolla Numismatica*, Oxford, 1906, p 257, see also Punjab Museum Catalogue, Vol. I, pp 81 82 For the description of the leaden coin and the date of Śri Śata, see Brit Mus Catal. Rapson, p 1)

The word *Sīsarupa*, which has been found to occur more than once in the *Artha śastra* of Kauṭilya, appears to have been used in the sense of a piece of lead shaped like a coin Kauṭilya informs us that fraudulent coins can be manufactured in various ways one of which is technically known as '*gaḍhapeḍaka*' (*Gaḍhaścabhyuadhāryaśca peṭaka*) *samyuhyavalepyasamdhatyeshu kriyate*) whereby a piece of lead shaped like a coin is firmly covered with gold leaf by means of wax (*Sisarupam suvarnapattrenāvaliptamabhyantaramaṣṭakena baddham gaḍapeḍakaḥ*) It is evident from the *Arthaśastra* that in the age of its author fraudulent coins were manufactured by encasing small pieces of inferior metals, viz., copper, lead, etc., shaped like coins, separately in one thin leaf or more of superior metals like gold or silver, and then by putting the necessary marks upon them after having their surface and edge smoothened. Thus the compound *Sīsarūpa* should be taken in the sense of a blank of lead rather than an actual coin of lead in use (*Arthaśastra*, Lk. II, Chapter xiv).

[3] Indian Antiquary, 1884, pp 136-37

passages to be found in several Sanskrit and Pāli works. In the *Sāratthadīpanī*, the term *Nīlakahāpana* is taken to be an established term for the traditional Indian coin bearing the marks laid down in the ancient treatises (*porānasattha*) [1] In course of time there were variations from this representative or the standard coin of the *sāstras*, one such variation is traced to Rudradāman who issued coins equivalent to three quarters of the *Nilakahāpana* Such coins are definitely dubbed '*Rudradāmaka*' (coins) But it is not clear from the Pāli passages in question, what the three quarters of a *Nilakahāpana* should amount to Some light is thrown on this point by a passage in the *Vinaya Pitaka*, which brings to our notice that during the reign of the good old king, Bimbisāra of Magadha, a coin called *Pāda* was in circulation in Rājagrha, which was equivalent to five smaller denominations of coins called *Māsaka* [2] Though the word *Pāda* means a quarter, the passage does not state the standard coin with reference to which the *Pāda* is to be deduced The omission is, however, supplied by Buddhaghosa in his commentary on the passage He takes it that the standard coin was no other than the *Nīlakahāpana*, and, accordingly, describes the system of coinage as comprising the *Nilakahāpana* with its lower denominations of *Pāda* and *Māsaka*. 5 *Māsakas* making up a *Pada*, and 20 *Māsakas*, a *Nilakahāpana* [3] Thus, what is known from Buddhaghosa is that the established term for the standard coin of the days of Bimbisāra was *Nilakahāpana* According to the objective evidence of numismatic discoveries, this standard coin was

[1] See above (Extract No II)
[2] *Vinaya Pitaka* Vol III p 45 and p 47
[3] See above (Extract No I)

what is known as the punch marked coin presenting a wide variety of *laksanas*, i e , marks, and a variety also in its composition, because the punch marked coins are of gold, silver, and copper. The question, then, is to which of the three classes of the punch marked coins does the term *Nīlakahāpana* apply ? In my opinion the term applies to the silver variety of the punch marked coins, and th for a number of considerations Of course, it may be t for granted at the outset that the basis of comparison ployed by Buddhaghosa between the *Nīlakahāpana* and '*Rudradāmakādi*' coins is not the size, fabric or superfi extension of the coin but their weight or standard three divisions or parts (*tibhāgam*)[1] of the old *Nīlakahapa* which go to make up the latter day '*Rudradamakādi*' co must not be understood to have any reference to the fal of *the coins concerned* *For the punch marked coins* which the term has been evidently applied by Buddhagho are found to be invariably irregular in shape and size a do not lend themselves to any division of equal parts Th Buddhaghosa had in view the relative weights of the t classes of coins which he distinguishes as *Nīlakahāpana* and '*Rudradāmakādi*,' is further evident from the confirmatory evidence of the Pāli passage from the *Sārattha dīpanī* of Sāriputta cited above While Buddhaghosa furnishes us with the negative evidence that the *Pāda* of the *Vinaya Pitaka* is not equivalent to the fourth part of the '*Rudradamaka*' coin as well as of those which have been modelled after it (*'Rudradāmakādi*), Sāriputta explains the reason why it is so, when he distinctly states that the '*Rudra*

[1] See above (Extract No. II)

dāmaka' coin was, merely, three-fourths of the *Nīlakahāpana*, and, accordingly, the *Pāda* of one would not correspond to the *Pāda* of the other. Thus, it may be taken for granted that the word *tibhāgam* does not refer to the fabric or a mechanical division of the coin, but to its division by weight.

Let us now ascertain the standard of the *Nīlakahāpana* compared with which the standard of the '*Rudradāmaka*' and the '*Rudradāmakādi*' coins, was three-fourths It has been already shown that the '*Rudradāmaka*' as well as the '*Rudradāmakādi*' coins had approximated to the standard of 42 grains, although the specimens discovered show deviations from the standard within a considerable range. Taking the standard of the '*Rudradāmakādi*' coins to be 42 grains, we can, from the proportion given, deduce the standard of the *Nīlakahāpana* to be 56 grains, of which three-quarters would amount to 42 grains As 1·75 grains (Troy) equate 1 *Krsnala* or *Rati*,[1] the unit of the Hindu metric system, 56 grains would be equal to 32 *Ratis*. Now, looking into the table of weights for silver coins, as given in the law-books

[1] The average weight of the red seed of the *Guñja* creeper (*Abrus precatorius*), which is usually called *Rati* (*Raktikā*), i e , "the Red," according to Mr E. Thomas, is 1 75 grains (Ancient Indian Weights, p 13) , while, according to Dr V A. Smith, it is 1 825 grains (J R A S 1889, p 42) Its weight as determined by Sir Alex. Cunningham by many weighments of thousands of seeds from all parts of India, is 1 8 grains (Coins of Ancient India, p 45) The full weight of a *Rati* is 1 83 grains (*ibid* p 44) As the growth of the seed depends much on the nature of the soil, the mean weight of the *Rati* of one locality, usually, differs from that of other localities, merely by a few hundredths of a grain As suggested by Mr E. H C. Walsh, the *estimated weight of the Rati* requires to be revised (Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society, Vol V, pt iv, p 465)

In the *Smrti* texts of Manu, Yajñavalkya, and Viṣṇu, the seed of the *Guñja* creeper is called *Krsnala*, i e , "the Black," because one variety of the seed is black. According to Sir Alex Cunningham, the *Raktikā* or *Rati* is also known as "*Krsnala*," because of its having a black spot at one end

(It must be pointed out here that all calculations in this paper have been made by taking a *Rati* as equal to 1 75 grains, unless anything to the contrary is noted)

of Manu,[1] Yājñavalkya,[2] and Viṣnu,[3] we find that the weight of a silver *Dharaṇa* (also called *Purāṇa* by Manu) is 32 *Kṛṣṇalas* (or *Ratis*). This similarity of weight leads us to the conclusion that the *Nīlakahāpaṇa* and the *Dharaṇa* are identical terms and denote a class of silver coins weighing 32 *Kṛṣṇalas* (56 grains). It further appears from these *Smṛtis* and their commentaries that the scale of weights, laid down for gold and copper coins in ancient India, was quite distinct from that of silver, and was based respectively upon the *Suvarṇa* and *Kārṣāpaṇa* or *Paṇa* of 80 *Raktikas* (140 grains). Consequently, our *Nīlakahāpaṇa* which absolutely agrees in weight with the silver *Dharaṇa*, must be differentiated from the gold *Suvarṇa* or the copper *Kārṣāpaṇa* as defined in the *Smṛtis*.

There are also other considerations demonstrating that the *Nīlakahāpaṇa* must have been a silver coin. According to Buddhaghosa and the other commentators *Nīlakahāpaṇa* is the name of a standard coin having *Pāda* and *Māsaka* as its lower denominations with a weight fixed for each relatively to the standard. The same remark applies also to the standard silver coin, the *Dharaṇa* of the *Smṛtis* which also calls its lower denomination as *Māṣa*. Thus the *Dharaṇa* and the *Nīlakahāpaṇa* may be taken as identical terms.

The next consideration to be urged is that the terms, *Purāṇa* (Skt.) and *Porāṇa* (Pāli), i.e. "ancient," have been used in the *Manu smṛti* and in the Pāli works respectively in referring to the *Dharaṇa* and the *Nīlakahāpaṇa*. The

[1] *Manusmṛti*, viii. 135-136.
[2] *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, i. 363.
[3] *Viṣnusmṛti*, iv, 11 12.

Smṛti description is "*Dharaṇam Purāṇascaiva rājataḥ* [1] which may be equated with Buddhaghosa's characterization "*porāṇakassa Nīlakahāpaṇassa*" [2] Here, again Manu and Buddhaghosa agree as regards the high antiquity of the *Dharaṇa* or the *Nīlakahāpaṇa* class of silver coins

The next point for consideration is that while the Pāḷi texts have generally applied the term *Kahāpaṇa* to the silver and copper pieces, the Sanskrit works have not invariably, done so Thus while Manu, Yājñavalkya, and Viṣṇu have reserved the term *Karṣāpaṇa* for copper coins only, and invented a separate term *Dharaṇa* for the silver coins Gautama and Kātyāyana have retained the term *Karṣāpaṇa* for silver coins also [3] This source of confusion has, apparently, been sought to be removed in the invention of the Pāli term *Nīlakahāpaṇa* to mark out the silver coins This is another reason for identifying the *Nīlakahāpaṇa* with the *Dharaṇa* In this connection it may also be observed that the Sanskrit *Karṣāpaṇa* and its Pali variant *Kahāpaṇa* (or *Karīsapaṇa*) [4] etymologically, do not refer to the silver coins weighing 32 *Kṛṣṇalas* or *Ratis* (56 grains) because a *Karṣa*[5] (Pāli *Karīsa*) is quarter of a *Pala* (320 *Ratis* or 560 grains), and is equal to 80 *Kṛṣṇalas* (140 grains)

[1] *Manu smṛti* viii 136

[2] See above (Extract No I)

[3] See Vacaspatya under *Ka kārṣāpaṇa*

[4] *Rūpassa karīsena kato sa nīlo apadattho kahāpaṇo nāma karīsappamāṇena rūpena kato paṇo pana yo dakkhathedo kahāpaṇo karīsassa vīsatiyā (read vīsatiyā) kāḷadese kahāpaṇo ahudese karīsapaṇo ete d e rūpa kāre añ atropacārā (Abh dhanappad pīkā Suci ed by W Subhuti p 81 Colombo 1893)*

[5] The weight of a *kar a* has been spec fied by Kulluka and other commentators According to Kulluka (on Manu v ii 136 *Aṅr kāṣca kar ṣyapalacaturthabhāgo* According to Kulluka (on Manu v ii 136 *Aṅr kāṣca kar ṣyapalacaturthabhāgo* Again Sarvajñanārā *bodhavyaḥ. Atayeva palam karṣacatu ṣaya ityābh dhānāt* Again Sarvajñanārā yaṇa (on Manu vi 136) says *Atra catuṣṭe suvarṇamāṇāgrahaṇāt kar a ṣalacaturtha bhāgaḥ pañca kṛ ṇalakaḥ ṣoḍaśamāṣatmakogrāhyaḥ* The same opinion is also ma n taired by Rāmacandra accord ng to whom *Palacaturthāṃśakaḥ kar akayonmān taḥ*

The identity of the *Nīlakahāpana* with the *Dharaṇa* of the *smṛtis* being thus established, we shall now proceed to establish its identity with the actual indigenous silver coins of India of ancient times that have been discovered in the course of the archæological exploration. The oldest silver coin of India is technically called by the numismatists the "Punch-marked coin." Up to now more than seven thousand specimens of the silver punch marked coins have been discovered in different parts of India, and subjected to numismatic examination. Taking one *Rati* as equivalent to 1·83 grains, Sir Alex Cunningham fixed the standard of the *Purāṇa* of Manu at 58 56 grains, and identified the same with the silver punch-marked coin. "During my career," says Cunningham, "I have examined more than 2,000 of

kārṣikaḥ" (See on Manu, viii, 136) The scholiast Medhātithi is, however, silent on this point (*Mānavadharmaśāstra*, ed by V N Mandlik, p 955, Bombay, 1886) The Sanskrit term *Karṣa* corresponds to Pali *Karisa* which, according to Moggallāna, is equivalent to 4 *Ammaṇas* (*Abhidhānappadīpikā* Sūci ed by W Subhuti, p 78).

The weight of a *Karṣa* can be ascertained from the following table of weights as given by Manu and Yajnavalkya

5 *Kṛṣṇala* = 1 *Māṣa* (8 75 grains)
80 ,, =16 ,, 1 *Suvarṇa* (140 grains)
320 ,, =64 ,, 4 ,, 1 *Pala* (560 grains)

We have noticed already that according to Kulluka and others, 1 *Karṣa* is equivalent to ¼ *Pala* A *Karṣa* is, therefore, equal to 80 *Kṛṣṇalas*, i e , 140 grains Thus the weight of a *Karṣa* and that of a *Suvarṇa* are evidently the same The same opinion is also maintained by Kauṭilya, according to whom 16 *Māṣas* each weighing 5 *Guñjas* (*Kṛṣṇalas*), are equal to 1 *Suvarṇa* or *Karṣa* (*Arthaśāstra*, Bk ii, Chapter XIX) But according to Yājñavalkya (I, 363) sometimes 5 *Suvarṇas* are equivalent to 1 *Pala* (*Palaṁ suvarṇapañcakaṁ pañcakṛṣṇalakaṁ tathā*) As a *Suvarṇa* is equal to 80 *kṛṣṇalas* 5 *Suvarṇas* will, therefore, be equal to 400 *Kṛṣṇalas* or 700 grains On the basis of this equation 1 *Karṣa* or ¼ *Pala* equates 100 *Kṛṣṇalas* or 175 grains It is evident therefore, that in ancient India there were two varieties of *Karṣa*, and that the weight of one variety differed from that of the other by 20 *Kṛṣṇalas* or 35 grains In this connection it may be pointed out to our readers that the ancient silver coins which are known to the numismatists as 'Bent bar,' appear to have been struck on a *Karṣa* of 100 *Kṛṣṇalas* or *Ratis* The weight of the specimens which are now in the Cabinet of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, ranges from 165 8 grains to 178·3 grains (Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta Vol I, p 136, Supplementary Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta Vol I, p 8) These may be considered to be 100 *Rati* pieces, if we take a *Pala* as equal to 1 825 grains following Dr V A Smith (*J R A S*, 1899, p 42)

these silver pieces The 20 best specimens of my collection averaged just 55 grains, the heaviest only reaching 56 5 grains But by far the greater number of these punch marked coins are so very much worn that the averages obtained by Sir Walter Elliot, 47 10 , by Mr Thomas, 47 69 , and by myself, 47 82, from upwards of 800 coins, show how very long they must have been in circulation I possess one coin which is *so much worn as to weigh only 34 grains* But as my 20 best coins give an average of 55 grains, while 10 average 55 6 grains and one reaches 56 5 grains, I have *no* hesitation in fixing the original mint issue of these pieces at somewhat more than 56 grains, or say 57 6 grains, which agrees exactly with 32 *Rati* seeds of 1 8 grains each "[1] The opinion maintained by Sir Alex Cunningham with regard to the standard of the silver punch marked coin, i e , 32 *Ratis*, and his identification of the same with the *Kārṣā pana* of the silver variety as well as with the *Purāna* or *Dharana* have since then found a favourable acceptance on all hands Similar reasons led another numismatist, E Thomas, to identify the *Purana* with the silver punch-marked coin [2] This view is also maintained by Professor E J Rapson [3] Vincent A Smith has gone a step farther as is evident from his remarks "It is well established," says he, "that the ordinary silver punch marked coins (*purānas* or *dharanas*) were struck to the scale of 32 *ratis*, and that the full normal weight consequently was about 58 grains, or $3\frac{3}{4}$ grammes "[4] Thus, it will be seen that all

[1] Coins of Ancient *India* Cunningham p 44
[2] Ancient Indian Weights E Thomas p 53.
[3] Indian Coins Rapson pp 2 3
[4] Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta Vol I p 134

the numismatists are disposed to consider the terms *Purāna* and *Dharana* to be the ancient names of the silver punch-marked coin ; and we maintain that the *Nīlakahāpana* is also to be identified with these. It is evident from the remarks of Sir Alex. Cunningham that the standard or weight of these coins ranges approximately within the limits of 56 grains to 58 grains. It has been already shown on the basis of the standard of the "*Rudradāmakādi*" coins and of their prototypes, the "*Rudradāmaka*" coins, actually discovered, that the *Nilakahāpana*, to which they were related by Buddhaghosa, should approximate in weight to 32 *Kṛṣṇalas* or *Ratis*, i.e., 56 grains (3 : 4 : : 42 : 56).[1] The range of weights of the punch-marked silver coins, actually discovered, also approximates to this standard [2]

[1] See above page 423 The full weight of the silver *Karṣapaṇa*, according to Sir Alex Cunningham, is 56 grains (Numismatic Chronicle, Vol XIII, N S , page 201).

[2] Metrology of the ancient Indian coins is always a puzzle to the numismatist. In connection with the weight-standard of the *Nilakahapana*, it is worth while to take into consideration the opinion of Kautilya whose *Arthaśastra* is no less authoritative in matter of secular concern than the law books of Manu or Yājnavalkya We are told in the *Arthasastra* that a *Dharana* of silver (which is different from *Vajradharaṇa*) is equivalent to 16 silver *Māṣakas*, each of which is equal to 88 *Gaurasarṣapas*, i e , "white mustard seed" in weight (*Aṣṭaśitigaurasarṣapa rupyamaṣakaḥ te ṣoḍaśa dharaṇam*"—Bk II, Chapter XIX) The weight of a silver *Dharana*, according to Kautilya, is, therefore, 1408 *Gaurasarṣapas* Although the relation of the two different units of weight, viz , *Guñja* or *Kṛṣṇala*, and *Gaurasarṣapa*, has not been specified in the *Arthaśastra* it can easily be ascertained from other authoritative sources According to Manu (VIII, 133 134), Yā ñavalkya (, 362), and Viṣṇu (IV, 4 6), 18 *Gaurasarṣapas* a e equivalent to a *Kṛṣnala* On the basis of this equation 576 *Gaurasarṣapas* can be equated with a *Dharana* or *Purana* of 32 *Kṛṣnalas* Thus while in the opinion of Manu Yājñavalkya, and Viṣnu, a *Dharaṇa* is equal to 576 *Gaurasarṣapas* or 32 *Kṛṣnalas* (56 grains), Kautilya alone maintains that it is equal to 1408 *Gaurasarṣapas* or 78½ *Kṛṣnalas* (136 89 grains) An examination of the measures of weight as recorded in the works of Manu, Yajñavalkya, Viṣṇu, and Kautilya shows that 80 *Guñjas* or *Kṛṣnalas* are equivalent to a *Suvarṇa*. Again according to Manu, Yājñavalkya, and Viṣṇu, as well as their commentators, the weight of a *Karṣa*, on the basis of which the standard copper coin, the *Pana* or *Kārṣapaṇa* was struck is 80 *Kṛṣnalas* The same opinion is also maintained by Kautilya (Bk. II, Chapter X X) It is evident, therefore, that Manu, Yajñavalkya, Viṣṇu and Kautilya agree perfectly in respect of the prescribed weights of the standard gold and copper money, and that Kautilya alone maintains a different opinion as regards the weight of the standard silver coin, i e, *Dharaṇa*. Thus according to Manu, Yājñavalkya, and Viṣṇu, the difference

But the *Nīlakahāpana* may be taken to be the same as the silver punch-marked coins not merely on the ground of its standard but also of its characteristic marks and symbols. While the actual punch-marked coins exhibit a bewildering wealth and variety of marks and symbols, the *Nīlakahāpana* is theoretically defined in the Pāli works as being possessed of marks and symbols, technically called *'lakkhaṇa.'* It may, however, be doubted if the term *lakkhaṇa*, as used in the Pāli texts, might have a reference not merely to the marks and symbols of the coins, but also to their fabric. This doubt, however, may be at once dispelled by a consideration of the fact that the punch-marked silver coins discovered so far do not at all exhibit any degree of uniformity in respect of shape or size through which the coins may be defined, by marking out their differentiating and distinguishing marks or features (*lakkhaṇa*). On the other hand, the coins show themselves to be of all shapes and forms. Thus the distinguishing mark or *lakkhaṇa* of

between the prescribed weight of the *Suvarṇa* or the *Paṇa* and that of the *Dhāraṇa*, is 48 *Kṛṣṇalas* (84·00 grains), while, according to Kauṭilya it is 1½ *Kṛṣṇala* (3·11 grains) The difference of 3·11 grains, or say 4 grains, is insignificant, considering the fact that neither the weight of the *Kṛṣṇala (Raṭi)*, nor that of the *Gaurasarṣapa*, is the same all over India It may, therefore, safely be remarked that the weights prescribed by Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśastra* for the standard gold, silver, and copper money are identical It is, however, not easy for us to offer any satisfactory explanation of this change in the silver standard, which might have been an outcome of economic exigency calling for an uniformity of the three different standards, gold, silver, and copper Very probably Kauṭilya aimed at a currency reform, whereby the same standard could be prescribed for the three classes of coins, gold, silver, and copper Like many of his ideal maxims and projected reforms in other spheres of administration, Kauṭilya's *Dhāraṇa* seems to have been an ideal or a projected coin awaiting currency As a financial reformer Kauṭilya had also his own ideas about the reform in the currency system of his times When he found that the gold and the copper coins were struck on the basis of a particular standard, he thought that the silver coins, too, might be brought under the same standard to facilitate the exchange and economic transactions in the country Pending the discovery of an actual silver coin of the period, struck on the standard proposed by Kauṭilya, we must assume that Kauṭilya's *Dhāraṇa* was his own proposed coin, and not one in actual circulation

these punch-marked coins was rather their irregularity of fabric, which seems to have been the rule. But a definition cannot rest merely on difference. It may, therefore, be assumed that the *lakkhaṇas* attributed to the *Nīlakahāpaṇa* in the texts are the *lakkhaṇas* which we actually see so liberally impressed upon the punch-marked coins. What these *lakkhaṇas* of the punch-marked coins are, may be studied in their actual finds.

The next point for consideration in connection with the identification of the *Nīlakahāpaṇa* with the silver punch-marked coins, is their age and antiquity. Both these classes of coins are described as old. The silver punch-marked coins are believed by Sir Alex. Cunningham to be as old as the time of the Buddha and even older.[1] The *Nīlakahāpaṇa, too, has been referred to in the Pāli texts as the standard* coin current in the time of the King Bimbisāra of Magadha, the contemporary and friend of the Buddha. It has also been described as *Porāṇa,*[2] i e , 'ancient,' in the *Samantapāsādikā*; while the *Sāratthadīpanī* explains it as the coin manufactured (*uppādita*) with marks corresponding to those laid down in the *porāṇasatthas* or the ancient (numismatic) *śāstras*. Though these *Nīlakahāpaṇas* or the silver punch-marked coins were at least as old as the time of the Buddha, the period of their currency was a long one. They appear

[1] In the opinion of Sir Alex. Cunningham, the silver punch marked coins were certainly current in the time of the Buddha (6th Cent B.C.), and their antiquity might mount as high as 1000 B C (Coins of Ancient India, p 43) According to Prof D R. Bhandarkar, the introduction of the *Kār-apaṇa* coinage must be attributed to about the beginning of the second millenium before Christ (?) (Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics, p 109)

[2] If the silver punch marked coins were thus current for at least one thousand years *before the days of Buddhaghosa, it is only natural that he would characterise* them as '*poraṇa,*' i e , 'antiquated"

to have remained in circulation as subsidiary coins in Magadha up to the third or fourth century A D Excavations at the Mahābodhi temple at Buddha Gaya have brought to light three silver punch marked coins weighing 34, 35, and 42 grains respectively According to Sir Alex Cunningham the deposit of these coins was made about 150 A D , during the reign of the Kusāna emperor, Huviska [1] Thus it was not beyond the bounds of possibility for Buddhaghosa to have actually come across these old silver coins with reference to which he has sought to distinguish the latter day coins of the '*Rudradāmakādi*' class

(b) Their other characteristic features

We shall now discuss the *lakkhanas* by which the *Nīlakahāpanas* or the silver punch marked coins were distinguished. Buddhaghosa saw these *Kahāpanas* as *digha* (longish) *caturassa* (oblong) and *parimandala* (round) [2] The actual specimens of these silver punch marked coins also reveal a wide variety in their shapes and forms, viz , almost round, oval oblong, pentagonal, hexagonal, and heptagonal of unequal sides, and even of curved sides They are thick as well as thin The same variety of shapes and forms is exhibited in the assemblage of coins represented on the Bharhut and the Mahābodhi bas reliefs of about

[1] Coins of Ancient India Cunningham p 55
In the Deccan the silver punch marked coins appear to have been current up to the beginning of the 2nd Cent A D In the year 1803 a pot full of the silver punch marked coins was dug up at Pennar (Coimbatore) among which was found a silver *denarius* of Augustus (B C 29—A D 14) *Cf* Madras Journal of Literature and Science Vol XIX 1858 p 228

[2] *Visuddhimagga* (Pali Text Society) p 437 *Sāratthappakāsini* (on *Samyutta Nikaya* P T S Part III p 87 Sec 9) Simon Alexander Hewavitarne Bequest Series Vol XXII p 215 (Sinhalese Edition)

150 B C. and 250 B.C. respectively,[1] though the Pāli texts of the story on stone describe the coins as *Hiraññā.*[2] Thus, it may be concluded that one *lakkhaṇa* or distinguishing mark of these *Nīlakahāpaṇas* is the absence of uniformity in their fabric. But a *lakkhaṇa* refers to some positive mark rather than to the absence of any mark. Therefore, it cannot refer to the fabric of the coins in which they agree so little. It must refer to the positive marks or symbols which the coins bear in such profusion. The abundance and variety of these *lakkhanas* made Buddhaghosa describe them as *cittavicitta*, i e., 'of varied marks'[3] Buddhaghosa in his *Samantapāsādikā* has also referred to an ancient numismatic text under the name of *Rūpasutta,*[4] which apparently, gave the significance of every kind of mark or symbol (*rūpa*) borne by a coin, by examining which any *heraññika* or moneyer conversant with the *rūpasuttas*, could understand the places where the coins were manufactured as well as the manufacturers themselves (*Heraññiko. hatthena dhārayitvāpi asukasmim nāma gāme vā nigame vā nagare vā pabbate vā nadītīre vā koto' ti pi asukācariyena*

[1] Coins of Ancient India, Cunningham, Plate A (Frontispiece)

[2] *Vinaya Piṭaka*, Vol II, p 159, *Jataka*, Vol. I, edited by V Fausboll, p. 92, *ibid*, p 94 (*kahapaṇakotisanthārena*).

[3] *Saratthappakasini*, Sinhalese Edition, p. 215

The compound word "*cittavicitta*" in the passage "... *ajatabuddhidārako kahapananam cittavicitadighacaturassaparimandalabhavamattameva jānati*" has been wrongly translated by Prof D R Bhandarkar as 'of irregular form" (Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics p 148) The literal translation of the word would be 'haphazard marks' It should, therefore, be taken to refer to the symbols (*lakkhana*) of the punch marked coins and not to their 'rude and ugly' fabric as has been suggested by the learned Professor The word *cittavicitta* is very appropriate, as the marks have been impressed almost indiscriminately upon the surface of the punch marked coins, having no pretensions to artistic merit.

[4] *Samantapasadikā* (on Pacittiya lxv, *Vinaya Piṭaka* Vol IV, p 129, II 8 9) Sinhalese Edition, Vol II, p. 86 The passage in question runs as follows

"*Rūpasuttam nikkhantena kahapana parivattetva parivattetvā passitabbā honti*"

kato' ti pi jānāti).[1] Thus, according to Buddhaghosa, the punch-marked coins should bear marks, some of which would be mint-marks, while others would be symbols distinctive of the issuing authorities.

Regarding the actual marks and symbols appearing on the punch-marked coins actually discovered, it may be noted that the obverse side of these silver pieces invariably bears numerous marks of which the meaning is not known.[2] These marks appear to be overlapping and impressed haphazardly, but on careful examination are found, in most cases, to appear in constant and regular groups.[3] A few coins have both the faces covered with devices, but the reverse side of most of these is either blank, or is impressed usually with one, but in some cases with two or three punch-marks. It has been estimated that more than 400 different marks and symbols are presented by the seven thousand and odd silver punch-marked coins found up to now.

(*c*) NĪLAKAHĀPANA AND KĀḶAKAHĀPANA.

We have discussed the various grounds on which the *Nīlakahāpana* may be identified with the silver punch-marked coins. It now remains for us to find out, if possible, the significance of the epithet *nīla* in *Nīlakahāpana*. The *Nīlakahāpana* in the Pāli texts is distinguished from the *Kāḷakahāpana*[4] because these two terms stand for the two

[1] *Sāratthappakāsinī*, Sinhalese Edition, p. 215.

[2] J. A. S. B. 1890 ("Notes on some of the Symbols found on the Punch marked Coins of Hindustan," W. Theobold). In this article Mr Theobold has enumerated 277 symbols only, but since its publication many more new symbols have been discovered.

[3] Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. V. (1919), pp. 18-19, and p. 463.

[4] *Dhammapada Commentary* (Pāli Text Society), Vol. III, p. 254; *Jātaka* Vol. V, (edited by V. Fausboll), p. 412.

varieties of coins appearing as blue and black respectively It is no doubt unscientific and a sign of loose thinking to try to characterize coins by their colour or appearance instead of by their metal or fabric But perhaps this loose characterization was in accordance with the popular and illiterate way of looking at such matters That silver punch marked coins tend to develop a bluish tint by a long process of time and usage, is not an unfamiliar fact with the numismatists The acquisition of this colour is the effect of the alloy that inevitably went into the composition of these silver pieces After examining more than 800 silver punch marked coins, Cunningham concluded that they were all hardened with copper alloy[1], and the actual assays made by him of 113 such silver pieces showed that the proportion of silver in them varied from 75 2 to 86 2 per cent[2] Vincent A Smith found these silver coins to contain about 20 per cent of alloy[3] To the same conclusion has come also Mr E H Walsh, who has further found out that the thick coating of the verdigris deposit on a large number of the silver punch marked coins measured as much as 13 per cent of the total weight of the coins[4] Side by side with this positive and objective evidence of the verdigris or bluish deposit on the silver punch marked coins as the gift of time, we have also the evidence of that critical literary

[1] Coins of Ancient India Cunningham p 55.

[2] 'Taking all the assays together says Cunningham 'the result is that the 13 coins show a mean amount of silver equal to 79·05 per cent which may be considered as equal to 80 per cent., or four fifths leaving the remaining one-fifth for copper alloy Numismatic Chronicle Vol XIII N S, p 201

[3] Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta, Vol I, p. 133

[4] Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society 1919 pp 16-17

authority Kauṭilya who in his *Arthaśāstra*[1] roundly prescribes that the mint-master should manufacture silver coins made up of *four parts of copper and one-sixteenth* part of any one of the following metals, viz., *tīkṣṇa* (steel), *trapu* (tin), *sīsa* (lead), and *añjana* (antimony).

The chemist is also at one with the archæologist on this point. Chemical analysis, on my requisition, of the bluish coating of the silver punch-marked coins, has also revealed the admixture of copper alloy responsible for the rust.[2]

In this connection it may be observed that Buddhaghosa appears to have used the term *Kālakahāpana* to denote the copper punch-marked coins which were also current in the age of the Buddha. As in Pāli the two words, *nīla* and *kāḷa*, are not identical in sense, we cannot, possibly, take *Kāḷakahāpana* to be synonymous with *Nīlakahāpana*, specially when both of them have been found to occur in the works of the very same author. As regards the *Kāḷakahāpaṇa*, the black colour is, of course, derived from the metal of these coins, viz., copper.[3] Almost all old copper punch-marked

[1] "*Lakṣaṇadhyakṣaścaturbhāgatāmram rūpyarūpam tīkṣṇatrapusīsañjanānāmanyatamam māṣatrayuktam kārayet*" (*Arthaśāstra*, Bk II, Chapter XII)

[2] The Chemical News and Journal of Industrial Science, Vol 134, No 3503 (London, June 3rd, 1927), pp 337 338 ("A Note on the Formation of Green Deposits on Ancient Silver Coins" by Dr. A C Chatterjee, D Sc) See Appendix

The silver punch marked coins in the Lucknow Museum Cabinet, with the exception of a few, are thickly coated with verdigris deposit Dr A C Chatterjee, of the Chemistry Department, Lucknow University, after examining chemically the scrapings of a few selected specimens of those coins, has come to the conclusion that they contain a large percentage of copper alloy.

[3] There are several reasons to believe that the term *Kālakahāpaṇa* implies the old copper punch marked coins. By this term the scholiast Buddhaghosa cannot be supposed to have meant the gold variety of the punch marked coins, because gold being an electro negative metal like platinum, is never tarnished by the action of carbon dioxide and other gaseous bodies present in the atmosphere The colour of the unique gold punch marked coin, which is now in the Indian Museum Cabinet (Supplementary Catalogue, Vol I, p I), or of that stamped gold foil, supposed to be a coin, which was discovered in the Piprawa Stūpa (6th Cent B C) along with the bone relics of the Buddha, is anything but dark It may also be pointed out that the passages occurring in the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* and the

coins are noted for their jet-black colour The most ancient copper pieces that have come to light so far, were found at

Jātakaṭṭhakathā of Buddhaghosa which mention *Kalakahapaṇa* also contain a reference to ancient gold coinage called *Suvaṇṇa* (Skt *Suvarṇa*) but the epithet which has been used in these two works to signify the colour of the *Suvaṇṇa* coins is *ratta* (*ratta suvaṇṇa*=Skt *raktasuvarṇa*) i e ruddy and not *kāla* i e, dark There is thus no reason to suppose that antiquated gold coins were popularly known as *Kalakahapaṇa*.

All bronze antiquities are noted for their dark colour and hence it may be argued that *Kalakahapaṇa* refers to the old bronze coins (*Kaṃsa*) But the argument is negatived by the fact that the word in question is *Kalakahapaṇa* and not *Kaḷakaṃsa*. It is hardly necessary to point out that in Pali *Kahapaṇa* and *Kaṃsa* are two distinct terms indicating two different classes of coins. In the *Vinaya Piṭaka* 4 *Kaṃsas* are equated with 16 *Kahāpaṇas* Again in the very same work we are told that 2½ *Kaṃsas* are equivalent to 10 *Kahāpaṇas* (*Vinaya Piṭaka* Vol IV p 256 *Nissaggiya* Nos xi and xii) It is evident therefore that in the age of the *Piṭakas* *Kaṃsa* and *Kahāpaṇa* were considered to be two different denominations the former being higher than the latter From the *Samantapāsādika* as well as from the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī* it appears that this distinction was well known to Buddhaghosa, according to whom a *Kaṃsa* is equivalent to 4 *Kahapanas* (*Kaṃsoti ama catukahapaṇiko hoti* *Samantapāsādikā* on *Nissaggiya* xi of the *Bhikkhunivibhaṅga* of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* Sinhalese Ed Vol II p 124 *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī* on *Nissaggiya* x of the *Bhikkhu Pāṭimokkha* Burmese Edition published by the Hanthawaddy Press Rangoon p 204) Thus *Kāla kahā pana* as an old bronze coin is ruled out

The currency of iron *Karṣapaṇas* in ancient India is yet to be proved No ancient iron coin has been found up to now In the earlier Sanskrit and Prakrit texts as well as in the canonical Pali works iron *Kārṣapaṇas* have not been referred to so far as I know The *Vinaya Piṭaka* indeed contains certain references to *lohamasakas* (Vol III pp 238 240) but it is difficult to say whether those *Masaka pieces were composed* of *tambaloha* (copper) or *ayoloha* (iron) as in Pali the word *loha* occurs generally in the sense of copper and very rarely of iron It is therefore needless to hazard the supposition that the word *Kalakahapaṇa* denotes the old iron coins

It will perhaps be admitted that as in the Sanskritic literature *Kārṣāpaṇa* or its variant *Kahapaṇa* refers to the standard money whether of silver or of copper the word *Kalakahapaṇa* must *prima facie* imply either of these two classes of coins But the literary as well as the object vc evidence of numismatic discoveries tend to show that the word *Kālakahāpaṇa* denotes the old punch marked coins of the silver variety only *Does it not* therefore stand to reason that *Kalakahāpaṇa refers* to the old copper punch marked coins when we know for certain that copper tends to acquire a dark colour through age ? (See Appendix)

Although the limits of the period of currency of the copper punch marked coins cannot be exactly determined it is evident from the numerous references contained in the canonical Pali texts that they were current in the age of the Buddha. Some of these coins which had fortunately been spared from the forge and anvil of the braziers might have been preserved by the moneyers and curio dealers as relics of the past and these surviving specimens of the ancient copper currency when they came to be witnessed by Buddhaghosa a thousand years later must have been sufficiently oxidised as to be called *Kalakahāpaṇa* i e Jet Black Coin In the *Pitakas* the copper coins are styled *Kahāpaṇa* and not *Kalakahāpaṇa* and this is a further evidence to show that the epithet *Kāla* came to be applied at a later period when the available specimens of the copper *Kahāpaṇas* had become sufficiently dark through oxidation in the long course of time.*

[* Out of the 57 copper punch marked coins which are now in the Cabinet of the Indian Museum Calcutta 39 coins which have not been cleared since the time of their

the recent excavations at Mohen-jo-Daro,[1] and these are as black as they could be. Thus, there does not seem to be any doubt that by the terms *Nīlakahāpana* and *Kālakahāpana*, Buddhaghosa meant to distinguish the silver from the copper coins on the basis of their mere appearance in colour. His use of the other epithet, *porāna*, in respect of the *Nīlakahāpana*, appears also to be quite justifiable, because the bluish deposit is to be found on the surface of the *porāna* or antiquated silver coins only.

(d) Pāda of Nīlakahāpaṇa

The identity of the *Nīlakahāpana* with the silver punch-marked coins being now established, the next point for consideration is its sub-divisions and their relations with it as the standard coin, on which the Pāli passages cited above also throw some light The currency system in question was comprised of *Nīlakahāpana*, *Pāda*, and *Māsaka*, (*Nīlakahāpana*=4 *Pādas*=20 *Māsakas*). This currency system, it must be noted, is stated to have been in vogue in Rājagrha, the capital of Magadha, during the reign of Bimbisāra.[2] It further appears that of the lower denominations of the *Nīlakahāpana*, the ancient indigenous standard silver coin of India, the *Pāda*, though in use as an independent coin, related itself in value exclusively to the *Nīlakahāpana*.

acquisition, are perfectly dark, while the remaining ones, which were in a highly oxidised state when they were unearthed, have been cleaned, possibly, to make their symbols legible The Assistant Curator, however, in his letter (dated the 15th December, 1926) informs me that some of the oxidised copper punch marked coins have been cleaned as a measure of protection from decadence]

[1] Now exhibited in the Archæological gallery of the Indian Museum, Calcutta Whether these oblong and round copper pieces bearing pictographic legends and symbols are coins or amulets, is a matter for the experts to decide (*Cf* Notes on Prehistoric Antiquities including Antiquities from Mohen jo Daro by Rai Bahadur Rama Prasad Chanda, p 9 The Illustrated London News, Oct 4th, 1924, p. 615)

[2] *Vinaya Piṭaka*, Vol. III, p 45.

Thus the *Pāda* related to the *Nīlakahāpana* must be different from the *Pāda* coin of any other depreciated or different currency, such as that denoted by the terms, "*Rudradāmaka* and "*Rudradāmakādi*" discussed above. Accordingly Buddhaghosa makes it quite clear that the *Pādas* of the two systems must not be confused. A source of this confusion is that the term *Pāda* denotes not merely a coin in actual use but also a relative weight, i e , one-fourth of the standard. It was both a medium of exchange and a measure of value being one-fourth of the standard money, whether the *Nīlakahāpana* or the "*Rudradāmakādi.*" [1]So far as actual specimens of these coins and by transferring a few words are concerned, we know of the discovery of a *Pāda* silver coin under the punch-marked variety,[2] but not any of the "*Rudradāmakādi*" variety. We are, however, aware of coins of metals other than silver such as potin, copper, and lead, belonging to the currency system of the Mahāksatrapa Rudradāman I and others.

(e) Māsaka of Nīlakahāpana.

Next, as to the other denomination *Māsaka* which is defined to be the twentieth part of the standard silver coin, while Buddhaghosa taking his stand on a passage of the *Suttavibhanga* of the *Vinaya Pitaka*[3] confines its currency to Rājagṛha only, his own commentators, Sāriputta and

[1] Prof T W Rhys Davids, however, does not admit that the *Pada* was at all a coin (On the Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon, p 3), in spite of the discovery of an actual specimen of the same by Cunningham (See below) The *Pāda* as a coin is clearly indicated in some authoritative Sanskrit texts, *e.g.*, *Śatapa ha Brāhmana* and Pāṇini's Grammar (quoted by Prof D R Bhandarkar in his Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics, pp 58 60)

[2] Coins of Ancient India, Cunningham, p 54 (Plate I, 19)

[3] *Vinaya Pitaka*, Vol III, p 45.

Buddhanāga extend its currency in all the provinces of India (*Sabbajanapadesu*). In this they were very probably diverging from facts as they were writing at a great distance from Buddhaghosa in time. We have other evidence to show that the *Māsaka* as the twentieth-part of the standard coin was not known in India in all the provinces or ages. Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* (*c.* 150 B.C.) informs us that in ancient times 16 *Māṣas* were equivalent to a *Kārṣāpaṇa* which, as we have noticed already, refers to both the standard silver and the copper money (*Purakalpa etadāsīṭṣoḍaśa Māṣāḥ Kārṣāpaṇam*).[1] The remark of Patañjali is perfectly in consonance with the statements of Manu, Yājñavalkya, Viṣṇu, and Kauṭilya, according to whom 16 *Māṣas* are equivalent to the standard silver money called *Dharaṇa* or *Purāṇa*[2] which is identical with Buddhaghosa's *Nīlakahāpaṇa* and is represented by the silver punch-marked coins. It is evident, therefore, that 20 *Māṣas* equalled a silver *Kārṣāpaṇa* for some time in the headquarters of Magadha only, while in the same period in the other provinces of Northern India, and also possibly in different parts of Magadha, 16 *Māṣas* were equivalent to the standard silver money. Thus, while as a special and a purely local case it has been pointed out by Buddhaghosa that 20 *Māsakas* equated a *porāṇa Nīlakahāpaṇa*, the two Sinhalese commentators, Sāriputta and Buddhanāga have, apparently, fallen into an error by taking this particular equation to have been universal in its scope and application.

[1] *Mahābhāsya*, *Adhyāya* i, *Pāda* iv, *Āhnika* iv.
[2] Manu, viii, 135-136; Yājñavalkya, i, 364; Viṣṇu, iv, 11-12; Kauṭilya, Bk. ii, Chapter xix.

origin, because as a synonym of *Māṣa* or *Māsaka*[1] it has not been found to occur anywhere else, so far as I know. A metrical term, however, is to be found in both Dravidian and Sinhalese literature, which may be taken to be an equivalent to the word *Mañjeṭṭhī* on the grounds of both sense and phonetics. The word in question is *Mañjādi*, indicating a measure, which is still in use in Southern India and Ceylon for weighing gold,[2] silver, pearls, gems, and such other precious articles. Like *Māṣa*, the seed of the *Phaseolus vulgaris* (average weight 3·5 grains), this measure also owes its parentage to the vegetable world in the form of a seed of a bright scarlet colour, hard, durable, and tolerably uniform in size and weight. It is the seed of the *Adenanthera pavonina*, a genus of plant whose habitat extends almost over the whole of India, Ceylon, and the Eastern Archipelago. In the fifth chapter called "*Kalañju*" of an ancient Malayalam mathematical treatise entitled *Kanakku Sāram*, the following measures of weight are preserved :—

4 *Nel* (grains of rice in the husk)	is = 1	*Kunri* (or *Rati*)
2 *Kunri* (or *Ratis*)	is = 1	*Mañjāḍi*.
2 *Mañjādi*	is = 1	*Panatūkkam*
10 *Paṇatūkkam*	is = 1	*Kalañju*.[3]

According to Sir Walter Elliot "It was on these two seminal units, the *Mañjāḍi* and *Kalañju*, that the normal metrical system of the South appears to have been founded,

[1] In his "Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics, Prof D R Bhandarkar has drawn a distinction between *Māṣa* and *Māsaka* In his opinion while *Māṣa* as a rule denotes the weight, *Māsaka* denotes a coin of this weight (p 53) This distinction, however, holds good in Sanskrit, but not in Pāli. In the Pāli literature both *Māṣa* (Skt. *Māṣa*) and *Māsaka* (Skt *Māsaka*) denote not only the seed (*Māṣa*) and its weight, but also a coin struck on the basis of this weight (*Cf Jataka*, ed by Fausboll, Vol II, pp 424-425)

[2] South Indian Inscriptions, E Hultzsch, Vol I, p 116.

[3] Coins of Southern India, Elliot, pp. 46-47.

smaller and more delicate weights not being required in the rude transactions of earlier times "[1]

The word *Mañjādi* can also be traced in the Tamil literature An old Tamil palm leaf Ms records the following measures of weight[2] —

2 *Pilaru* (split peas) is =1 *Kunri* (*Rati*)
2 *Kunri* (or *Ratis*) is =1 *Mañjādi* etc

The seed *Mañjādi*, as a measure of weight, is still in usage in Malabar and Tinnevelly The following is a tabular statement of the Tinnevelly weights —

2 *Palla pagaru* is =1 *Kunri*, *Mittu*, or *Rati*
2 *Kunri* is =1 *Mañjādi*
20 *Mañjadi* is =1 *Kalañju*[3]

The metrical term *Mañjādi* of Tamil and Malayalam is preserved in the modern Sinhalese language in the very same form and sense, and appears to have been imported by the Tamil-speaking peoples (*Damilas*) whose immigration to Ceylon has been constant since the dawn of the history of that island The *Vinayatthamañjūsā* passage, "*Yā loke Mañjetthi 'ti pi vuccati*," clearly shows that, although *Mañjetthī* appears *prima facie* to be a Pāli word, it is in reality a word of the *laukikabhāsā* which Buddhanāga has incorporated into his commentary, obviously, for the sake of preciseness The mere occurrence of the word *Mañjetthī* as a synonym of *Masaka*, in an important Pāli commentary like *Vinayatthamañjūsa*, must not lead us to infer that it is Māgadhi in origin The change of *Mañjādi* into *Mañjetthī* does not present any phonetical difficulty, because (1) the

[1] Coins of Southern India Elliot p 48
[2] *Ibid* p 59 fn 2
[3] *Ibid* p 59 fn 1

As regards *Māsaka* as a silver coin, no specimen has as yet been discovered; and, therefore, it may be taken that the *Māsaka* of the Pāli passages cited above was a mere measure of value, which could be expressed by token. We are also up against the improbability of such a minute silver coin existing as could weigh only about 4 grains, and that is for an excessive wear and tear to which coins of smaller denominations would be naturally exposed through constant use in small transactions. Indeed the Pāli canonical texts know only of the *Māsaka* coins of gold (weighing about 9 grains), copper (*loha*), lacquer, and even of wood,[1] but they do not contemplate *Māsakas* of silver. Accordingly, the *Māsaka*, which is defined as a part of the silver coin, is only so in value and not in its metallic composition. Its metal must have been different, very probably copper, although each such *Māsaka* copper piece represented a value in silver that was fixed. The Pāli passages in question thus lay down the silver value of the *Māsaka* as a copper coin.

(f) Mañjeṭṭhī

We have some further information about *Māsaka* from Buddhanāga He applies to *Māsaka* a new term, *Mañjeṭṭhī*, in order to explain it in terms of the currency of his own time and experience. He says that by the term *Māsaka*, the twentieth division of the old *Kahāpana*, i.e., *Nīlakahāpana*, is to be understood what is popularly known as *Mañjeṭṭhī* Here he is thus clearly drawing upon his own local knowledge and experience in Ceylon. It is obvious that the word *Māsaka*

[1] *Vinaya Piṭaka*, Vol III, pp. 238 240 *Cf. Samantapāsādikā*, [illegible] Vol. I, p. 386; *Atthasālinī* (P. T. S.), p. 318.

here points to the traditional weight of the silver *Māsaka*, because the Pāli passages cited above contain references to the ancient silver money only We shall have now to find out whether the word *Mañjetthī* is a numismatic term signifying an actual silver coin which weighs one *Māsa* (2 *Ratis*), or a metrical term implying a specific weight which is equivalent to the silver *Māsa* (2 *Ratis* or 3 5 grains), because the ancient name of coins are, in fact, names of metal weights The word *Mañjetthi* or *Mañjiṭṭhā* (Pāli), ordinarily, signifies a colour, viz , crimson, red, and bright red (the dye of the Bengal 'madder', *Rubia munjista*)

There are, however, some difficulties in taking the word *Mañjetthī* to denote a coin or money piece If the term indicates the colour of the metal of which the *Māsaka* coin was composed, then, in that case, the term for the colour should be prefixed to that of the coin, as in *Nilakahāpana* and *Kālakahāpana* The objective evidence of numismatic discoveries, too, does not testify to the circulation of any metallic coin, whether bright or rusty, the colour of which can technically be called *Mañjetthi* It is, again, scarcely conceivable that a tiny *Masaka* piece of silver called *Mañjetthī*, for some reason or other, and weighing about 3 or 4 grams, was in circulation as a regular medium of exchange Thus *Mañjetthi* as a coined money is ruled out We shall have now to find out whether it is a metrical term denoting the red seed (and hence *Mañjetthi*) of a species of plant, the weight of which is equivalent to the traditional weight of the silver *Masa* (2 *Ratis*)

The word *Mañjetthi* does not appear to be of Sanskritic

first portion, "*Mañj*" is common to both, and (2) their terminal consonants are of the very same *varga* and have an almost similar vowel-sound Thera Buddhanāga has himself admitted in one place that such phonetic changes are possib either at the beginning, middle, or end of a word.[1] W have, therefore, reasons to believe that *Mañjetthī* of th mediæval Sinhalese dialect is but a modified form of *Mañjāḍ* of Tamil and Malayalam It is, of course, apparent tha both *Mañjādi*[2] and *Mañjetthī* were current side by side i Ceylon in the days of Buddhanāga, the latter being mor popular with the Sinhalese speaking peoples by whom it wa derived from the language of the immigrants from Southern India (*Damiḷas*).

The words, *Mañjādi* and *Mañjetthī*, are also identic in respect of metrical sense. According to the South Indian measures of weight cited above, 2 *Kunris* or *Ratis* are equivalent to 1 *Mañjādi*. From the *smrtis* of Manu, Yājñavalkya, and Visnu, it appears that 2 *Krsnalas* or *Ratis* of silver are equivalent to the standard silver *Māsa*, while 5 *Kṛsnalas* or *Ratis* of gold equate the standard gold *Māsa*.[3] Thus the weight of a *Mañjādi* corresponds to that of a silver *Māṣa*. As the word *Māsa*, evidently, implies two different weights, viz , 2 *Ratis* and 5 *Ratis*, in order to point to one of them either its metal has to be specified, as in *Raupyāmāsa*

[1] *Vinayatthamañjūsā*, ed. by U P Ekanāyaka, pp 49-50 (Sinhalese Edition) The passage in question has been quoted in the writer's paper on 'some Sinhalese Words Traced' (Proceedings and Transactions of the Second Oriental Conference, Calcutta, p 511).

[2] As 'ca' and 'ja' are interchangeable in the Sanskritic dialects (*Cf Vinaya tthamañjūsā*, p 50), the word *Mañjādi* has been changed into *Mañcādi* in the modern Sinhalese language In the present day, however, both *Mañjādi* and *Mañcādi* are current side by side in Ceylon.

[3] Manu, viii, 134 135; Yājñavalkya, i, 363 364; Visnu iv, 7 11

and *Suvaṇṇamāsa*, or some well known metrical term of the *laukikabhāsā* denoting that particular weight has to be used The use of the word *Mañjetthi* of the local dialect of the age (*Yā loke Mañjetthi 'ti pi vuccati*) clearly shows that Buddhaghosa has preferred the latter course to the former, so that the particular variety of *Māsa* to which he wants to refer may be easily understood Thus, if the traditional weight of the silver *Masa* corresponds to the traditional weight of *Mañjetthi* on one hand, and that of *Mañjādi* on the other, the irresistible conclusions are, (1) that *Mañjādi* and *Mañjetthi* are metrical terms and (2) that, in respect of weight, they are identical The metrical sense of the words further confirms the view maintained by us on phonetical grounds that *Mañjetthi* of the mediæval Sinhalese dialect has been derived from *Mañjādi* of Tamil and Malayalam Thera Buddhaghosa was a native of Ceylon and was born in an age when the racial fusion of the Sinhalese with the South Indian immigrants, in the coastal regions of Ceylon, had just begun[1] It was this age that also witnessed the development of *Elu* into the modern Sinhalese language with the help of the South Indian loan words, the forms of which either have been preserved in tact or have undergone some change to suit the phonology of the dialect into which they have been incorporated Thus, it was quite natural for Buddhaghosa, from his familiarity

[1] Thera Buddhaghosa was a contemporary of the King Parakramabāhu I of Ceylon (1153 1186 A D) whose general Lankapura inflicted a disastrous defeat on Rajakesarivarman Kulasekhara *alias* Rajā Narasimhadeva II the Cola Pandya King of Madura (*Cf Mahāvaṃsa* 76 ; Annual Report on Epigraphy Madras 1905 6 p 70 para 23) It appears from the colophon of the Mañjusāsaṃ that Parakramabahu commemorated this victory over the Cola or Cola Pandya king by erecting a monastery in Pulatthi nagara called *Colakulantaka parivena* ('the monastery of the Annihilator of the Cola Family') in which Buddhaghosa and his preceptor Sariputta Thera resided. From the colophon it further appears that the *biruda* of Parakramabāhu I was *Colakulantaka*

first portion, "*Mañj*" is common to both, and (2) their terminal consonants are of the very same *varga* and have an almost similar vowel sound Thera Buddhanāga has himself admitted in one place that such phonetic changes are possible either at the beginning, middle, or end of a word[1] We have, therefore, reasons to believe that *Mañjetthī* of the mediæval Sinhalese dialect is but a modified form of *Mañjādi* of Tamil and Malayalam It is, of course, apparent that both *Mañjādi*[2] and *Mañjettha* were current side by side in Ceylon in the days of Buddhanāga, the latter being more popular with the Sinhalese speaking peoples by whom it was derived from the language of the immigrants from Southern India (*Damilas*)

The words, *Mañjadi* and *Mañjettha* are also identical in respect of metrical sense According to the South Indian measures of weight cited above, 2 *Kunris* or *Ratis* are equivalent to 1 *Mañjādi* From the *smrtis* of Manu, Yājñavalkya, and Visnu, it appears that 2 *Krsnalas* or *Ratis* of silver are equivalent to the standard silver *Masa* while 5 *Krsnalas* or *Ratis* of gold equate the standard gold *Māsa*[3] Thus the weight of a *Mañjadi* corresponds to that of a silver *Māsa* As the word *Māsa*, evidently, implies two different weights, viz , 2 *Ratis* and 5 *Ratis* in order to point to one of them either its metal has to be specified as in *Raupyamasa*

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[3] Manu viii 134 135 Yajnavalkya, i 363 364 Visnu iv 7 11

and *Suvarnamasa* or some well known metrical term of the *laukikalahāsa* denoting that particular weight has to be used The use of the word *Manjettha* of the local dialect of the age (*Ya loke Mañjettha 'ti pi vuccati*) clearly shows that Buddhanāga has preferred the latter course to the former, so that the particular variety of *Masa* to which he wants to refer may be easily understood Thus if the traditional weight of the silver *Masa* corresponds to the traditional weight of *Manjettha* on one hand, and that of *Mañjādi* on the other the irresistible conclusions are, (1) that *Manjadi* and *Mañjettha* are metrical terms and (2) that in respect of weight, they are identical The metrical sense of the words further confirms the view maintained by us on phonetical grounds that *Manjettha* of the medieval Sinhalese dialect has been derived from *Manjadi* of Tamil and Malayalam Thera Buddhanaga was a native of Ceylon and was born in an age when the racial fusion of the Sinhalese with the South Indian immigrants, in the coastal regions of Ceylon had just begun[1] It was this age that also witnessed the development of *Elu* into the modern Sinhalese language with the help of the South Indian loan words, the forms of which either have been preserved in tact or have undergone some change to suit the phonology of the dialect into which they have been incorporated Thus it was quite natural for Buddhanaga from his familiarity

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with the South-Indian life and usages, to use in his commentary a metrical term of South Indian origin from the popular speech of his time which witnessed the migration of ideas and words from the land of the Tamils to Ceylon

To sum up

(1) The Pāli passages cited above have brought to our notice for the first time certain references to Rudradāman I in literature

(2) The words *Rudradāmakādinam* (Extract i) and *Rudradāmaladini* (Extract iii) stand, evidently, for *Rudradāmakādīnam lahapanānam* and *Rudradāmakādīni lahāpanāni* respectively, and refer to the standard money of Rudradāman I which, we know for certain, was composed of silver

(3) The words *Nilakahapana* and *Kālakahāpana* denote the old punch marked coins of silver and copper respectively

(4) By prefixing the epithets *nila* and *kāla* to *Kahāpana*, Buddhaghosa has tried to distinguish the silver coins from the copper ones on the basis of the colour of the rust appearing on their surface as the gift of time

(5) Thera Sāriputta is perfectly right when he says that a "*Rudradamaka*" coin is equivalent to three quarters of a *Nilakahāpana* The word *tibhāgam*, i e , three quarters, does not refer to the size of the coin, but to its division by weight

(6) The theoretical weight of the standard of the so called "*Rudradāmakadi* ' coins being 42 grains the weight standard of the *Nilakahapanas* should be fixed at 56 grains as the

mean proportion of these two silver standards, as noted by Sāriputta, is 3 4 According to Sir Alex Cunningham[1] and Mr E J Thomas,[2] the standard weight of the *Purāna* or the *Dharana*, i e , the silver *Kār āpana* is 32 *Ratis* or 56 grains It is evident, therefore, that *Purāna*, *Dharana*, and *Nilakahāpana* are but different names of one and the same class of silver coins, and denote the old punch marked coins of the silver variety

(7) We have not been able to find out as yet the particular source from which Sāriputta informs us that a "*Rudradāmaka*" coin is merely three fourths of a *Nilakahāpana* It is most likely that he has collected this interesting numismatic datum from *Andhatthakatha* Buddhaghosa found them out in Ceylon, and utilised it properly when he wrote his *Samantapāsādika Andhatthakathā*, as the name suggests, was compiled in the Andhradeśa, and, so far as we know, it is no longer extant either in Ceylon or in Burma Whatever may be the source of Sāriputta's information, we are not prepared to believe that his remark on the weight standards is based upon personal observation of facts

(8) The word '*Rudradāmakadi*," or better *Rudradāma kadikahāpanani*, is a misnomer, and, as such it cannot be used in the history of the ancient Indian numismatics to refer to the silver coins issued in the period coming between *c* A D 130 and 465 of which the hemidrachms of Nahapāna and Castana are the prototypes

(9) There were at least two sub divisions of the *Nila kahapana*, viz *Pada* and *Masaka* the former being one

[1] Numismatic Chronicle Vol XIII (N S) p 201
[2] Ancient Indian Weights E Thomas p 53

fourth, and the latter being either one sixteenth or one-part of the standard money

(10) The word *Pāda* in the Pāli literature does not merely denote the fourth part of a certain weight, whether of gold silver, or copper, but also sometimes a coin A silver *Pāda* coin of the punch marked variety, has actually been discovered

(11) The statement of Sāriputta that in all the provinces the twentieth division of *Kahapana*, i e , the silver *Kārsāpana*, was called *Māsaka*, is, however, not correct

(12) The Pali word *Mañjettha* should not be connected with the Sanskrit *Mañjistha* when the former denotes a specific weight We have observed already that the Pāli *Mañjettha* appears to have been derived from *Mañjādi* of the South Indian dialects and denotes a kind of red seed (and hence *Mañjetthī*) the minimum weight of which is about 3 25 grains According to *Kanakku Sāram* and such other old Dravidian treatises, 20 *Mañjadis* are equal to a *Kalañju* The Sanskrit equivalent of the Pāli *Mañjettha* or the Dravidian and the Sinhalese *Mañjadi* seems to be *Majjāṭika* which according to Bālambhatta is equal to two *Guñjas* (*Ratis*) The same scholar following one Visnugupta, further informs us that 20 *Majjaṭikas* are equivalent to one *Kalañja* or *Dharana* [1]

(13) It is evident from the *smṛtis* of Manu Yajñavalkya, and Visnu that the word *Dharana* denotes a specific silver weight as well as the silver coin conforming to that weight ow according to Thera Buddhanāga, 20 *Mañjetthas* or *Masa* of silver, equate one *Nalalahapana* while according to

[1] Bhatta s Commentary on *Mitakṣarā* (on *Yājnavalkya smṛti* I 365)

Visnugupta and Bālambhatta 20 *Majjāṭikās* are equivalent to a *Dharana* or *Kalañja*, evidently of silver This agreement between the two commentators, Buddhanāga and Bālambhatta, who flourished in different countries and at different periods, further confirms the theory maintained by us on other grounds that the weight of a *Dharana* and that of a *Nilakahāpana* are, evidently, the same, and that the two words, *Dharana* and *Nilakahāpana* refer to the silver *Kārsāpanas* of the punch marked variety only

(14) The minimum weight of the *Mañjadi* seed is about 3 25 grains,[1] and, as such, the total weight of 20 *Mañjādis* will be about 65 grains Thera Buddhanāga wants us to believe that the total weight of 20 *Māsakas* of silver, or that of 20 *Mañjetthīs*, is equal to the prescribed weight of the old *Nilakahāpana* It is evident, therefore, that the scholiast wants to fix the standard weight of the *Nilakahāpana* at about 65 grains Taking a *Rati* as equal to 1 83 grains, the standard weight of the silver punch marked coins has been fixed by some numismatists at 58 56 grains [2] The difference between the two estimates of the standard weight of the silver punch marked coins is therefore 6 44 grains, which is really a negligible quantity

[1] According to Sir Walter Elliot the average weight of the *Manjadi* seed is 4 13 grains (Coins of Southern India p 47)

[2] Indian Coins Rapson p 2

APPENDIX

A NOTE ON THE FORMATION OF GREEN DEPOSITS ON ANCIENT SILVER COINS.*

BY

Dr. A. C. Chatterjee, D.Sc., University of Lucknow.

[From the Chemical News, Vol. CXXXIV, No. 3503, pp. 337—338.]

It has been observed that old silver coins containing a large percentage of copper are coated with deposits which are green or bluish green, while pure copper coins are coloured almost jet black.

The green colour of these adulterated silver coins is mainly due to the formation of basic copper carbonate produced by the action of moist air upon copper which is present in the coins. In certain cases, however, the green deposit may be due to the corrosive action of such chemicals as alkali chlorides which are often present in the earth, beneath which the coin might have remained buried for centuries.

In archæological museums it has been generally observed that ancient bronze antiquities are liable to develop a light green colour. Here also the colour is due to the formation of either of the following compounds :—

Malachite—$CuCo_3\ Cu\ (OH)_2$.

Azurite—$2\ CuCo_3\ Cu\ (OH)_2$.

Atacamite—$CuCl_2\ 3Cu\ (OH)_2$.

* Specially written for my monograph, 'Some Numismatic Data in Pali Literature'. (See above, p 435.)

It is, however, interesting to note that unlike coins of bronze, brass, silver copper alloy, etc pure copper coins are coated black and are not very readily attacked by the joint action of moist air and carbon dioxide

The black colour of old coins made of comparatively pure copper may be due to a coating of copper oxide

According to R Fink (*Ber*, 1887, S C 2106) the affinity of copper for oxygen is greater than that of manganese, zinc, cobalt, or nickel, it is even greater than that of magnesium It is a common experience that copper is soon covered with a black deposit, and special precautions have to be *taken to keep the surface of a copper sheet bright* The rapidity with which this coating takes place may be well judged by the fact that a thoroughly cleaned copper piece tarnishes in a few minutes if exposed to moist air When copper is determined electrolytically, extreme care must be taken to prevent the bright deposit of copper from becoming grey after the experiment is over

Though copper is rapidly attacked by moist air, the amount of the metal affected is only superficial due to the protective action of the film of oxide produced The surface is covered with a coating of black oxide and this prevents *further action The inside metal remains unchanged*, unless the upper coating is removed

In the case of a silver coin however, containing say, 20 per cent of copper the facility with which copper oxide formation takes place will be greatly reduced According to the Law of Mass Action the active concentration of copper is very much reduced due to the presence of a large quantity

of silver, and hence the quantity of copper oxide produced will be proportionately low.

Moreover, due to the mere presence of a more electro-negative metal like silver, copper will be chemically more active and the carbon dioxide present in the air will easily attack it producing a green basic carbonate.

Due to the above causes a film of oxide is more protective in the case of *pure copper metal than in an alloy* of it.

It is of interest to note, in this connection, the recent work of Vernon (J. C. S., 1926, 2273), who has proved experimentally that an oxide film is more protective in the case of metallic copper itself than in those of its alloys.

In other words, pure copper is relatively less attacked by chemicals than an alloy of copper with a more electro-negative metal like gold, or platinum, or silver.

Hence, antiquities made of pure copper are relatively less attacked by the carbon dioxide present in air than those made of alloys of copper. This explains the occurrence of green deposits on the latter.

CHAPTER XVI

HISTORY OF BUDDHISM IN CEYLON

1 CHRONOLOGY

Various scholars have, from time to time, investigated the relation of the Buddhist era to that of the present Christian calendar era There are differences of opinion as to the precise year of the commencement of the Buddhist era The best recognized Buddhist era is calculated from the day of the Parinirvāna, that is, from the death of the Buddha Calculations are met with in Ceylon Buddhist works particularly those written in the early fourteenth century of a Buddhist era dating from the attainment of Enlightenment of the Buddha *Pūjāvaliya*, a Buddhist work, giving a history of shrines and objects of worship and a summary of the history of the kings of Ceylon gives certain dates on this calculation Some secular works written at this period, for instance *Yogārnavaya*, are also dated in accordance with this method There are also copies of grants by the kings of this period where this date is used However this method of fixing the Buddhist era is confined to a very limited period and is not found in any of the earlier Buddhist books or documents, nor in works of a later period It is a noteworthy fact that during this period Buddhist learning was revived by the Bhikkhus who were brought over from South India (Chola country) and the Bhikkhus who received their instructions in that school

It may, therefore, be possible that the calculation of the Buddhist era from the date of the Enlightenment of the Buddha was recognized in the schools of Buddhism in South India.

Coming to the more usual date of calculation from the death (Parinirvāṇa) of the Buddha, Ceylon Chronicles calculate it at 543 B.C. Some modern scholars attribute dates differing from this ranging from forty to seventy years. However for our purpose it is not necessary to examine the accuracy or otherwise of these calculations. When dealing with events connected with the progress of institutions in a country for periods of several thousand years, such differences in calculation need not be taken into account. For all purposes it is best to confine ourselves to the era as it is established by the general usage of the country. In the present paper, the dates and periods are calculated on the basis that the Buddhist era corresponds to the period of 543 years before the Christian era.

2. STATE OF CEYLON BEFORE THE INTRODUCTION OF BUDDHISM

Buddhism was introduced into Ceylon in 236 B.E. (307 B.C.) and became the national religion of the Sinhalese from that date. It is, however, necessary for a proper study of the history of Buddhism in the island to consider the state of the island and its social and political developments and the culture and character of the people immediately preceding this period. This will enable us to get a clear understanding of the manner in which such a far-reaching revolution in the beliefs, manners and customs and character of a people were

affected by the introduction of this new religion and the progress in literature, art and culture that has been manifested through its influence

3 EARLY TRADITIONS

Early traditions of Ceylon trace the origin of its people to very remote and prehistoric times An old Chronicle thus puts it tersely, "from very early times this Lankā (Ceylon) was colonized by people from all parts of Jambudvīpa (India) irrespective of race and country First came Vara roja of Aśura dynasty from Vanga country, with people of the races, Aśura, Yaksa, Nāga and Nara, who freely mixed among themselves and peopled the land The next invader was Rāvana, son of Vijruvan and grandson of Pulaste, who founded the Rāksasa kingdom Rāvana was defeated by Rāma's forces and the country was handed over to Vibhīsana, a brother of Rāvana The men of Lankā at this period were known as Rāksasas and Yaksas Their language was said to have been Andra The last of their line was Jitindara who lived in Sirivattupura from where he governed the people "

"Next comes the Manurajavamsa when Prince Vijaya, son of King Sinhabāhu of Sinhapura, and his followers, who occupied the country and founded the Sinhalese dynasty "

From this period we have more reliable accounts of the country than mere traditions, and the Sinhalese Chronicles start Prince Vijaya's period from 543 before the Christian era, the first year of the Buddhist era

4 COLONIZATION BY PRINCE VIJAYA AND HIS SUCCESSORS

From about the beginning of the Buddhist era for the next 236 years to the time of the introduction of Buddhism

the process of the consolidation of the rule of the invading Sinhalese continued. They created a new form of government and a new civilization. The new comers found the island inhabited by the Yaksa race whose mode of life, government and institutions differed from those of the invaders who belonged to the advanced races inhabiting the Gangetic valley. The Yakṣas like most primitive races lived in tribes in close vicinity to places where they were able to obtain a living either as hunters or primitive cultivators. The island was noted for pearls, precious stones and minerals for which the primitive inhabitants had hardly any use. Enterprising traders and adventurers from various parts of India were attracted to the land where they were able to exploit the natural wealth of the country. They did not form any permanent settlements of their own, nor was it to their advantage to engage in any conflict with the aboriginal inhabitants. It was during this period that Prince Vijaya from the newly formed Lāḷa country came with a band of adventurous youths bent on founding a new kingdom. He did not belong to the type of traders who went to distant lands to trade and gather riches. Vijaya was a Kṣatriya who sought adventure where he could obtain name and fame. He allied himself with an aboriginal princess named Kuveṇī and married her and with her influence soon became a master of the country. After his success he discarded the aboriginal princess and sought and obtained an alliance with the king of Madura and obtained his daughter in marriage. From this date the opening of the country and the settlement of the land were greatly assisted by a continuous and rapid arrival of settlers from the neighbouring continent. Prince

Vijaya's success was communicated to his own country and as he had no children by his queen he wrote to his brother in Lāla to send out a successor from his own clan Vijaya died after a rule of 38 years In the year following his death his nephew Panduvāsudeva arrived in the island with a large stream of followers and assumed the sovereignty He was followed shortly by another large immigration, this time from the Śākya clan

5 ŚĀKYA INFLUENCE

The Śākya clans on the borders of Nepal came on troublous times, the wars with Vidudabha disorganized them and some of the princes rather than submit to the invaders left the country and founded new settlements to the south of the old territories Śākya Pandu, a descendant of Amitodana who was a brother of King Śuddhodana, father of Gautama Buddha, founded one of these settlements He had seven sons and a daughter Bhaddakaccānā and this princess came over to Lankā to become the queen of the new king Paṇḍu vāsudeva Six of the queen's brothers followed her to Lankā and each of them settled down in the new land and became chiefs and lords of various settlements The Śākyas were more vigorous and energetic than those who came from Lāla, Vanga, and Pandy (Madura) and under them new institutions arose and a new turn was given to the methods of government Their enterprise helped them considerably to strengthen and consolidate the settlement We find the districts presided over by the Śākyas coming into great prominence, and within a short period becoming prosperous and influential A very potent reason for this progress was

a difference of views was not marked by any antagonism and on the other hand there is ample evidence to show that whatever the sect a person followed he too generally accepted the beliefs of other sects, as conducive to the maintenance of the social and economic conditions prevailing among them.

The religion and code of life of the Hindus were in the main the basis on which the social and economic conditions of the people were based. The different methods of expression and worship were left to each individual's inclination.

The main places of religious assemblies had no temples or elaborate buildings or rituals. For in the city there were two places, one devoted to Vessavaṇa under a Ficus tree, being the guardian god of the city so far as the Sinhalese were concerned, and the other devoted to Vydhadeva the guardian god of the aboriginal population, symbolized by a tāla (palm) tree.

Where temples were concerned it is significant that they were built outisde the city beyond the northern boundary and there were eight temples devoted to the worship of various devas recognized by the people. In addition there were certain places of worship that had been established for foreigners.

The Brāhmanas held their position as teachers and they were entrusted with social ceremonies There was a large number of important Brāhmana villages where they enjoyed independent social status and importance.

8 EMPEROR AŚOKA AND BUDDHISM IN INDIA

Buddhism as a form of religious expression gained ascendency in India during this period Emperor Aśoka was

crowned according to the Chronicles in the year 218 of the Buddhist era (325 B C) The order of disciples of the Buddha flourished under his protection and encouragement His son, Prince Mahinda, joined the order of Samgha when he was 20 years of age His daughter, Princess Samghamittā, joined the order in her eighteenth year and was ordained after she reached her twentieth year These two illustrious disciples became noted for their piety, attainments, learning and the profound knowledge of the Dhamma (the words of the Buddha)

A great convocation of Buddhist Elders was held under the patronage of Emperor Aśoka by Moggaliputta Tissa Thera and after the termination of the convocation Moggali putta Tissa decided on sending theras to foreign countries for the establishment of the religion of the Buddha He deputed Thera Majjhantika to Kasmīra Gandhāra , Thera Mahādeva to Mahisamandala , Thera Rakkhita to Vanavāsi , Thera Yona-Dhammarakkhita to Aparāntaka , Thera Mahā Dhammarakkhita to Mahārattha , Thera Mahārakkhita to Yonaloka , Thera Majjhima to Himavanta , Theras Sona and Uttara to Suvannabhūmi and Thera Mahā Mahinda together with Theras Itthiya, Uttiya, Sambala and Bhadda sāla to Lankā, saying unto these five theras "Establish ye in the delightful land of Lankā the delightful religion of the Vanquisher "

9 INTRODUCTION OF BUDDHISM INTO CEYLON

This convocation was held during the time when Mutasiva was king of Ceylon As the king of Lankā at this time was old and feeble, Mahinda Thera decided to delay his visit to the island till the son of King Mutasiva succeeded to the

their democratic instinct and the tolerance shown by them to the native Yaksas, who were fairly and equitably treated by them without the display of the arrogance of invaders and conquerors The Śākyas thus became more powerful than the Vijayans

6. PANDUKĀBHAYA AND THE FOUNDING OF THE CITY OF ANURĀDHAPURA

A son of one of the Śākya princes married the daughter of King Panduvāsudeva and their issue Pandukābhaya, when he came of age, married the daughter of one of his uncles Pandukābhaya disputed the authority of his uncles and after defeating them became the undisputed king of the island 106 years after the arrival of Prince Vijaya in 106 B E (437 B C) 'This monarch befriending the interests of the Yaksas with the co-operation of Kālavela and Cittā conjointly with them enjoyed his prosperity He built the city of Anurādhapura and numerous tanks and settlements This Pandukābhaya in the twelfth year of his reign fixed the boundaries of villages in all parts of Lankā"

From this time the Sinhalese were established firmly in the island The enterprise of the Vangas secured a new country and the genius of the Śākyas consolidated its government, befriended the natives and secured the prosperity of the land His descendant, Devānampiyatissa became king of Ceylon 60 years afterwards 236 years after the arrival of Prince Vijaya 307 years before the Christian era, of these 236 years, the first period of 106 years was one of struggle and conflict The next period of 130 years was one of peace

and prosperity Well planned cities had been built, villages and settlements had been established on definite lines

The situation and economic and social status of Anurādha pura, the capital city, at this period give an idea of the general conditions of the island at this period The city had two principal tanks, Jayavāpi and Gāmanivāpi, built at the south east and the north east It had four other tanks close to each of its four gates The palace and the royal court were situated towards the western gate To the east and south there were residences of the Yaksa chiefs There were places of worship for Vessavana under a banyan tree and Vydhadeva with a tāla (palm) tree on the west of the city To the north of the city were built dwellings for various religious bodies and also temples for their worship Eight different religious bodies were thus provided for in addition to those for foreign religions Vast irrigation works were constructed in various parts of the country There were many other towns and cities, and well constructed roads and means of communication The land was well cultivated and the people were prosperous

7 RELIGION IN CEYLON BEFORE THE INTRODUCTION OF BUDDHISM

We have given a brief review of the conditions of Lankā just before the people accepted the religion of the Buddha The accounts given in the Ceylon Chronicles show that so far as religious beliefs were concerned the king and the people were very tolerant towards all faiths, and religion was recog nized as one that did not divide the people but each indivi dual seems to have had perfect freedom as regards his beliefs

kingdom In the meanwhile the thera decided to pay a visit to his relatives While Mahinda Thera was spending his time with his relatives, Mutasiva, king of Lankā, died and was succeeded by his second son Devānampiyatissa When Devānampiyatissa succeeded to the sovereignty of Lankā in the year 236 B E (307 B C) the fame and power of Emperor Aśoka was world wide The king of Ceylon sought the friendship of the great emperor and sent an embassy to him bearing costly presents and received many presents in return and the assurance of friendship with the message,

"*Aham Buddham ca Dhammam ca Samgham ca saranamgato upāsakattam vedesim Sākyaputtassa sāsane,*
tvam p' imāni ratanāni uttamāni naruttama
cittam pasādayitvāna saddhāya-saranam bhaja"

"I have taken refuge in the Buddha, his Teachings and his Order of disciples, I have become a follower of the Teachings of the Son of the Sākyas, ruler of men imbuing thy mind with the conviction of the truth of these three Supreme Blessings with unfeigned faith do thou also take refuge in this Salvation "

The practical bearing of the Buddha Dhamma that Emperor Aśoka commended to the king of Lankā can be summed up in some of the words of the Rock Edicts of the Emperor Aśoka —

"The gods who were regarded as true all over India have been shown to be untrue This is the fruit of exertion nor is this to be attained by a great man only, because even by the small man who chooses to exert himself, immense heavenly bliss may be won Let small and great exert to this end Father and mother must be hearkened to Similarly respect

for living creatures must be firmly established, truth must be spoken These are the virtues of the Law of Piety which must be practised Similarly the teacher must be reverenced by the pupil Towards relations, fitting courtesy should be shown Thus is the ancient nature (piety) This leads to length of days and according to this men must act (Minor Rock Edict II)"

"In all places men of every denomination may abide, for they all desire mastery over the senses and purity of mind, man however is various in his wishes and various in his likings Some of the denominations will perform the whole, others will perform but one part of the Commandment Even for a person to whom lavish liberality is impossible, the virtues of mastery over the senses, purity of mind, gratitude and steadfastness are altogether indispensable (Rock Ed VII)"

The members of the embassy of King Tissa during their stay at the court of Emperor Aśoka would have realized the purport of the new doctrines and the profound influence it had upon the fortunes of the people The message of the Emperor to the king of Ceylon would also have impressed the king with the importance attached to the new religion and the influence it had exerted in India The king and the people of Ceylon only required an opportunity for closer contact and instruction in the teachings of the Buddha, for them to accept and practise the Dhamma (Law) that had found such great favour with the powerful emperor under whose auspices the king of Lankā was installed in the sovereignty and crowned a second time

kingdom In the meanwhile the thera decided to pay a visit to his relatives While Mahinda Thera was spending his time with his relatives Mutasiva, king of Lankā, died and was succeeded by his second son Devānampiyatissa When Devānampiyatissa succeeded to the sovereignty of Lankā in the year 236 B C (307 B C) the fame and power of Emperor Aśoka was world-wide The king of Ceylon sought the friendship of the great emperor and sent an embassy to him bearing costly presents and received many presents in return and the assurance of friendship with the message,

"*Aham Buddham ca Dhammam ca Sanghañ ca saranamgato upāsakattam vedesim Sākyaputtassa sāsane,*
tvam p' imāni ratanāni uttamāni naruttama
cittam pasādayitvāna saddhāya-saranam bhaja'

"I have taken refuge in the Buddha his Teachings and his Order of disciples I have become a follower of the Teachings of the Son of the Śākyas ruler of men imbuing thy mind with the conviction of the truth of these three Supreme Blessings with unfeigned faith do thou also take refuge in this Salvation"

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"We are the disciples of the Lord of the Dhamma (true faith)
In compassion towards thee, Mahārāja,
We have repaired hither from Jambudvīpa"

The thera preached to the king and his attendants from the words of the Buddha in the Cūlahatthipadopama Sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya the parable of the elephant's foot prints, the lesson of which is thus stated:—

"Even so, brahmin, there arises in the world here a Truth-finder, Arahat all-enlightened, walking by knowledge, blessed, understanding all worlds, the matchless tamer of the human heart, teacher of gods and men, the Lord of Enlightenment This universe—with its gods, Māras, Brahmās, recluses and brahmins, embracing all gods and mankind,—all this he has discerned and realized for himself, and makes known to others He preaches his Doctrine, which is so fair in its outset, its middle, and its close, with both text and import, he propounds a higher life that is wholly complete and pure This Doctrine is heard by the head of a house or his son or by one of other birth who hearing it puts his trust in a Truth finder, and in this trust bethinks him that—A hole and corner life is all a home can give, whereas Pilgrimage is in the open, it is hard for a home keeping man to live the higher life in all its full completeness and full purity and perfection, what if I were to cut off hair and beard don the yellow robes, and go forth from home to homelessness as a Pilgrim? Later, parting from his substance, be it small or great, parting too from the circle of his kinsfolk be they few or many, he cuts off hair and beard, dons the yellow robes, and goes forth from home to homelessness as a Pilgrim"

"A Pilgrim now, schooled in the Almsmen's precepts and

10. ARRIVAL OF MAHINDA MAHĀ THERA

This was considered to be an auspicious time for the mission of Thera Mahinda, for the king of Laṅkā having already received the favour and friendship and patronage of the great emperor and his message regarding the virtue of accepting the teachings of the Buddha, was in a fit state to receive those teachings at the hands of Mahinda. Thus on the full moon day of Jeṭṭha (June) Thera Mahā Mahinda together with the four other theras as well as sumana Sāmaṇera (son of Saṅghamittā, his sister) and Bhaṇḍu the son of the queen's younger sister's daughter who became a lay disciple, arrived at Missoka Hill (Mihintale) near Anurādhapura in the year 236 B. E. (307 B.C.).

11. THE FIRST SERMON OF THERA MAHINDA

The first meeting of the king of Laṅkā and the Thera Mahinda is graphically described in the Chronicles of Ceylon. The full moon day of Jeṭṭha was a day of national festival in Laṅkā. Men and women were engaged in amusing themselves. The king with a large party of followers went to Mihintale hills on a hunting expedition. There he saw the theras with shaven heads dressed in yellow robes, of dignified mien and distinguished appearance who faced him and addressed him not as ordinary men addressing a king but as those to whom a king was their inferior. The conversation impressed the king and his immediate surrender to the wisdom and piety displayed by the thera was complete. Mahinda Thera in reply to the king's inquiry as to who they were and whence they had come, said :—

"Samaṇā mayaṁ Mahārāja Dhammarājassa sāvakā
taveva anukampāya Jambudīpā idhāgatā."

or meat,—women or girls,—bondwomen or bondmen —sheep or goats,—fowls or swine,—elephants or cattle or horses or mares,—fields or lands He refrains from the practice of sending or going on messages He neither buys nor sells He never cheats with weights, coins, or measures He takes no part in bribery, cozening, cheating, or other crooked ways He never joins in wounding, murdering, and manacling or in highway robbery, brigandage and fraud Contented is he with whatever robes are given him as clothing, and with whatever alms are given for his belly's needs Wheresoever he goes, he takes all his belongings with him Just as a winged bird, wheresoever it goes, carries with it its feathers and all,—so, wheresoever he goes, he takes all his belongings with him

"A master of this noble code of virtue, he enjoys unsullied well being within —When with his eye he sees a visible shape, he is not absorbed by either its general appearance or its details, but, since the eye uncontrolled might lead to covetousness and discontent, to evil and wrong states of mind, he schools himself to control it to keep watch and ward over it, and to establish control And he does the like with his five other faculties of sense

"A master of this noble control over his faculties, he enjoys unalloyed well being within Purposeful is he in all his doings, whether in coming in or going out, in looking ahead or around in stretching out his arm or in drawing it back in wearing his clothes or carrying his bowl in eating or drinking in chewing or savouring food in attending to the calls of nature, in walking or standing or sitting, in sleeping or waking, in

way of life, he puts from him all killing and abstains from killing anything. Laying aside cudgel and sword, he lives a life of innocence and mercy, full of kindliness and compassion for everything that lives. Theft he puts from him and eschews; taking only what is given to him by others, and waiting till it is given, he lives an honest and clean life. Putting from him all that does not belong to the higher life, he leads the higher life in virtue, abstaining from low sensuality. Putting from him and abstaining from all lying, he speaks the truth, cleaves to the truth, and is staunch, never deceiving the world with his lips. Calumny he puts from him and eschews, not repeating elsewhere to the harm of people here what he hears there, nor repeating here to the harm of people elsewhere what he hears elsewhere; thus he heals divisions and cements friendship, seeking peace and ensuing it; for in peace is his delight and his words are ever the words of a peacemaker. Reviling he puts from him, and abstains from reviling people; his words are without gall, pleasant, friendly, going home to the heart, courteous, agreeable and welcome to all. Tattle he puts from him and abstains therefrom, he speaks, in season and according to the facts, words of help concerning the Doctrine and the Rule, words to be stored in the heart, words duly illustrated, fraught with purpose, and pithy. He sedulously avoids hurting the seeds or plants of a village. He takes but one meal a day, never eating at night or after hours. He refrains from looking on at shows of dancing, singing and music. He eschews all use and employment of smart garlands, scents and perfumes. He sleeps on no tall or broad beds. He refuses to accept gold or coins of silver,—uncooked grain

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speech or in silence,—he is always purposeful in all he does

"A master of this noble code of virtue, a master of this noble code of control of his faculties of sense, and a master of noble mindfulness and purpose in all he does he resorts to a lonely lodging,—in the forest under a tree in the wilds in cave or grot, in a charnel ground, in a thicket or on bracken in the open After his meal, when he is back from his round for alms, he seats himself cross legged and with body erect, with his heart set on mindfulness His life is purged (i) of appetite for things of the world for he has put from him all appetite therefor,—(ii) of all spiteful thoughts, for he is filled only with loving-kindness and compassion for all that lives, —(iii) of all torpor, for all torpor has left him, driven out by clarity of vision, by mindfulness, and by purpose in all he does,—(iv) of all flurry and worry, for he is serene, and his heart within is at peace and quit of all worries;—and (v) of all doubts, for his life is unclouded by doubt, he is troubled by no questionings, right states of mind have purged his heart of all doubting When he has put from him these Five Hindrances, those defilements of the heart which weaken a man's insight, then, divested of pleasures of sense and divested of wrong states of consciousness, he enters on and abides in, the First Ecstacy with all its zest and satisfaction, a state bred of inward aloofness but not divorced from observation and reflection

"This, brahmin is known as the Truth finder's foot print, the Truth finder's track, the Truth finder's slash

"But it is not yet that the disciple of the Noble concludes that the Lord is all enlightened, that he has well and truly

revealed his Doctrine and that his Confraternity walks aright

'Nor does he so conclude as he successively attains to the three other Ecstasies—each of which is called the Truth finder's footprint the Truth finder's track the Truth finder's slash

With heart thus steadfast diverse existences of the past in all their details and features This too is called the Truth finder's footprint the Truth finder's track the Truth finder's slash But not yet does he conclude that the Lord is all enlightened that he has well and truly revealed his Doctrine and that his Confraternity walks aright

'That same steadfast heart he now applies appeared after death in states of bliss and in heaven This too is called the Truth finder's footprint walks aright

That same steadfast heart he next applies to the knowledge of the eradication of the Cankers course that leads to their cessation This too is called walks aright

When he knows this and sees this his heart is delivered from the Canker of sensuous pleasure from the Canker of continuing existence and from the Canker of ignorance and to him thus delivered comes the knowledge of his Deliverance in the conviction—Rebirth is no more I have lived the highest life my task is done and now for me there is no more of what I have been

This is known as the Truth finder's footprint the Truth finder's track the Truth finder's slash And now at last the disciple of the Noble concludes that the Lord is all enlightened that he has well and truly revealed his Doctrine and that his Confraternity walks aright

rose to ecstacy on hearing the new message and thus the Law of the Blessed One got itself firmly established Lands and buildings were dedicated to the cause of the new religion Artistic buildings arose on every side thousands joined the order of the disciples the land obtained a new breath that carried the people with it like a storm

13 SAMGHAMITTĀ THERĪ AND WOMEN DISCIPLES

The women headed by Queen Anulā desired to enter the order of disciples and thus it came about that emissaries headed by the king s nephew Aritha were sent to Emperor Asoka to obtain the help of female disciples to enable the women of Lankā to obtain ordination

Princess Samghamitta the sister of Mahinda Thera who had entered the order and had received ordination was sent out to Lankā at the request of the king and the people and on the recommendation of Mahinda Thera

The message sent by Thera Mahinda to Emperor Asoka pleased him very much for in it he realized that the mission to Lanka had been eminently successful and the king and the people of Lanka had accepted the new doctrine with enthusiasm

14 ARRIVAL OF THE SACRED PO-TREE

Emperor Asok decided on sending a token of the Great and Enlightened One to the land of Lanlā and prepared a branch of the *Bodhi Tree under which the Lord attained* Enlightenment He planted the branch in a golden vessel and when it had taken root conveyed it to the ship himself carrying the branch of the tree on his head and deposited

it in the ship He also sent a large number of attendants to accompany the tree, the Chronicles mention that these were selected from the Brahmins, nobles and householders and consisted of 64 families Princess Samghamittā Therī and her attendants embarked on the same ship as well as the ambassadors and messengers who came from Lankā The ship sailed from Tāmraliptı and arrived at the port of Lankā in seven days The port was known as Jambukolapatuna situated in the north of the island The king of Lankā on hearing of the arrival of the ship had the road from Jambukola to the capital city of Anurādhapura gaily decorated He arrived in state and himself took charge of the Bodhi Tree This tree was planted in the Mahāmegha garden of Anurādhapura with great festivities and tended with honour and care and up to this date it flourishes the object of veneration and worship by millions of Buddhists of the present day

Therī Samghamittā on her arrival took charge of her duties and Queen Anulā and thousands of women of Lankā were admitted to the order and the order of female disciples was founded in Lanka from that date

15 THE FIRM ESTABLISHMENT OF SĀSANA

It is said that on one occasion King Devānampiya tissa inquired from the Thera Mahinda whether the Sasana or the religion of the Buddha was well established in the island The Thera s reply was that so far as the Sāsana was concerned it was well established but not firmly established, for he said, "King until one who is born in this land to parents who were born here the order and learns

the Vinaya (rules of the order of disciples) and teaches it to others, the Sāsana will not be firmly established."

Thera Ariṭṭha, nephew of the king, had by this time become noted for his piety and his learning and on an appointed day, at a specially constructed preaching hall, in the presence of numerous theras and bhikkhus and the king and the chiefs, Thera Ariṭṭha was invited to a discourse on the Vinaya in the presence of Thera Mahā Mahinda. And his exposition was so correct and pleasing that there were great rejoicings as the condition required for the firm establishment of the Sāsana was fulfilled by him.

16. PROGRESS OF BUDDHISM IN LAṄKĀ

The progress of Buddhism in Laṅkā from this time was very rapid. Tens of thousands of men and women joined the order of disciples. The Dhamma was studied with great diligence. The people became enthusiastic followers of the new religion. Places of worship were built all over the island. Houses for the bhikkhus were provided wherever required. The bhikkhus received lavish support from the laity.

17. THE PASSING AWAY OF THERA MAHINDA AND THERI SAṂGHAMITTĀ

Thera Mahinda lived to the age of 80 years and Therī Saṅghamittā to the age of 79 years. They spent nearly 48 years in the island. The former died in the eighth year of the reign of King Uttiya and the latter in the ninth year of the king's reign. Uttiya himself died in the following year 286 B.E. (257 B.C.).

these pillars are still seen at Anurādhapura These activities continued for the next 68 years

About the end of the period for about 15 years foreign usurpers occupied Anuradhapura King Vattagamāni Abhaya re occupied the throne after overthrowing the usurpers

19 SOCIAL AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT DUE TO BUDDHISM

It is well to find out the social and cultural development of the Sinhalese during the two centuries following their acceptance of the Buddhist religion We have many incidents and stories in Sinhalese Chronicles from which a definite idea regarding these conditions can be inferred For instance *Rasavahini* a Pali work composed in the thirteenth century of the Christian era has collected over a hundred stories of the life of the people during this early period According to these stories among the Sinhalese there does not appear to have been any castes or divisions Brahmins are mentioned as living apart in their own villages and were more or less counted as foreign to the Sinhalese The members of the royal families were held in a class by themselves and those of such families who aspired to the kingdom had to marry a member of a royal family or at least from a Brahmin family The rest of the people were grhapatis (those having settled abodes) The Candalas (despised) were those without a fixed abode they were despised on account of being tramps and vagrants with no fixed residence In some cases the word Candala was used in a self depre catory manner in order to indicate unworthiness [illegible] nce of Prince Sali son of King Dutthagā

The hierarchy of the disciples was continued in pupilary succession There Ariṭṭha succeeded Mahinda Thera, he was in turn succeeded by Tissadatta, Kālasumana, Dighanāma and Dīghasumana

18 INVASIONS OF TAMILS AND RESTORATION OF SĀSANA BY KING DUTTHAGĀMANĪ

Twenty years after the death of Uttiya foreign usurpers seized the capital city of Anurādhapura and for seventy six years they occupied it

However this usurpation evidently did not affect the progress of Buddhism, for the people held strongly to their new religion King Dutthagāmanī the great hero eventually vanquished the usurper and regained Anurādhapura in 38 B E (161 B C)

The set back to national aspirations during the Tamil usurpation of seventy-six years found the people more enthusiastic in their activities after their victories New religious buildings were planned and completed Ratanamāla caitya the greatest Buddhist monument that was ever built by the Buddhists where the artistic skill of the people of Ceylon and their building knowledge were brought together, showed the immense resources of wealth during this period This caitya was built in addition to hundreds of other religious buildings The great nine storied palace for the members of the Buddhist order known as the Brazen Palace on account of its shining metal roof was planned and completed during this time The building was erected on a foundation buttressed by 1 600 stone pillars The ruins of

these pillars are still seen at Anurādhapura These activities continued for the next 68 years

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manī, who fell in love with a village artisan's daughter, Devi (Aśokamālā) She in addressing the prince said that she was a Candālī as she did not belong to a family into which a member of the royal family was allowed to marry The two divisions of people merely appear to be those who had a fixed abode and those who had no fixed abode There was at this time no special division for trades or occupations, for a householder or members of a family were, in general, expected to engage themselves in one of the three occupations, *viz* — as traders, as artisans or as cultivators

Prince Dīghābhaya when appointed as Governor of Kasatota required attendants and asked each chief family of a village to send one of its sons for service and sent a messenger to Sangha, the chief of the village The Chief called together his seven sons The eldest six asked him to send the youngest to the king's service as he was idling his time at home without engaging in any work "We six are engaged in such occupations as trade industries and cultivation and work hard at our occupations" Again in another story, the father, a chief of a village, addressing his daughter regarding her husband tells her that her husband was living in idleness, and like her brothers should engage himself in an occupation such as cultivation, industry and commerce Thus it appears all trades were common the same family engaged in work as artisans, tradesmen and cultivators without any distinction

The religion of the Sinhalese during this period is purely and entirely Buddhist and the stories indicate much practical activity in religious affairs, both in endowment and maintenance of religious institutions and the practice of relig

iples. The orders of Bhikkhus and Bhikkhuṇīs shed during the period; a very large number of men and n entered the religious orders. Some of the vihāras had thousands residing in them. There were also large numbers who were practising meditation in forest and rock caves. They were well supported by the laity. There were four classes of disciples :—the Novices (Sāmaṇera), Bhikkhus (fully ordained), Sthavira (Elders), Mahā Sthavira (Chief Elders). There are no Saṅgharājas mentioned in any of the stories and no interference by kings or ministers in appointments or of giving ranks to the members of the Order, or of giving them power over others. The affairs of the Saṅgha were managed by themselves under well-established rules of the Vinaya. There appears to have been large numbers of disciples who had attained to the state of Rahats, (arahats) *i.e.*, those who had gained emancipation. In addition practically every man or woman was an upāsaka or upāsikā, devotee who regularly performed his religious duties. The Bhikkhus lived in their vihāras during the rainy season and at other seasons travelled far and wide in the country, visiting villages, other vihāras, and as pilgrims worshipping at shrines. Both laymen and Bhikkhus are frequently mentioned as going on pilgrimages to Gayā in India to worship at the Sacred Bodhi-Tree there. These parties of pilgrims sometimes crossed over to Southern India and walked all the way to Gayā, taking about six months on the journey, sometimes they go by sea and land at Tāmraliptī at the mouth of the Ganges and reach Gayā in half the time. The Bhikkhus learnt the Dhamma and most of them had practised it committing Piṭakas to memory and preserving the tradition by

continual repetitions The Bhikkhus were the instructors of the people This was practically a duty The Dharma was expounded individually on every occasion and preach ings to congregations were also held from time to time There is the mention of the periodical expounding of the Dhamma at a temple Each temple in a district sometimes took a turn once a year to preach Āryavamsa Sūtra which was continued each time for seven days the gatherings on these occasions appear to be very large as in instances mentioned it is said that the crowds were so great that large numbers usually had to stand outside the hall for the whole night and listen to the Dharma the audience included Bhikkhus and the laity both men and women There is also mention of discourses by lay preachers well versed in the Dhamma employed by the king at halls of preaching

It is not clearly stated whether Brahmans who lived in Brahman villages practised their own religion Mention is made of Sannyasis or Yogis who practised asceticism and sometimes lived in cemeteries scantily clad with bodies covered with ashes and as the story says pretending to be saints while at the same time they led sinful lives There is no mention of Brahman temples or places of worship

Women have held a very high status in society during this period Practically in every society the position of women shows no distinction from that of men They freely take part in every activity of life and their influence is well marked Their character is depicted in most favour able terms gentle courteous and good natured hospitable tender and intelligent ever ready to help others to preserve the honour of their families devoted to religion and country

with untrammelled freedom of action The position of women is further seen from the fact that monogamy was a definite institution There is no mention of any other form of marriage Women had freedom in choosing their husbands Sumanā, the pious lady of Anurādhapura, fell in love with a visitor, a stranger from Rohana, and married him without any consultation with her people Two girl who were bathing in a river, saw a floating plank and they decided that one who saw the plank first should have it and the other should have anything that was on the plank It happened that a young man Tissa had floated down on the plank One of the girls tore a piece of her cloth and threw it to him and he was taken ashore thus dressed and taken to her parents' house The parents consented to marry the girl to him Prince Sāli, son of King Dutthagāmani, fell in love with the village maiden Devī, afterwards known as Asoka mālā, when she was plucking flowers and after inquiring from her and finding out that she was not a married woman, married her Sanghadatta, the minister of the king, when he was resting at a pavilion on the embankment of Tissavāpi saw a maiden who was travelling in the company of her six brothers, he sent one of his attendants to inquire from her whether she was a married woman and finding that she was single, proposed marriage to her and on her accepting, the brothers approved of her marriage to the minister In every society where women and marriage were concerned there were certain customs that were apparent In the first place a suitor invariably inquired from a woman whether she was married or unmarried, if unmarried, the woman s consent to marriage was sought from her direct and the parents and relatives

stated in the early Chronicles, that after the acceptance of Buddhism by the people in Lankā and after the formation of a hierarchy of disciples who were Sinhalese, a council was held under Mahinda Thera where all the leading theras were present and the teachings were recited, and authoritatively laid down as was done in the third convocation held in India under the direction of Emperor Aśoka Theravāda was thus fixed in Ceylon and according to tradition and custom the various parts of the Pitaka were learnt by the members of the Order and committed to memory and were preserved as oral traditions It was during a famine that broke out shortly before the accession of King Walagambāhu that a great strain was put on the continuance of this form of preserving the teachings of the Pitaka Bhikkhus and theras on the verge of starvation and death assembled at various spots and continued under great difficulties to repeat the teachings in order to preserve them from being lost When conditions became normal, the members of the Order considered the question of the possibility of losing the teachings if any similar calamity or calamities were to occur in the future and they decided that the time had arrived for committing these teachings into writing so that they might be preserved for future generations The advent of schisms about this time might also have weighed strongly in favour of this decision Thus the members of the Order assembled at Mahāvihāra at Anurādhapura and took counsel together and with the permission and encouragement of the king a convocation was held where the teachings were recited and scribes were engaged to commit into writing the teachings

agreed to the marriage without demur. Once married, they set up a separate house and did not live with the parents of either. Women were as educated as men: they, too, learned the various arts and sciences, they attended to religious worship and heard the Dhamma freely without any restriction. Among other accomplishments the art of cookery was held in high repute and every girl from that of princess to a commoner was taught this art. The housewife or the daughter received guests and entertained them; the food was served to the guests by them personally. The milking of cows and the preparation of ghee were always in the hands of the women of the household. Women took part in outdoor occupations. They were good riders where horses were kept, and were good swimmers.

29 VATTAGĀMANI ABHAYA

Two very important events took place in the reign of King Walagam Bāhu otherwise known as Vaṭṭagāmanī Abhaya This king first ascended the throne fifteen years earlier but was overpowered by Tamil invaders who occupied Anurādhapura for about 15 years The time preceding this period was one of both economic and political difficulties, a long drought had affected the food supply of the country and the people had been reduced to great privation. However these conditions disappeared rapidly and in 454 B E. (89 B.C) when he regained the kingdom, normal conditions prevailed.

The two important events about this time which concerned the Buddhist religion, were first the introduction for the first time a schism in the Buddhist Churc
committing of the Buddhist teachings in

I WRITING OF SACRED BOOKS

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which included the Pāli Pitakas Vinaya Sūtra and Abhidhamma and the Sinhalese commentaries Some of the Chronicles state that after the convocation at Mahāvihāra at Anurādhapura the selected number of reciters and scribes 500 in all, repaired to Alulena cave temple close to Matale, where in retirement they completed the work assigned to them and thus for the first time brought out in book form the Teachings of the Buddha In the words of the *Nikaya Samgraha*

'At that time 500 Rahats who assembled at Alulena in the country of Matale under the patronage of a certain chief recited and reduced to writing the text of the three Pitakas beginning with the Buddhas In many a birth of being which he attends in his felicity while seated on the Vajrā throne at the root of the Bo tree on the day he scattered the hosts of Māra and attained Buddhahood and ending with the last words, Oh Bhikkhus since all things are impermanent be diligent' spoken by him at his final emancipation All that he preached in this interval of forty five years to Devas, Brahmās Nāgas Suparnas men Yaksas Rāksasas Siddhas and Vidyādharas for their edification the same in the number of letters words granthas and bhānavāras leaving nothing adding nothing free from all heresy upheld by the three convocations of monks pure as a stream of the heavenly river free as a crystal from all impurities comforting the whole world like a great shower of nectar great straight path to the threefold knowledge and the means for the attainment of all happiness desired by men the same which had been brought down orally in succession of the great Monks'

2) SCHISM AMONG THE VAITULYA BHIKKHUS

The first schism that occurred in the church in Ceylon was due to an incident that occurred in connection with the discipline of the community The king had built a new monastery or vihāra known as Abhayagiri outside the boundaries of the Mahāvihāra Simā on a spot where a Nigantha named Giri had established himself, who was a foreigner and who had mocked at the king while he was flying from his enemies The king on his return drove the Nigantha and on the spot built the Abhayagiri Vihāra which he presented to a bhikkhu named Tissa, a descendant of the royal family Tissa lived a dissolute life and the bhikkhus of Mahāvihāra assembled and inquired into the charges against Tissa and decided to expel him for misconduct They were obstructed by one of the pupils of Tissa who too was expelled from the Order This Mahadelya Tissa burning with resentment left with about five hundred monks and breaking from Theriya Nikāya went and lived at Abhayagiri Vihāra During this time disciples of Dharmaruci Acārya of Vajjiputta Nikāya found their way to Ceylon from Pallārāma of Dambadiva and the recalcitrant bhikkhus of Abhayagiri accepted their doctrine and formed a new Nikāya under the name of Dharmaruci

They remained a separate Nikāya from that time as a rival to the Mahāvihāra and adopted the Vaitulya Pitaka and proclaimed it to be the preaching of the Buddha Two hundred years after in 752 B E (209 A C) King Vijayabahu Tissa had these Vaitulya books examined by one of his learned ministers and on his report he suppressed the Vaitulya books About fifty years later Vaitulya doctrines

were revived and the Abhayagiri Nikāya became active in its propaganda At this time a number of its adherents separated and founded a new sect known as Sagaliya in 793 B E (252 A C) The king at this time Gothabhaya having assembled the Bhikkhus of the five great monasteries of the Theriya Nikāya (Mahāvihāra Nikāya) and getting the Vaitulya books examined got the books destroyed and expelled the Vaitulya monks Sixty of these left for the Soli country of India The struggle did not end here for the adherents of the new doctrines were firmly established in South India and they planned to undermine the Mahāvihāra Nikāya in Ceylon With this object a very learned monk by name of Sanghamitra came to Ceylon and obtained the post of tutor to the king's two sons Sanghamitra gained considerable influence over the younger pupil, Mahāsena and was able to instil into him the new doctrine and make him a follower of his views When Mahāsena ascended the throne, the opportunity looked forward to by the Vaitulyans came The new king became a great supporter of his tutor and as such persecuted the Mahāvihāra monks, he dispossessed the Mahāvihāra and destroyed their monasteries for a time the star of the new sect was in the ascendant At this time came a woman's influence on the side of the established church The queen became active in its cause The lady who was chief queen of this king and a daughter of the royal Lemeni race at whose instance the Thupārāma was being rebuilt got an artizan to decapitate the monk Sanghamitra and having impaled his body she sent for and burnt the Vaitulya books" There was much disturbance in the country, the persecution of the Mahā

vihāra Nikāya was counteracted and the influence of Abhayagiri Nikāya gradually disappeared though attempts were made by the latter from time to time to assert themselves until in about 1107 B E (564 A C) a great monk and teacher named Jotipāla coming from Dambadiva so exposed the fallacies of the Vaitulya doctrine that in his day they fell into disrepute and died off After the death of King Agrabodhi 1141 B E (598 A.C) the monk of the two Nakas (i e., Dona Naka and Bagiri Naka otherwise Dona Vihāra and Abhayagiri Vihāra the seats of the two Vaitulya fraternities) dismissed pride and lived in submission to the monks of the Mahāvihāra

Intercourse with India was so frequent that from time to time other non-orthodox doctrines occasionally found favour with certain monks, but these had no marked effect on the general progress or the stability of the Mahā Nikāya

21 VAJRAPARVATA NIKĀYA

It is mentioned that in 1362 B E (819 A C) an ascetic of the Vajraparvata Nikāya clad in the robes of a Buddhist monk came to Ceylon from Dambadiva and converted the then King Matvalasena into his secret doctrine 'It was at this time that Ratnakuta teachings, etc , were introduced into Lankā " To-day there are no books of Vaitulya Pitaka or those used by the Vajraparvata Nikāya found anywhere in Ceylon We, however, find charms couched more or less similar to those found in Mahāyāna texts used in ceremonies connected with the exercising of evil spirits and the practice of magic prevalent in the island

During the archæological survey of Anurādhapura thirteen

copper plaques were discovered in the earth and debris of the Dagoba mound at Vijayārāma Monastery with inscriptions they are attributed to the seventh to ninth century A C The language in the plates is a base Sanskrit interlarded with mystic invocations They prove the presence in Ceylon at the period of adherents of Mahāyāna School of Buddhism Three of these are given below as indicating the above description

* No 8 *Kilikī dhiri dhiri huru huru Vairocana garbha sañcita gastharyakasa garbha mahākarunika*

No 9 *Huru huru vairocana garbha sañcita gastharya kasa garbha mahākarunika ha*

No 13 *Om tare tuntare ture svaha*

24 BUDDHIST RELICS THE BODHI TREE

There are two highly venerated Buddhist relics in Ceylon around which the Buddhists of the island have rallied both in veneration and historical pride The first is the Bo tree at Anurādhapura whose introduction has already been dealt with The tree is in existence to day at Anurādhapura and to its worship are attracted millions of Buddhists in the island who make regular pilgrimages During the annual chief festival on the full moon day of the month of June to-day with the facilities of the Railway and Motor bus services nearly a lac of pilgrims attend Mr Leisching, the Agent of Government, writing in 1870 describes as follows the pilgrimage at that time when there were no Railways or other facilities for travelling —

'There is annually a gathering from all parts of the

* Archæological Survey Ceylon Sessional Papers, 1896 p 17

island at Anurādhapura to visit what are called the sacred places I suppose more than 20,000 people come here, remain for a few days and then leave . As the height of the festival approaches the place becomes instinct with life These 20,000 people from various parts come and go without a single policeman being here and as the Magistrate of the District, I can only say that anything to surpass their decorum and sobriety of conduct it is impossible to conceive. Such a thing as a row is unheard of'

"The planting of the sacred Bo-tree invested the city of Anurādhapura with a sacred character, without which its site would probably have now become forgotten"

2. THE SACRED TOOTH RELIC

The second important event is the arrival of Buddha's Tooth from India about 805 B E (262 A C) during the time of King Kitsiri Meghavanna Ever since the Sacred Tooth Relic was received in Ceylon it has become a national treasure of great value and a tangible token of the attachment of the Sinhalese to the doctrines of the Blessed Tathāgata To-day it is enshrined in golden caskets in the Temple of Tooth Relic in Kandy which has become the centre of devout pilgrims from all over the island and from Buddhist lands elsewhere Ancient customs and ceremonies are scrupulously kept up offerings are made daily and in honour of the Relic *an annual festival lasting for fourteen days is held in* Kandy every year during August The procession on these occasions is conducted by tens of thousands of devotees, with elephants lights and music and dancers Chiefs in full ancient attire accompany the procession Large tracts of land have been

set apart as fees for services at this temple and the tenant of these lands have various services apportioned to them The exhibition of Sacred Relic itself takes place at various intervals when tens of thousands of pilgrims find their way to the Temple to worship and view the Relic

The Tooth Relic was in the possession of King Guhasiva of Kalinga who when he was about to be defeated in battle entrusted it to his daughter Hemamālā Hemamālā with her husband Dantakumāra brought over the Sacred Tooth to Lankā and handed it over to King Sirimeghavanna at Anurādhapura From this date the Tooth Relic became the care of the kings of Lankā who built special temples for it and during the many vicissitudes of the fortunes of the kings of Lankā the Sacred Relic was conveyed from place to place where the fortunes of the kings happened to be Copies of the Sacred Tooth Relic were made at various times About the year 1614 B E (1071 A C) King Anawarathna of Burma sent various presents to the king of Ceylon and in return received a duplicate of the Tooth Relic which he received with great veneration and a shrine was built for it in Burma

The Portuguese in one of their expeditions to Ceylon claim to have captured the Tooth Relic at Jaffna in the year 2103 B E (1560 A C) Jaffna was an outlying port away from the strongholds of Sinhalese kings and the relic said to have been found by the Portuguese in a temple at Jaffna appears to be one of the several duplicates which had been made at various times On this question Prof Rhys Davids wrote in the Academy of September 1874 —"Jaffna is an outlying and unimportant part of the Ceylon kingdom not

often under the power of the Sinhalese monarchs, and for some time before this it had been ruled by a petty chieftain, there is no mention of the Tooth brought by Dantakumāra having been taken there—an event so unlikely and of such importance that it would certainly have been mentioned, had it really occurred We have every reason to believe therefore that the very Tooth referred to in the Dāthāvamsa is preserved to this day in Kandy "

In 2358 B E (1815 A C) the British occupied Kandy As usual the Tooth Relic had been taken to the mountains for security and one of the earliest tasks of the Agent of the British Government in the Kandyan Provinces was to arrange for the bringing back of the Relic with due ceremony. The houses and streets of Kandy were decorated the surface of the streets whitened, the Relic was brought in a magnificent procession The British Agent was presented by the Governor an offering of a musical clock which gift was much appreciated The Tooth Relic continued to be in the custody of the British Government till 2396 B E (1853 A C) when by order of the Secretary of State for the Colonies the charge was given over to the Diyawadana Nilame and the chief monks of Malwatte and Asgiriya monasteries

The attachment of the Sinhalese to the Tooth Relic can be well understood from the following passages in the Mahavamsa which give the order of King Parākrama Bāhu the Great to his victorious Generals —

'It has come to our knowledge that our enemies have been defeated in the field of battle have now taken to flight in great terror carrying with them the Sacred Bowl, and Tooth Relics and are even now about to cross over to the other side

of the sea If peradventure such a thing should happen, then would this island of Lankā be shorn of all its glory. For although the island of Sihala contaneth gems of diverse kinds and of great price such as precious stones and pearls and the like, yet the sacred relics of the Bowl and the Tooth of the Lord of the Doctrine are the only two gems that cannot be compared, and all the endeavours that I have continually made by the great treasures that I have spent in gathering together multitudes of strong men with their armour and weapons, so that I may restore peace and security to this island of Lankā will then be of no avail And though my head is adorned with a crown sparkling with the rays of diverse gems, yet it is hallowed only by the union therewith of the holy touch of the Sacred Tooth and Bowl relics. Array therefore yourselves under one chief with all your men and material and swerve not one jot or one trottle from my instructions, but go forth and conquer the enemy and send unto me straightway the glorious Tooth Relic and the Sacred Bowl"

In 2361 B E (1818 A C) there was a rebellion in the Kandyan Provinces and the Tooth Relic was taken away from Kandy and hidden in a forest After the suppression of the rebellion the British were able to find the Tooth Relic and bring it back to Kandy The people said, "Now the English are indeed masters of the country, for they who possess this Relic have a right to govern four kingdoms, this is the first time the Relic was ever taken from us"

96. BUDDHAGHOSA MAHĀ THERA AND THE COMPILATION OF PĀLI ATTHAKATHĀ

The compilation of the Pāli Atthakathā (commentaries) by Buddhaghosa Mahā Thera is another event in the annals of Ceylon which marks the progress of Buddhism As has already been stated the Pitakas or the teachings of the Buddha which were being handed down orally, were committed to writing in 454 B F (89 B C) and the commentaries on these composed in Sinhalese were also committed to writing at this time Since this period much in the way of explanatory works in Sinhalese were added from time to time and during the next five hundred year literary activity progressed considerably and about 970 B E (427 A C) when King Mahānāma reigned at Anurādhapura the fame of Buddhist literature in Ceylon was well recognized throughout India and tradition mentions Sinhalese Buddhist monks visiting India China and other countries and introducing the literature produced in Ceylon Monks from India and China also visited Anuradhapura during the time to procure Buddhist books It was about this time that Buddhaghosa Mahā Thera came to Ceylon His story is given in detail both in the Mahavamsa and Sinhalese works composed at later dates Buddhaghosa was a Brahman youth who was born in the vicinity of Buddha Gaya and became well known as an exponent of Veda and philosophy He was such a proficient scholar that at his young age he was able to assert his knowledge among the great scholars of the time He travelled from place to place from one seat of learning to another from one set of teachers to another, triumphantly asserting his knowledge and scholarship At a well known

Buddhist monastery at Tamluk he met Mahā Thera Revata one well versed in the doctrines and philosophy of Buddhism There he entered into discussions and found not a peer but one superior to him in knowledge and understanding This made him join the Order of Buddhist monks as a pupil of Mahā Thera Revata At this vihāra he studied Buddhist philosophy diligently and produced a treatise on Buddhism Ñānodaya, and planned to compose commentaries on Abhidhamma and the Suttas His teacher at this stage advised him to go to Anurādhapura before undertaking the work, as he said that in Lankā men preserved not only the Three Pitakas the teachings of the Buddha himself, but there was a literature of Sinhalese commentaries and various expositions of the teachings which were very valuable and of high repute Buddhaghosa Mahā Thera proceeded to Ceylon and made his stay at Mahāpadāna Parivena and asked the monks at Anurādhapura for access to books for the compilation of commentaries The learned theras at Anurādhapura tested his knowledge and ability by setting him a thesis on which he compiled the well known Visuddhimagga They were so pleased with this work that he was given facilities for his projected work and books were placed at his disposal for the preparation of Pāli commentaries

The principal Sinhalese commentaries existing at the time were the Mahā Atuvava, Maha Paccariya Atuvava and Kurundiya Atuvava Buddhaghosa Thera compiled the Samantapāsādikā, a commentary on the Vinaya Pitaka taking as his guide the Sinhalese Kurundiya Atuvava The Sinhalese Mahā Atuvava formed the basis of the commentaries on the Sutta Pitaka These commentaries are known

a Sumangalavilāsinī on the Dighe Nikāye, Papañcasūdanī on the Majjhime Nikāye, Sāratthapakāsinī on the Samyutta Nikāye, Manorathapūranī on the Anguttare Nikāye, and Saddhammajotike Dhammapade Atthakathā, Udāna Atthakathā Itivuttaka Sutta Nipāta Vimānavatthu, Petavatthu, Theragāthā Therīgāthā Jātaka Petakasmiddā Apadāne Buddhavamsa Netpavarum Atthakathās on the Khuddaka Nikāya. The Sinhalese Mahā Paccarie Atuvaye was used in the compilation of commentaries on the Abhidhamma Pitaka entitled Atthasālinī Sammohavinodanī and Paramatthadīpanī

From the time of the compilation of the Pāli commentaries by Mahā Thera Buddhaghosa Ceylon gained a further prestige as the centre of the Theravāda Buddhism and both the learning and the prestige of the Order of Disciplines increased and continued for about three hundred years

2. INVASIONS AND POLITICAL UNREST

After a time internal disruption in the government and the harassing invasions from the neighbouring country caused much disorganization of the institutions of the Sinhalese The seat of government was shifted from place to place Anurādhapura was practically abandoned in 1324 B E (781 A C) and Polonnaruva became the seat of kings for some time It is abundantly evident that Polonnaruva was more or less a place of refuge as till 1608 B E (1065 A C) there was a great unrest the seat of government being sometimes removed to Rohana in the south to Kotaragama and even Kalutara

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28 RESTORATION OF ORDINATION BY BHIKKHUS FROM ARAKAN

When King Vijayabāhu succeeded to the sovereignty of the island in 1609 B E (1065 A C) much of the internal troubles had disappeared This king set about placing the affairs of the country on an orderly footing He made Polonnaruva his capital city as by this time Anurādhapura as a city had been destroyed The Buddhist Church naturally had suffered much during these troublous times It was found difficult to get a chapter of ordained monks to continue the ordinations The king therefore sent an embassy with numerous presents to King Anuruddha of Arakan in Burma requesting him for monks to enable the restoration of ordination in Ceylon A number of learned theras came out to Laṅkā who were received with great honour and through them the ordination was restored. Thousands of Sinhalese joined the Order and the Sāsana was established again to the great joy and satisfaction of the people

29 REVIVAL OF BUDDHISM UNDER PARĀKRAMABĀHU THE GREAT AND THE ESTABLISHING OF ONE NIKĀYA

A hundred years after this period Parākramabāhu the Great came to the throne in 1707 B E (1164 A C) His genius and energy saved Laṅkā once again He was a great leader of men and was able to restore order in Ceylon and carry his prowess as a conqueror to foreign lands including Southern India and even far Cambodia He rebuilt the city of Polonnaruva, restored vihāras and monasteries, built new religious edifices whose ruins are still seen at Polonnaruva The king paid much attention to religion and as he found the monks divided into three sects Mahāvihāra Nikāya,

Abhayagiri Nikāya and the Vaitulya Nikāya among whom there were much dissension and controversy, his first task was to bring about unification of the contending sects and restoration of the power and influence of the orthodox Church, the Mahāvihāra Nikāya He assembled all the principal monks of the various Nikāyas and unified them

30 KATIKAVATA OR KING'S REGULATIONS FOR BHIKKHUS

At this time a code of regulations for the guidance of the Bhikkhus was proclaimed by the king This code and proclamation were known as Parākramabāhu Katikavata or Polonnaruva Katikavata Hitherto the internal discipline of the Order of Disciples was in the hands of the monks themselves, the kings acted when necessity arose and enforced the decrees of the monks The Katikavata introduced by King Parākramabāhu became a royal proclamation It gave a code of regulations that was to be observed by those who elected to be ordained and to remain as monks It had the added authority of secular law, bringing breaches of the regulations within the direct recognition of king's authority. The Katikavata or proclamation by the king did not in any way come in conflict with rules laid down in the Vinaya The king's proclamation gave directions for the proper observation of the Vinaya rules and dealt with the procedure that his subjects who desired to join the Order and who were actually in the Order should follow King Parākramabāhu's rescript laid down the procedure to be followed by candidates as lay pupils novices and subsequently as ordained bhikkhus

For the first time in the course of the growth of Buddhism,

the question of the selection of candidates has been laid down in this rescript The stage of candidature has to be spent among the members of the community, serving them, observing the practice of religion and the rules of conduct for a lay man During this period it becomes possible for the candidat to find out whether he has sufficient strength of character to enable him to keep the rules of the Order in the event of his joining it The members of the Order among whom he lives, are also able to judge as to his fitness and at the same time to train him and guide him to gain the strength of purpose necessary for a candidate to lead the life of a bhikkhu If either party find that the necessary strength of character is absent, the candidate can give up his quest or the community can refuse to admit him

There is a second stage when the candidate should join as a Sāmanera (novice) and follow a lesser code of regulations than is required from an ordained bhikkhu The Sāmanera becomes liable to correction if he knowingly destroys life if he takes things belonging to others without their permission or knowledge, if he does not live a chaste life if he utters falsehood or if he takes intoxicants If the Sāmanera persists in the breaches of these regulations he will be required to become a layman Further if he speaks ill of the Buddha of the Dhamma or of the Order if he embraces false doctrines, if he causes loss to the members of the Order if he is quarrel some and if he causes dissension among the members of the Order he will be considered unfit to receive ordination and will be compelled to give up his apprenticeship

A Sāmanera is also enjoined to observe a daily routine of training This training is laid down as follows —Rising

from bed before the break of day, attending to the work of the household, contemplation on one's duties attending regularly at the shrine for devotional purposes, attending to the begging round in the village with his almsbowl, taking food after bestowing it on others attending on the elder bhikkhus, study in accordance with the teachers' directions, listening to discourses by the Elders and getting explanations from them in regard to matters requiring explanations, meditation and sleep at 10 p m in the night

The third stage is when he receives ordination and for this purpose the following conditions have to be fulfilled *viz* —

The tutor has to present himself before a Chapter of Bhikkhus as a fit and proper person for admission to the Order and as one who has diligently carried out his obligations He has to be twenty years or over in age and has lived at least one year under the immediate supervision of his tutor he has learned the rules of the Order he has learned the main principles of the Dhamma he is earnest in his duties is obedient to his Elders he confesses his shortcomings he is satisfied with the mode of life as regards food dress and discipline he is not a servant of the State he is not one who has left the Order before he is not attached to his family or his race and he is in sound health When these conditions are fulfilled a person can be allowed to obtain ordination on his agreeing to spend at least the three following years under the immediate supervision of his Elders Hitherto a person presenting himself was able to enter the Order at the discretion of the members of the community in accordance with the rules of Vinaya King Parakrama Bahu finding that indiscriminate admission to the Order undermined the

discipline and status of the bhikkhus and tended to lower the dignity of the Order and its purity, made these new regulations which became a part of the law of the country

31 COMPILATION OF RELIGIOUS TREATISES

An account has already been given of the compilation of Sinhalese commentaries the committing of the Pāli Canon into writing and the compilation of commentaries by Buddhaghosa Mahā Thera

From the time of Buddhaghosa Mahā Thera up to the time of King Parākrama-Bāhu the Great 1707 B E (1164 A C) many works were composed in Pāli and Sinhalese

Among the works that did not come under canonical Pitakas or their commentaries was Visuddhimagga compiled by Buddhaghosa Mahā Thera and in the following years the Thera Dhammapāla compiled a tīkā or explanatory work on Visuddhimagga under the name of Sāratthamañjusā Anuruddha Thera compiled the Abhidhammattha Saṅgaha. The pupil of Sāriputta Thera compiled Abhidhammattha Vibhāvanī, Ānanda Thera compiled Saccasankhepa Thera Khema compiled Khemappakarana Thera Kaccāyana composed Dīpavattika and Vimalabuddhi Tikā Thera Buddharakkhita composed Jinālankāra, Medhankara Thera compiled Jinacarita, Mahābodhi Thera composed Saccasankhepa Vannanā and Paramattha Vinicchaya Vannanā The pupil of Sāriputta Thera composed Sārattha sālinī Kaccāyana Thera composed Netti pakaraṇa, Dhammapāla Thera compiled a commentary on Thera and Theri Gāthā under the title of Paramattha Tīkā, also Paramatthadipanī a commentary on Vimānavatthu and Petavatthu, Dhammasiri Thera com-

posed Khudda sikkhā Saṅgharakkhita Thera, Subodhā lankāravannodeya, Khudda sikkhā Tīkā and Sambuddha Vaṁsā, Buddhasīha Thera composed Vinaya-vinicchaya, Buddhanāga Thera, Kankhāvitaranī Tikā, Sāgaramati Thera, Vinayasangaha, and Buddhappiya Thera Rūpasiddhippakarana Other works composed during this period were Nāmarūpapariccheda, Paramattha vinicchaya, Pāli Bodhivaṁsa Mūlasikkhā, Khudda sikkhā, Sikha-valañda-vaṁsa and Heranasikavaṁsa

3. COMPILATION OF SUB COMMENTARIES

During the reign of Parākrama-Bāhu the Great a systematic compilation of sub commentaries took place under the guidance of Kāsyapa Thera The object of these compilations is given in the following words, "There are various explanatory works giving much information supplementary to the commentaries of Buddhaghosa Mahā Thera, compiled in Sinhalese, Pāli and in mixed language from time to time by various teachers, these should be systematised and the time had arrived for the compilation of sub commentaries on the works of Buddhaghosa Thera" A convocation was held and with the active support of the king the following works were compiled —Sāratthadīpani a sub commentary on the Samantapāsādikā a commentary on the Vinaya, a sub commentary on the Sumangalavilasini a commentary on the Dīgha Nikāya a sub commentary on the Papañcasūdanī a commentary on the Majjhima Nikāya a sub commentary on the Sīratthapakasinī a commentary on the Samyutta Nikaya a sub commentary on the Manorathapurani a commentary on the Anguttara Nikāya These four sub commentaries were named Sāratthamañjusā, first, second, third and fourth respectively

On each of the commentaries on the Abhidhamma Pitaka Atthasālinī, a commentary on the Dhammasangani, Sammohavinodanī, a commentary on the Vibhanga and Paramatthadīpanī, a commentary on the Dhātukathā Puggalapaññatti, Kathāvatthu, Yamaka, and Patthāna, sub-commentaries were compiled under the name of Paramatthamañjūsā The Convocation of about thousand bhikkhus under the leadership of Kāsyapa Thera completed these works in a year's time in 1750 B E (1207 A C)

33 BRINGING OF BHIKKHUS FROM CHOLA COUNTRY

After the death of Parākrama-Bāhu the Great there was trouble in the island through invasions and usurpers and consequent dissensions These dissensions affected the religious institutions of the country Within a hundred years the bhikkhus were again disorganized Kalikāla Sāhitya-Pandita Parākrama Bāhu who reigned at Dambadeniya in 1809 B E (1266 A C) made efforts to restore the Sāsana and brought over monks from Soli country in South India, established monasteries and parivenas and encouraged learning During this period there was great activity in the cause of religion Many books on religion were compiled and within a few years the status and learning of the bhikkhus became famous throughout Buddhist countries The two succeeding kings Vijaya Bāhu and Parākrama Bāhu, took much interest in maintaining Buddhism and consolidating the efforts of their predecessor

34 EMBASSY FROM BURMA TO OBTAIN ORDINATION FROM LANKĀ

The reputation of the Order or Sangha in Lankā became so well established that in the year 2002 B E (1459 A C)

King Dhammaceti of Burma decided on sending twenty two selected bhikkhus to Lanka to obtain ordination and bring back to Burma the traditions of Lanka He sent these bhikkhus with numerous presents in charge of two ministers Citradut and Ramadut They came in two ships The first ship with eleven bhikkhus and their attendants in charge of the minister Citradute arrived in Colombo in 2007 B E (1464 A C) and the other ship in charge of Ramaduta with eleven bhikkhus and attendants arrived at Weligama in the southern coast of Ceylon These deputations were received with due ceremony and given a cordial reception by the king of Ceylon Bhuvaneka Bahu who reigned at Kotte (Jayawardhanapura) six miles from Colombo The king of Burma sent the following message to the chief theras of Lanka My Lords I am sending many articles to be offered to the Sacred Tooth Relic &c and I request you to make an endeavour to offer these to the Sacred Tooth Relic May the Noble Ones obtain facilities for the twenty two bhikkhus and their pupils and the two ministers Citradut and Ramdut who are attending on these bhikkhus to assist them in worshipping honouring and viewing the Sacred Tooth Relic if they are so fortunate as to get an opportunity to do so after which may the Noble Ones be pleased with them endeavours to enable the twenty two bhikkhus and their pupils to be ordained in the community of succession from Mahavihara fraternity founded by the Great Thera Mahinda by selecting such bhikkhus who hold an established high reputation and giving the ordination of Upasampada in the Sima in the river Kelyani which has been made sacred by its association with our Great Lord

The request made by the king of Burma was duly granted, the bhikkhus were ordained in the Sīmā in the Kelyānī river. The Minister Rāmadūta with twenty bhikkhus and thirty-three pupils who were duly ordained, returned to Burma The other Minister Citradūta and his party of bhikkhus were shipwrecked and six of these bhikkhus met with their death The remaining ones reached their country

3. ESTABLISHMENT OF MAHAVIHĀRAVAMSA IN BURMA UNDER THE NAME OF KALYĀNAVAMSA

In Burma King Dhammaceti built a Sīmā Ordination Hall known as Kalyānasīmā and the bhikkhus went by the name of Kalyānavamsa From thence at a later period ordination of this Nikāya was carried to Siam from Burma The connection of Burma at this period has an important bearing on the fortunes of the Sangha fraternity and of Buddhism in Ceylon For through these embassies the books that existed in Ceylon were taken to Burma, Siam and Cambodia and the Mahā Nikāya was established in these countries, which helped Ceylon to get back the books and the ordination at a subsequent period, when ordination had disappeared in the island and books were lost

4. ARRIVAL OF THE PORTUGUESE IN CEYLON

About this time the island of Lankā was divided into several Principalities The king in Kotte held only nominal sway over the rest of the country Political dissensions increased from day to day at this stage A new danger arose with the arrival of the Portuguese in the island and their establishing a fort in Colombo "From this period we may date the fall of Ceylon Instead of vigorously uniting to

expel the invaders, each of the opposing parties in the quarrels was ready to accept the aid of the Portuguese, thus more firmly rooted them in the island."

The Sinhalese Chronicle aptly describes the damage done to the country and the cause of Buddhism by the alliance of King Bhuvaneka-Bāhu VII in about 2095 B.E (1552 A.C.). "Now this King Bhuvaneka Bāhu after having reigned 20 years brought ruin on the country by giving it into the hands of strangers and likewise poured contempt upon the religion. King Bhuvaneka Bāhu having foolishly lived on terms of close intimacy with the Portuguese, entrusted to the king of Portugal, the Prince whom he had brought up On account of this foolish act the Portuguese brought harm on the king. It should be noted that King Bhuvaneka-Bāhu was the cause of injustice which his posterity had to suffer and that the harm done to the cause of Buddhism after this, was due to the action of this king"

37 INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE PORTUGUESE

For the first time Christianity was introduced by the Portuguese After the death of Bhuvaneka-Bāhu they raised Prince Dharmapāla to the throne of Kotte He was made a proselyte to the religion of Christ and admitted to baptism and had the name of Don Juan conferred upon him At his baptism many leading men of Kotte also received baptism

38 KING RĀJASIMHA I DESTRUCTION OF BUDDHISM

During this period of wars Prince Rājasimha became a great champion of the country He waged war mercilessly leading expedition after expedition in all directions, north, south, east and west and harassed the Portuguese and kept

39 VIMALA DHAMMASŪRIYA'S ATTEMPTS AT RESTORING BUDDHISM

His successor, Vimala Dhammasūriya, attempted to repair the loss as much as possible ; he restored some of the places of worship, brought bhikkhus from Arakan and instituted the ordination again However nothing tangible could be done in the direction of restoring Buddhism as the kings of the Sinhalese districts were hard pressed by the Portuguese and were at continuous war with them.

40 ARRIVAL OF THE DUTCH IN CEYLON

Rājasimha the Second was able to open communications with the Dutch in 2170 B.E. (1627 A C.) and with their help the Portuguese were driven away in 2199 B E. (1656 A.C.). The Dutch took the place of the Portuguese. They were, however, more conciliatory in their dealings with the Sinhalese and the subsequent kings were able to devote their time and energy to restore the status of Buddhism

41 SARANANKARA SĀMANERA

During this period a great man arose in Saranankara who was a Sāmanera, as ordination had disappeared in the land. Valivita Saranankara Sāmanera (Novice) was distinguished for his piety and good manners , he was constant in diligence and conversant with the words of the Supreme Buddha and the diverse interpretations thereof He was moreover a poet, a preacher and a controversialist , a teacher of great renown and one who devoted his life to secure his own welfare and that of others, yea he was one who showed himself in the Religion of Lankā like the moon in the sky. His influence with King Vimala Dhamma and his successors

was very great and under his instruction the kings did all they could to support the religion

4 VIJAYA RĀJASIṂHA'S ATTEMPT TO GET BHIKKHUS FROM SIAM

Saranankara Sāmanera made known to King Śri Vijaya Rājasiṃha who became sovereign in 2277 B E (1734 A C) that the religion of the Conqueror (Buddha) decreased in Laṅkā because the Order of the bhikkhus was extinct 'It grieved the lord of the land and astonished him greatly and he resolved to bring the Order and caused many inquiries to be made concerning the religion of the Sage where it was most prosperous And when he heard from the Dutch the glad news that it had flourished in diverse parts of the kingdom of Pegu Aracan and Siam the king sent ministers thither separately and others with letters which he caused to be duly written in Pali and so he might find out how the religion of the Sage prospered in each country And when he heard that the religion in the country of Siam had prospered well and that it was exceedingly pure and undefiled the ruler of men was minded to procure from that very country the priests of the Buddha to the land of Lanka and sent back his ministers thither, with a letter and presents and diverse things meet for offerings These messengers however failed in their object the ship in which they sailed met with rough seas and by the time some of them reached Batavia they learned of the death of the king and the voyage was abandoned

It has to be noted that this king though he embraced Buddhism and did his utmost to promote the welfare of the religion was a Sivite who had come from South India and

was the brother of the queen of the previous king The purely Sinhalese dynasty had become extinct

43 DUTCH SIEGE OF KANDY AND THE TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP

He was succeeded in 2290 B E (1747 A C) by Kīrti Śrī Rājasimha who was also born a Sivite and was the brother of the queen of the previous king However Kīrti Śrī Rāja sinha became a Buddhist and continued the religious activities originated during the time of his predecessor with much energy, encouraging the monks and the people in such activities, though at the same time he had to face the enemy in the Dutch who conceived the idea of extending their influence Later the Dutch invaded the mountain capital and laid siege to it Before this occurred, the relics of the Buddha were removed from Kandy and the king himself left the capital and the Buddhist monks dispersed themselves in various directions taking refuge in remote places away from the influence of the invading Dutch The Dutch were eventually defeated and had to leave the capital and enter into a fresh treaty with the Sinhalese king This was considered to be a treaty of friendship The monks returned to Kandy and the relics were brought back, the monasteries were re occupied and the places of worship renovated with vigour

44 EMBASSY TO KING DHAMMIKA OF SIAM

At this juncture Saranankara Sāmanera reviewed the religious situation and knowing that the community was without proper ordination and those that remained in the robes were mostly demoralized and led sinful and wicked lives maintaining families and devoting themselves to worldly

business and that some of these men busied themselves with the practice of astrology and medicine and other callings that were not proper to bhikkhus and interested the king in the restoration of the Saṅgha. Saraṇaṅkara Sāmaṇera played a great part in the religious world during these disturbed times. He was unflinching in his determination to restore the religious institutions, he was a monk of great piety and was moral, virtuous and wise and skilled in learning. Through his great influence he was able to prevail on the king to seek the assistance of the now friendly Dutch to arrange facilities for an embassy to the king of Siam. The Dutch readily placed ships at the disposal of the king and agreed to render every help to an embassy to proceed to Siam for invoking the assistance of the Siamese king to obtain religious teachers from that kingdom to restore the pure religion in Ceylon. This embassy left Ceylon in 2293 B.E. (1750 A.C.). The ministers who were thus sent, reached the city of Ayojjha in the kingdom of Siam where King Dhammika received them according to custom and entertained them with great hospitality.

45 THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ORDINATION BY UPĀLI THERA. SIYAMA UPĀLI VANSA

King Dhammika of Siam consulted the Saṅgharāja or the Chief Thera and the learned Elders of Siam. They highly appreciated the honour done to them by the request made by the king of Ceylon, the granting of which was to redound to their credit and bring them much credit. According to the Mahāvaṁsa, the king of Siam "chose a Chapter consisting of more than ten bhikkhus at the head of whom Upāli Th

an Elder distinguished for moderation and contentment and endued with gentle manners and upright behaviour Them did the king send to Lankā to the noble Relic Temple of Buddha that was there, and with liberality like unto that of Vessantara the king sent in charge of them books of the Dhamma and the Vinaya such as were not to be found in the island of Lankā and also an excellent royal letter with diverse presents by the hand of royal ministers of Ayojjhā, and the stately ship that was thus sent thither with the image of gold and other presents made the voyage across the deep sea that abounded in terrors and perils and arrived in perfect safety at the port of Trincomalee in the beautiful island of Lankā And when the great king the ruler of Lankā, had heard the tidings that it had arrived, he caused all the inhabitants of Sirivaddhana (Kandy) to assemble together and held great rejoicings And the Chief of men who was greatly pleased caused the road from the beautiful city of Sirivaddhana unto the great sea to be cleared and put in order, and dwellings for monks to be built in diverse places along the way that they were to come And he sent thither his great ministers and other officers and caused the priests and the images and religious books and all other things to be brought up in due course' The king of Lankā met the party on their arrival accompanied by his attendants and his army and caused the bhikkhus to take up their abode in the Puppārāma monastery Thereafter in the two thousand two hundred and ninety ninth year after the Parinibbāna of the Supreme Buddha (1756 A C) in the month of Asela when the moon attained her fulness the great and powerful king entered the Ārāma in royal state

and having caused seats to be duly prepared in the Uposatha Hall that was in the middle thereof he invited the great Upali an Elder endued with piety and uprightness and who was learned and skilful in devices and loved the welfare of all beings and the second great Elder also Arya Muni together with the priesthood and caused them to be seated in the hall And the king the lord of Lankā caused the rite of ordination to be conferred amid great rejoicing on the principal Sāmaneras of Lankā that presented themselves' And from that day ordination was continued till a very large number of Samaneras and others received ordination From among the bhikkhus of Lanka a number of whom who were known for their intelligence and learning received regular instruction in the Dhamma from the Elders who came from Siam "

4f CPEATION OF THE OFFICE OF SANGHARAJA

About this time another new departure was made in Lank in regard to the government of the community of sangha Until the time of King Parakrama Bahu the Great the community of Sangha acted independently without interference from the State King Parakrama Bahu made certain order and included them in a rescript where the admission to the Order and the conduct of the members of the Order were prescribed The new departure made by King Kirti Sri was the appointment by the king of the chief of sangha and of other officers in the sangha community Saranankara Samanera who now became an ordained bhikkhu was appointed Sangharaja the first time the office was created in Ceylon or mentioned in the history of the island Other learned bhikkhus were appointed to other high offices The

next three years showed a great revival of the religion The king and the ministers and the people vied with each other in the cause Over three thousand persons joined the Order and about this time the king of Siam sent to Lankā some more theras headed by the Elder Visuddhācārya who continued the great work in helping the restoration of the Sāsana in the island

47 SARANANKARA SANGHARĀJA

Saranankara Sangharāja, the Great Character, who caused the restoration of Buddhism at this period, was born in Valivita, a village in Tumpane close to Kandy in the year 2241 B E (1698 C E) His learning and piety and his great determination energy and perseverance enabled him to interest first King Śri Vijaya Rājasimha in 2283 B E (1740 A C) in his efforts at restoring the Ordination, but before his ambassadors could return from Siam, the king died and the mission had to return without accomplishing their object When King Kirti Śrī Rājasimha succeeded to the throne the persistence of Saranankara Sangharāja enabled him to induce the king to send the second embassy to Siam, which succeeded in bringing bhikkhus and reintroducing the ordination in Lankā He composed several important religious works such as Mumgunālankāra, Sīrartha Sangraha, a paraphrase to Bodhivamsa under the title Madhurārthaprakāsini Saraparanvara Sannaya, and the grammatical work Rūpamālā Valivita Pindapatika Saranankara Sangharāja to give his full title died in 2321 B E (1778 A C) at the age of eighty

48 THE LAST KING OF LANKĀ ŚRĪ VIKRAMA RĀJASIMHA

King Kīrti Śrī died in 2323 B E (1780 A C) and was succeeded by his brother who reigned 18 years whose sister's son Śrī Vikrama Rājasimha succeeded him in 2341 B E (1798 A C) Śrī Vikrama Rājasimha like his three predecessors had no connection with Ceylon and he embraced Buddhism to be proclaimed king "He joined himself to evil companions and he caused great ministers and many other officers to be seized and put to death and like unto death he showed no mercy and caused many hundreds to be seized and brought from diverse places and impaled and like a robber who plundereth the country around him, he seized their vast possessions which they had inherited from generation to generation And while this ruler of men was committing such manifold deeds of wickedness, the Sinhalese who were incensed against him and the inhabitants of Colombo came hither and they all joined themselves together took the wicked and unjust king captive in the eighteenth year of his reign (1815) and banished him to the opposite coast"

49 HANDING OF LANKĀ TO THE ENGLISH KING BY TREATY

The people and the chiefs in accordance with ancient custom and rights elected the king of England as their Sovereign and entered into a solemn treaty with the English and the whole kingdom came into the possession of the English The treaty provided that the Buddhist religion should be protected and maintained by the English King and that the laws, customs and rights of the Sinhalese should

be preserved and maintained The clause of the treaty referring to Buddhism is as follows —

2nd March 1815

Clause 5 "The religion of Boodho, professed by the chiefs and inhabitants of these provinces, is declared inviolable, and its rites, ministers and places of worship are to be maintained and protected

Signed by His Excellency Lieut General Robert Brownrigg, Governor and Commander in Chief in and over the British settlements and territories in the Island of Ceylon, acting in the name and on behalf of His Majesty George the Third King and His Royal Highness George, Prince of Wales, Regent, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, on the one part, and the Adigars, Dessaves and other principal chiefs of the Kandyan provinces on behalf of the inhabitants and in the presence of the Mohottales, Coraals, Vidaans, and other subordinate headmen from the several provinces, and of the people then and there assembled on the other part 2nd day of March in the year of Christ 1815 and the Cingalese year 1736 at the Palace in the City of Kandy

Proclamation of 21st November 1818

'As well the priest as all the ceremonies and processions of the Budhoo religion shall receive the respect which in former times was shown them at the same time it is in nowise to be understood that the protection of Government is to be denied to the peaceable exercise by all other persons of the religion which they respectively profess or to the erection under due license from His Excellency of places of worship in proper situations'

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had sufficient priests they were able to gather congregations, in the rest of the island under their sway the people were only nominally Roman Catholic Christians. The only sign of a change in religion was the change of their names and surnames to Portuguese names and surnames. Practically all the Sinhalese in the occupied area assumed these foreign names and to-day these names remain in a great many instances though gradually the new generation of Sinhalese take every opportunity to have these names superseded by their old names or new Aryan names. They continue for a time to use both sets of names to prevent the possibility of losing their identity but their children are able to discard these names in time. Buddhism, however, had no support except in the national feeling and tradition to which the people held fast. Even in the provinces where the Sinhalese were independent as was pointed out before the Order of Saṅgha disappeared, it is not to be expected that it could survive under adverse conditions in the occupied country though hitherto in the remote areas away from the Portuguese eyes there were stalwarts who kept up the practice of Buddhism and studied and taught the few books they were in possession.

51 THE HOLLANDERS

The Dutch who succeeded the Portuguese were no better in regard to religious tolerance. They introduced Protestant Christianity and their religious missionaries were even more active than those of the Portuguese. The Dutch established a system of education throughout their occupied territories. The school house was both church and school, the school-

21st Clause The Governor, desirous of showing the adherence of Government to its stipulation in favour of the religion of the people, exempts all lands which now are the property of temples from all taxation whatever (This clause has been repealed by Order in Council of 12th April, 1832)

Sd Wm L BATHURST

50 THE PORTUGUESE PERIOD

During the period it has to be realized that the island of Ceylon was partly under foreign rule The Seaborde was occupied by the Portuguese in 1520, the Dutch in 1650 and the English in 1796 Buddhism in the occupied provinces had a very chequered career during these years The Portuguese in their zeal for conversion made Roman Catholic Christianity the established religion Priests were actively engaged in converting Sinhalese Buddhists to the catholic Christian faith They established Christian churches and did not recognize any other religion All the people in the occupied territories were to be Roman Catholic Christians The people themselves were powerless to resist these decrees and accepted the inevitable and agreed to profess the government religion They were, however, fortunate in one respect, for the wholesale acceptance of government decrees enabled them to pursue secretly their own inclinations as regards Buddhism without violent opposition or persecution The Portuguese had only a limited number of Roman Catholic priests and besides they were continually kept busy fighting the independent Sinhalese and repulsing their attacks or invading their territories In the chief towns where they

had sufficient priests they were able to gather congregations, in the rest of the island under their sway the people were only nominally Roman Catholic Christians The only sign of a change in religion was the change of their names and surnames to Portuguese names and surnames Practically all the Sinhalese in the occupied area assumed these foreign names and to-day these names remain in a great many instances though gradually the new generation of Sinhalese take every opportunity to have these names superseded by their old names or new Aryan names They continue for a time to use both sets of names to prevent the possibility of losing their identity but their children are able to discard these names in time Buddhism, however, had no support except in the national feeling and tradition to which the people held fast Even in the provinces where the Sinhalese were independent as was pointed out before the Order of Sangha disappeared, it is not to be expected that it could survive under adverse conditions in the occupied country though hitherto in the remote areas away from the Portuguese eyes there were stalwarts who kept up the practice of Buddhism and studied and taught the few books they were in possession

51 THE HOLLANDERS

The Dutch who succeeded the Portuguese were no better in regard to religious tolerance They introduced Protestant Christianity and their religious missionaries were even more active than those of the Portuguese The Dutch established a system of education throughout their occupied territories The school house was both church and school, the school-

master was both teacher and the representative of religion Services were held regularly at these places, births and marriages were registered according to Christian rites When the agent of the church was so disposed, he was able to get those who did not attend the church, punished for the alleged offence All civil rights and inheritance depended on a person belonging to the church No person who was not a Christian could even hold a minor office under government, *no person who was not a Christian could get married legally* or register the birth of a child There was, however, one redeeming feature in this system The organization was so extensive that they had to employ Sinhalese as their teachers and agents of religion The vast majority of these Protestant agents were at heart Buddhists, they were Christians only in the sense of their office The people themselves followed this plan, they were Buddhists but were officially Christians, for the purpose of registering their marriages, the births of their children, for holding office, &c Thus the efforts of the Dutch in the direction of destroying Buddhism did not meet with much success On the other hand the Portuguese, where they had priests and where they had established churches under the direct control of these priests, were able to look after the congregations and gradually establish their religion in such centres Most of them were zealous and earnest in their duties and took a genuine interest in the welfare of their flocks

52 RELIGIOUS CENSUS OF CEYLON

To day in Ceylon of the total population of Sinhalese about 9 per cent are Christians, of these over 7 per cent ar

Roman Catholics The census figures in regard to religion and nationality are given below. According to 1921 Census there were

Sinhalese		3,016,154
Tamils	. ..	1,120,059
Others	.. .	362,392

making a total population of 4,498,605 inhabitants.

53 THE ENGLISH PERIOD

After the English succeeded the Dutch in the occupied area, religious tolerance was recognized, though most of the disabilities imposed by the Dutch in regard to registration of marriages and births remained for quite a long time. People were no longer compelled to profess Buddhism in secret The revival of Buddhism in the independent Sinhalese provinces had its effect on the Sinhalese Buddhists in the occupied territories No sooner did the English come into occupation of the maritime provinces and the freedom of religion which they established than the ordination which was restored in Kandy through the aid of bhikkhus from Siam led the bhikkhus' coming to the occupied territories and establishing ordination and a revival of religious activities In a few years' time the bhikkhus from Kandyan Provinces adopted an attitude of exclusiveness in the admission of bhikkhus to ordination This as well as certain doubts regarding the validity of certain ordinations led some of the Buddhists in the occupied areas to seek ordination from Burma

The bhikkhus ordained through the Elders who came from Siam and their successors were known as Siam Upāli

Community denoting the name of the teacher and the country from which the ordination was introduced.

54. INTRODUCTION OF ORDINATION FROM BURMA

Ñāṇavimala-Tissa, a sāmaṇera of Welitera, in the South of the island who had at one time studied under Saraṇaṅkara Saṅgharāja, made up his mind to go to Burma and receive ordination there. He and five other sāmaṇeras left Ceylon in 2342 B.E. (1799 A.C.) and were received by Dhammarājādhirāja, the king of Burma, where they stayed for two years receiving instruction and in 2344 B.E. (1801 A.C.) they were ordained by the Saṅgharāja Ñāṇābhivaṁsa Dhammasenāpati of Amarapura. They returned to Ceylon next year with three Burmese Elders and in due course admitted large numbers to ordination. During the succeeding years four other parties of bhikkhus from Ceylon went over to Burma and obtained ordination. These were headed respectively by Dhammakkhanda, Attudave Dhammarakkhita, Bogahapitiya Dhammajoti, and Kataluve Gunaratanatissa. The last of whom returned to Ceylon in 2352 B.E. (1809 A.C.).

These Chief Bhikkhus actively pursued their work of ordination in Ceylon both in the Maritime Provinces and the Kandyan Provinces and founded what is to-day known as Amarapura Nikāya.

55 THE ENGLISH AND BUDDHISM

In 2358 B.E. (1815 A.C.) the whole island came under English rule and at this time the restoration of Buddhism was complete throughout the island with large number of bhikkhus whose activities had a marked effect in the

revival of Buddhism The treaty under which the Sinhalese finally handed over the country was observed by the English rulers the representative of the Sovereign the Governor of Ceylon for the time being assuming the responsibilities of the Sinhalese kings, though no doubt the assuming of the responsibility for maintaining Buddhism was a difficult task for a Christian Governor In the early periods the Governor himself took part in the annual ceremonies connected with the temple of the Sacred Tooth Relic This created a resentment on the part of Christian Missionaries and the Governor's part in the religious ceremonies was dropped However, the English Government continued to appoint the Chief Bhikkhus both in the Kandyan Provinces and the Maritime Districts The acts of appointments being given under the seal of the Governor of the Colony The following formed the text of such acts of appointments —

56 FORM OF ACT OF APPOINTMENT OF CHIEF THERAS

'By His Excellency The Right Honourable ..
Governor and Commander in Chief in and over the Island of Ceylon with the Dependencies thereof—

To . . .

By virtue of the powers in us vested by His Majesty and reposing especial confidence in your Zeal Piety Learning and Loyalty we have given and granted and by these presents do give and grant to you the office of High Priest over the Buddhist Priests belonging to of of Ceylon during pleasure

You are therefore hereby directed and enjoined diligently to obey and execute all such orders as you may receive from

us and the Government Agents of the several Provinces and fully to discover and make known to us or the constituted authorities of Government all things which may come to your knowledge affecting the public interests and all Traitorous Conspiracies which you may hear of against His Majesty's Government and all Priests of the Nikāya and other persons whom it may concern are hereby peremptorily commanded to respect and obey you the said as High Priest over the Buddhist Priests belonging to the Nikāya of Ceylon so long as you shall hold the said office and to pay you all honours not abrogated by us which you are entitled to in virtue thereof

Given under our hand and seal at this day of

By His Excellency's Command

"

57 ENGLISH GOVERNMENT CEASES CONNECTION WITH BUDDHIST APPOINTMENTS

These acts of appointments were given to the Chief Theras of Siam Nikāya as well as to those of Amarapura Nikaya However in 1847 A C owing to strong opposition from Christian authorities in England Government decided to discontinue the giving of such acts of appointments and all powers vested in Government in this connection were abrogated and the bhikkhus themselves were henceforward required to elect and appoint their own chiefs without any interference from the Government

Thus it came about that the connection of the State with the internal affairs of the Sangha which originated in

the reign of Parākrama-Bāhu the Great and continued from that date, ceased to exist.

58 A SET BACK TO BUDDHISM THROUGH PROTESTANT MISSIONARY INFLUENCE

Buddhism in Ceylon though maintained actively by the Sangha had to face a great set back. While the Roman Catholic Missionaries confined their attention mainly to protect and minister to their congregations, various Protestant Missionaries started active propaganda work. The Church Missionary Society, the Wesleyan Mission Society, the Baptist Mission Society and the Society for the Propagation of Gospel took active measures for propagating their religion with the moral support of the officials of Government This moral support they were able to command in various directions in the first place the missionaries were in a position to recommend men for office and honours and those who aspired to such offices had to keep well with them as their recommendations were invariably acted upon Secondly they started numerous schools partly with the support of public funds. These schools were active centres for the teaching of Christian religion Children attending these schools were compelled to learn the Christian religion and Christian books and to join in religious services both on week days and Sundays A third method adopted by the missionaries at this time was to criticize the Buddhist religion and its doctrines and hold up to ridicule the practice of Buddhism Lectures, books and pamphlets criticizing and ridiculing the Buddhist religion were issued in large numbers These activities gradually had a marked effect on the people

Children brought up under such influences even when they did not embrace Christianity became indifferent to their own religion They lost their love and enthusiasm towards their religion Some of the grown up people were easily tempted to discard their allegiance to Buddhism and embrace Christianity with the object of gaining office and honours In time Buddhism became unfashionable and was considered to be the religion of the vulgar masses Many writers at this time predicted that Buddhism will disappear among the people in the island in a decade or two

59 BUDDHIST REVIVAL PUBLIC CONTROVERSY AT PANADURE

When things were at this stage there was hardly any one who was able to meet the situation on behalf of the Buddhists The bhikkhus carried out their instructions in the old methods They were powerless to stem the tide of misrepresentation and were not equipped to do so successfully About 1870 a young Buddhist Samanera Migettuwatte Gunananda who had received his education in Christian schools and who had studied Christian books started carrying war to the opponents camp He established himself in Colombo He was a ready writer and a good speaker as an orator he was pre eminent He started lectures against Christianity and Christian doctrines and started public controversies with Christian ministers on religious subjects His propaganda roused the enthusiasm of the Buddhists and some Christian missionaries confident of the success of their own methods arranged a public controversy with Migettuwatte Gunananda Unnanse in the presence of repre

sentative Sinhalese Christians and Buddhists Rules were drawn up so that this public meeting should be carried out in a fair manner The controversy took place at Panadure, a town 16 miles from Colombo, and it was considered to be a very important event The leading English newspaper at the time, *The Ceylon Times*, sent a special representative to report proceedings A complete report of all the speeches were published in English day to day and at the conclusion of the controversy the Buddhists not only held their own, but their superiority was clearly manifested *The Ceylon Times* gave an impartial account of the situation and published the speeches corrected by the speakers themselves in book form The controversy brought out all what the missionaries had to say against the Buddhist faith These were ably met and the principles and tenets of Buddhism were clearly stated On the other hand the Buddhist Speaker brought out points against the Christian religion with conspicuous success

60 PUBLICATION OF THE CONTROVERSY IN AMERICA AND ITS RESULTS

About the time this controversy took place there was an American visitor, Dr Peebles a writer and author present in Ceylon he was so impressed with the controversy that it republished it in book form in the United States of Amer to This work came into the hands of the founders of the Theosophical Society Colonel H S Olcott and Madame Blavatsky who were so impressed with Buddhism that they rose to the communications with the bhikkhus in Ceylon papers, books, came to the island in 1880 and publicly embrace thousands,

lectures were arranged and given all throughout the country enthusiastic workers banded themselves together to promote these objects And within a short time colleges and schools were started At the outset certain difficulties were placed in the way of the new movement government recognition of Buddhist schools was tardy and was made difficult These difficulties were overcome and the movement spread with a rapidity which was unexpected and gained a success unprecedented in such movements

6 PRESENT STATE OF BUDDHISM

To day within fifty years of this revival the disabilities which the Buddhists had to face have disappeared A Conscience Clause as regards religious teaching has been introduced in all schools as a condition of the receipt of government grants Offices and honours do not go according to religious beliefs the voice of the Buddhists is as strong in public affairs as the voice of those of other religious persuasions The controversies between Buddhists and Christians have ceased There is a marked mutual respect and tolerance between all religious workers The Buddhist and Christian join in social and welfare work and religious peace is evident throughout the country

religion The laity do not group themselves into any particular Nikāye There are to-day over seven thousand Buddhist bhikkhus in the land, there are over three hundred and fifty Parivenas where Buddhist bhikkhus are taught Pāli and Buddha Dharma Buddhist religious activity is alive to day as it was at any time in the history of the island.

63 CONCLUSION

Buddhism in Ceylon to day is a continuation of the traditions of the Mahāvihāra Nikāya formed by Mahinda Mahā Thera in 306 B C The ordination of all the three Nikāyas of Buddhist bhikkhus now active in the island is a continuation of the Mahāvihāra fraternity, for Burma and Siam had received their ordination from Ceylon at different times and the continuity of the ordination is preserved by bringing this ordination back to the island from these two countries

There is, however, one aspect in religious activities which the modern social and economic conditions have created throughout the world The material struggle of people in all countries has during this century become very prominent Self-interest is inimical to the development of religious ideals The conflict of individualistic tendencies has effected idealism to an extent that religion has lost in certain respects its primary function and has become in many cases merely a system, that from its expression strives after show and publicity These tendencies are not absent in Ceylon among the Buddhists The building of temples emphasis on publicity and ceremonies are apparent as outward expressions of religious enthusiasm The inner life has become stagnant to a certain extent People have a tendency to swim with the

current that has been created by a close contact with worl
ly affairs. The multiplication of human needs and desires
inimical to the quiet and leisure that are required in cultiv
ting ideals. However the basis on which Buddhism
founded is not forgotten or neglected, there is no attemp
to change the ideals to suit the passing whims of the people
The ideals are recognized by all, they are preserved with
reverence, they are looked up to as the beacon ligh
towards which people have to march. As long as the light
is kept burning in its pristine brilliancy, the hope for
attainment is ever present. The religious ideal of Buddhism
in Ceylon has not been shadowed to the slightest degree
as a matter of fact its brilliance has increased and
increasing day by day. It is glowing steadily before the
eyes of a people who for over two thousand years hav
preserved and maintained it under tribulations and suffer
ing of varying fortunes. The present is hopeful, the future
pregnant with great results—results that
contment and happiness to all being

CHAPTER XVII

BUDDHIST FESTIVALS IN CEYLON

Early Buddhism had no distinctive religious festivals of its own Buddha discountenanced all forms of ceremonialism and ritual, and in the life of the *Bhikkhus*—men who had renounced all worldly attachments to devote all their energies to gain spiritual emancipation—festivals as they are understood in other religions, found no place The lay followers, on the other hand, were not obliged to give up the observance of such religious practices as they had been accustomed to before the advent of the Buddha so long as these did not violate the principles of morality inculcated in the Dhamma It may be presumed that the early converts to Buddhism continued to celebrate those festivals connected with their former religious creeds even after they had accepted the gospel of Śākyamuni

The corporeal relics of the Great Teacher, the *Bodhi* tree and such religious symbols as the *Dhamma—Cakka* (the Wheel of the Law) and the footprint of the Buddha were adopted by the early Buddhists as objects of religious veneration, and the oldest Buddhist sculptures in India show us that the worship of these objects gave rise to popular festivals In Ceylon too the earliest Buddhist festivals of which we have any information, were connected with the worship of the *stūpas* and the Bo tree

The Mahāyāna school, the aim of which was to make the teachings of Buddhism less austere and thus to bring them more within the reach of the masses laid great emphasis on

the *bhakti*—element, thereby creating an atmosphere mor favourable to the growth of popular religious festival The Mahāyānist movement was vigorously opposed by th Theravādins of Ceylon, but some of their innovations owing to their appealing nature to the mind of the multitude were adopted by the orthodox sect In this category ar to be included the increasing importance attached to th Buddha image and the worship of the Bodhisattvas Fron about the second century, the monasteries of the Theravādin in Ceylon contained numerous statues of the Buddha and many were the festivals connected with their worship Festivals also sprang up in honour of Maitreya and other Bodhisattvas of Mahāyāna origin and are continued to this day

In giving an account of the religious festivals of Ceylon now prevalent or of which we read in the Buddhist chronicles, we may start with those connected with *stupa* worship Gorgeous festivals were held on occasions when relics were enshrined in *stūpas* or when one was completed and consecrated The *Mahāvamsa* (Chapter XXI, vv 31 44) gives an account of the festival on the occasion of the enshrining of relics in the Ratnamālī Cetiya at Anurādhapura by King Dutthagāmanī (*circa* 101-77 B C) A great festival was celebrated by King Mahādāthika Mahānāga (66 78 A D) after completing the Ambatthala *stūpa* at Mihintale, the sacred hill near Anurādhapura The account of this festival, as given in the chronicle, is quoted below, and it will give the reader an idea of the great pomp with which these festivals were celebrated by the kings of Ceylon in the palmy days of Buddhism in this island

'When he had made ready around the Cetiya mountain a (tract of land measuring a) yojana and had made four gateways and a beautiful road about (the mountain) and when he had then set up (traders') shops on both sides of the road and had adorned (the road) here and there with flags, arches and triumphal gates and had illuminated all with chains of lamps, he commanded mimic dances, songs and music That the people might go with clean feet on the road from the Kadamba river to the Cetiya mountain he had it laid with carpets—the gods themselves might hold a festive assembly there with dances and music—and he gave great largess at the four gates of the capital Over the whole island he put up chains of lamps without a break, nay over the waters of the ocean within a distance of a yojana around At the festival of (consecrating of) the cetiya these beautiful offerings were appointed by him the splendid feast is called here (in the country) the great Giribhanda offering'[1]

Among the periodical festivals at the *stupas*, we read of one for the renewing of the plaster work Bhātika Abhaya (*circa* 38 66 A D) instituted such a festival every year at the Ratnamāli Cetiya[2] *Stūpas* were also annually sprinkled with water amidst great festivities Sena II (846 880 A D) conducted a great festival for the *abhiseka* of the Mahāthūpa at Anurādhapura and enacted a law that it should be continued every year[3] Several centuries earlier, elaborate mechanical devices were prepared by Bhātika Abhaya for raising water from the neighbouring Abhaya tank for

[1] *Mahāvamsa* Geiger's translation Ch XXXIV vv 79 81
[2] *Ibid* Chapter XXXIV v 98 [3] *Ibid* Ch LI v 82

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[2] *Ibid* Chapter XXXII v 98 [3] *Ibid* Ch LI v 82

the *abhiṣeka* of the same *stūpa*.[1] It is not stated on what particular day of the year these festivals were held. Among the present day Buddhists in Ceylon, festivals—of course on a very much inferior scale—are celebrated on similar occasions. New stūpas are still being built in the island and the day on which the relics—actual or supposed—are enshrined or the pinnacle placed on the top is a gala day for the whole country side. Men and women from the neighbouring villages flock to the shrine with all kinds of offerings. The monks are fed with the choicest delicacies which the means of the devotees can afford; and religious processions are conducted. On every festive occasion of a religious nature, an appropriate sermon by one of the learned monks is a never failing feature.

Even more than the veneration paid to the *stūpas*, the cult of the Tooth Relic has given rise to various festivals among the Ceylon Buddhists This sacred object, which later became the palladium of the Sinhalese kings, was brought to Ceylon from Kaliṅga in the reign of Śrī Meghavarṇa (352-379 A.D.). The king received it with great festivities and kept it in a shrine within the royal precincts and ordered that every year a grand festival should be celebrated in its honour when the relic was temporarily removed from the palace to the Abhayagiri monastery.[2] Fā-Hien who visited Ceylon within half a century from the arrival of the Tooth Relic in Anurādhapura was a spectator of this festival and has left us an interesting account of it.

[1] [illegible], Chapter XXXIV. v. 45, XXXVII. v. 92ff

"The tooth of Buddha is always brought forth in the middle of the third month Ten days beforehand the king grandly caparisons a large elephant, on which he mounts a man who can speak distinctly, and is dressed in royal robes, to beat a large drum,and make the following proclamation — 'The Bodhisattva, during three *Asankhyeya kalpas*, manifested his activity, and did not spare his own life He gave up kingdom, city, wife, and son , he plucked out his eyes and gave them to another he cut off a piece of his flesh to ransome the life of a dove , he cut off his head and gave it as an alms , he gave his body to feed a starving tigress , he grudged not his marrow and brains In many such ways as these did he undergo pain for the sake of all living And so it was that having become Buddha, he continued in the world for forty five years preaching his Law, teaching and transforming, so that those who had no rest found rest, and the unconverted were converted When his connexion with the living was completed he attained to *parinirvana* (and died) Since that event, for 1497 years, the light of the world has gone out and all living beings have had long continued sadness Behold ! ten days after this, Buddha's tooth will be brought forth and taken to the Abhayagiri vihāra Let all and each, whether monks or laics, who wish to amass merit for themselves make the roads smooth and in good condition grandly adorn the lanes and by ways and provide abundant store of flowers and incense to be used as offerings to it

'When this proclamation is over, the king exhibits, so as to line both sides of the road the five hundred different bodily forms in which the Bodhisattva has in the course of

is history appeared —here as Sudāna there as Sāma, ow as the king of elephants, and then as a stag or a horse ll these figures are brightly coloured and grandly executed, ooking as if they were alive After this the tooth of Buddha s brought forth and is carried along in the middle of the oad Every where on the way offerings are presented to it nd thus it arrives at the hall of Buddha in the Abhayagiri ihāra These monks and laics are collected in crowds hey burn incense, light lamps and perform all the prescribed ervices, day and night without ceasing till ninety days ave been completed when (the tooth) is returned to the ihāra within the city "[1] A great festival held in honour f the Tooth Relic by Parākramabāhu I (1153 1186) when s was brought to Polonnaruva after a long series of adven ures in Rohana is described in the 74th chapter of the *Mahāvamsa*

The *Daladāsirita* (History of the Tooth Relic') written y King Parākrama Bāhu IV (1303 1333) of Kurunāgala ives a detailed account of the annual festival celebrated n the occasion of the public exhibition of the relic at that eriod

The festival started at a time declared auspicious by the strologers The shrine of the Tooth Relic was beautifully decorated and the king along with the ladies of the harem he courtiers and the townsfolk made offerings to the relic or seven days On the afternoon of the seventh day, in the resence of the high dignitaries of the Uttaramula fraternity, he casket containing the relic was removed from the sanctum

[1] *Travels of Fâ Hien* Legge's translation pp 105

by representatives of the noble families of Ganavasi and Kuling; and was placed in a decorated car Two members of the above mentioned families mounted the car and carried the casket in their hands The chariot, drawn by a richly caparisoned elephant was taken through the streets which were specially decorated for the occasion In front of the chariot marched the members of the *sangha* who chanted *pirit* (P *paritta*) holding in their hands a string (in Sinhalese *pirit nula*, "thread of protection") tied to the car Water charmed by the utterance of the sacred texts (*paritta*) was sprinkled, from a silver pitcher, over the city as the procession wended its way through the streets This duty was performed by a member of the aristocratic family of Doranāvasi. On both sides of the chariot stood persons holding white umbrellas and chauris Immediately following the car, marched the musicians attached to the Temple of the Tooth, followed by those of the Royal palace Next followed the officers of state and the army Having circumambulated the city in the manner aforesaid the procession returned to the temple where, in the presence of the chief monks of the Uttaramūla fraternity, the temple officials and representatives of the two families of Ganavasi and Kuling, the casket was opened and the sacred relic exhibited It was first shown to the assembled monks, and then to the king who received it in his hands with marks of the greatest respect and placed it on a dais specially prepared so that it may be seen by the assembled multitude The ordinary folk had to be satisfied with a glance at the relic from a distance When the assembled populace had paid their respects to the relic, it was once more deposited in the casket which was sealed

with three seals including that of the king To those worshippers who had made any kind of offering, *prasāda* in the shape of sandle paste was given by the priests. While all these rites were gone through, *paritta* was chanted incessantly by five or seven monks

The festival described above was customarily held once a year, but on occasions of prolonged drought similar festivals were undertaken with the purpose of bringing about rainfall. There is a popular belief, still widely prevalent among the Buddhists of Ceylon that the exposition of the tooth relic is a certain means of causing rain Hence, when the monsoons fail, there is a great demand from the Buddhist public for the exhibition of this relic.

Another festival which served the double purpose of honouring the Buddha and causing rainfall was the bathing of the Bodhi tree (*Bodhi sināna pūjā*). It is said that King Bhātika Abhaya instituted that this festival should be conducted once a year perpetually.[1] King Dhātusena (*circa* 509 527 A D.), too, is mentioned to have celebrated this festival,[2] and it may be presumed that it was regularly observed when Buddhism was in a flourishing condition at Anurādhapura. Even to day, it is not forgotten by the unsophisticated villagers Towards the end of the long drought which prevails from July to October in the northern parts of Ceylon, one can sometimes see a long procession of villagers, mostly women, coming towards the sacred Bodhi tree at Anurādhapura, carrying, on their heads, pots filled with water. Sometimes, a twig of green leaves or a cluster

[1] *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. XXXIV, v 50
[2] *Ibid*, XXXVIII, v 55

of flowers is carried in the pot With cries of *sādhu*, they wend their way to the sacred tree, and there empty the contents of their pots This action, they believe, will not only produce a store of merit for their future births, but will also hasten the appearance of the longed for rain clouds

Sir J G Frazer has shown, in his *Golden Bough*,[1] that the practice of watering a sacred tree was resorted to as an act of sympathetic magic to bring about rain by people of different countries and at different times There is hardly any doubt that this practice was prevalent among the people of Ceylon before they adopted Buddhism and that the early Buddhist missionaries seeing it deeply rooted in the minds of the people adopted it with a new meaning in connection with the cult of the Bodhi tree

The slab inscription of Mahinda IV (954-970 A D) at Mihintale[2] mentions a festival named the *Somnas mahabō magula* (Merry festival of the great Bodhi tree) which was held at the monastery on that sacred hill , but we do not know how it was celebrated

Another religious festival undertaken to ward off evil was the public recital of the Ratana Sutta with appropriate ceremony According to tradition, this *sutta* was delivered by the Buddha at Vesālī to protect that city from the triple scourge of drought, famine and epidemic disease In the reign of Upatissa (circa 426 468 A D), Ceylon was afflicted with similar evils and he questioned the monks whether the Buddha had not done anything to protect the people from such visitations They informed the king of the circums-

[1] Vol I p 189
[2] *Epigraphia Zeylanica* Vol I, p 108

tances under which the *Gangārohana sutta* was expounded by the Buddha The king thereupon "caused a perfect image of the Buddha to be made of gold and placing the stone bowl of the divine teacher filled with water on the joined hands of the image and raising that image to his state car he went through the ceremony of receiving *sila* made the multitude also submit to the same ceremony and distributed alms Having decorated the capital like unto a heavenly city, surrounded by all the priests resident in the island, he descended into the main street There, the assembled priests chanting forth the Ratana Sutta and at the same time sprinkling water marched in procession in the neighbourhood of the palace along the street and near the walls and continued walking round the city throughout the three divisions of the night "[1]

A festival in honour of Ānanda, that most loveable of all the disciples of the Buddha, was also sometimes celebrated to ward off evil Sena II "brought forth the image of Ānanda and carried it in procession round about the city and then caused the *pirutta* to be recited duly by the Order, and saved the people from sickness by sprinkling the holy water thereof upon them "

In all the festivals which had, for their immediate aim, the warding off of evil, the recital of the *paritta* was an essential feature Even to day, public recitals of the *paritta* are periodically conducted in the Buddhist monasteries of Ceylon On these occasions, the people from several villages join together, and construct a temporary pavilion (*mandapa*) and decorate it with flags, festoons, and greenery In the

[1] *Mahavamsa* Chapter XXVII, vv 189 190

centre a platform is erected for the monks who recite the *paritta* The night on which the ceremony starts is celebrated with processions, fireworks, and music, Every day there are three occasions on which the recital of the *paritta* is conducted with greater ceremony than at other times, namely, at dawn at about two o'clock in the afternoon, and in the evening at about 9 p m This is called the *mahāpirita* When the three *suttas* entitled *Mangala*, *Ratana* and *Metta* with some other miscellaneous stanzas are recited by as many monks as have assembled or as many as can be accommodated on the special platform A thread called the *pirit nūla* (protection thread) which runs round the platform is held by the monks in their hands whilst they recite the Pali stanzas A pot of water is also kept on the platform After the recital of the *mahāpirita* is over, some person not necessarily a monk, takes this pot and with an areca flower, sprinkles water from it on the assembled multitude The *paritta* thread lasts till one session, which generally consists of a week, and when the ceremony is over, parts of it are given to the worshippers who treasure them as charms against malevolent spirits A special ceremony called the *doraladā asna* ("A message at the Gate") is celebrated on the seventh day the end of each session In the morning a boy, gaily attired, goes in procession to a neighbouring shrine dedicated to one of the local deities or if such be not available within a reasonable distance, to any tree reputed by popular belief as the abode of spirits He carries an apparently heavy load which, in fact, contains only some small offerings to the deity and an ola on which is an invitation to the gods to come for the final recital of the

paritta that night This boy, the *devadūtayā* ('messenger of the gods') as he is called, performs his duty and returns to the monastery where he is treated with great consideration till the ceremony is over. In the night, before the usual *mahāpirita*, the messenger comes in great state to the entrance of the pavilion, and then a dialogue ensues between him and one of the assembled monks selected for the occasion The latter, in a long winded oration inquires whether the messenger is present, to which the answer is given in the affirmative The monk then inquires whether the gods, too, have accompanied him For this question, too, a similar answer is given, and then the monk addresses each deity, supposed to be present there, by his name and titles and exhorts him to partake of the merit that has been stored by the week's recital of the Dhamma, and to protect the religion of the Buddha and its votaries particularly mentioning those who had been instrumental in bringing about the festival There is a particular formula in which the 'messenger' and the monk should address each other on this occasion and they deliver it in a sing song tone After this ceremony is over, the *mahāpirita* is chanted as usual and towards the end of the night two *suttas*, which are supposed to be the most potent in driving away all kinds of evil spirits, are recited These are the Mahāsamaya sutta and the Ātānāṭiya sutta of the *Dīgha Nikāya* The *pirit* festivals are not so common in Ceylon at present as they used to be a decade or two ago With the general spread of education, people prefer an exposition of a particular point of doctrine to chants which they do not understand But on occasions

public or domestic affliction, the *pirit* is always resorted to
a inscription of Kassapa V (908 918 A D) mentions a
stival held for the anointing of the image of the Buddha
nhalese *Budu biso magula*=Skt *Buddhābhiseka man lya*) But we do not know on what occasion it was held
d how the ceremony was performed King Dhātusena
said to have conducted a festival for adorning and anointing
e Buddha image Several statues named Abhiseka Buddhas
e mentioned in the Mahāvamsa , and it may be presumed
at the festival of anointing these images was held periodi
lly [1] A Tamil inscription at Polonnaruva, whilst describing
e Temple of the Tooth in that city, says that the shrine
as 'the abode of the auspicious colossal stone statue of
e Buddha' and that it was also 'the auspicious house for
e first *abhiseka* ceremony' The reference here seems
be to the festival of anointing the Buddha image Among
e modern Buddhists of Ceylon, there is no corresponding
stival

The Tamil inscription mentioned above, also tells us that
e eye of the image of the Buddha in the Temple of the
ooth in Polonnaruva was removed annually and was painted
ith collyrium This corresponds to what is known among
e present day Buddhists as the *netra pratisthāpana mangalya* (the festival of fixing the eye) Now it is observed
ly at the consecration of a new image which is not con
dered worthy of homage till this rite is performed

In the reign of Kassapa V, an annual festival was instituted for paying honour to the Dhammasangani, the first
ook of the Abhidhammapitaka, which was caused to be

[1] Mhv Ch 39, v 6 Ch 38, v 67 and Ch 39 v 40

written on plates of gold by that monarch The Mahāvamsa describes the festival in the following words :—"And then he caused the Abhidhammapitaka to be written on plates of gold, and embellished the book Dhammasangani with divers jewels, and built for it a house in the midst of the city, and placed it there, and caused feasts to be held in honour thereof And he gave the office of Sakka Senāpati to his own son, and charged him that he should take the oversight of feasts for the book of the law And every year the king caused the city to be decorated like the city of the gods, and adorning himself all over with jewels, so that he shone like the king of the gods, he marched through the streets of the city seated on an elephant, surrounded by a well clad host And the book Dhammasangani he took in procession in great splendour to the richly decorated vihāra that he had built there, and having placed it on the relic altar in the hall of the goodly relic house that was ornamented with divers jewels, he made offerings unto it "[1]

The most important festival of the modern Buddhists of Ceylon is celebrated on the full moon day of the second lunar month, Vesākha (Sinhalese *Vesāk*) According to the tradition of the Theravāda school, this date is the anniversary of the birth, the enlightenment and the *parinirāna* of the Buddha, and, therefore, no other day is considered of such great importance in the religious calendar of the Ceylon Buddhists This festival was celebrated in Ceylon from the earliest times Dutthagāmani in the first century B C, Vasabha in the second Vohāratissa in the third and Sena II in the ninth centuries are said to have observed it

[1] *Mahavamsa* Chapter 32 vv 50-56

annually Though not expressly mentioned, it may be presumed that this important day was duly celebrated all throughout the history of Buddhism in this island

Since the revival of Buddhism in Ceylon some fifty years ago, this festival is celebrated among the Sinhalese Buddhists with great eclat, specially in the towns The houses of the Buddhists as well as the temples and the monasteries are illuminated with multicoloured paper lanterns The more pious observe the eight precepts of morality (*atthangasila*) and others visit the various temples in the vicinity At different places along the roads, almshouses are opened wherein the pilgrims are entertained, and near the temples, flowers are distributed free Vast crowds visit the Buddhist shrines in various parts of the island and offer flowers incense, etc, in front of the images the *cetiyas* and the Bodhi trees In recent years some features associated with the Christmas festival of the Christians such as sending cards to friends and relations and carol parties have been introduced

The full moon day of the next month (in Sinhalese *Poson*) is also a festive day for the Sinhalese Buddhists Traditionally, this is the anniversary of the day on which Mahinda the prince apostle first set his foot on the soil of Lankā and started his work for the establishment of the religion of the Buddha in this island Appropriately enough this festival is mainly celebrated at Mihintale near Anuradhapura, the scene of Mahinda's meeting with Tissa the king of Ceylon contemporary with Asoka Thousands of pilgrims visit the sacred shrines of Anurādhapura and Mihintale on this day The main features of the festival are more or less similar to those of the Vaiśākha festival

The full moon of the next month Asala (Skt Āsāḍha) is the occasion of another festival According to Buddhist tradition, this was the day on which the Buddha preached his first sermon in the Deer Park at Benares, but it is not on this account that the day is held sacred among the majority of the Buddhists in Ceylon This is the day on which the various local divinities recognized by the Buddhists of Ceylon are publicly worshipped The more important of these are Uppalavanna (now identified with Visnu) Kataragama (identified with Skanda) Vibhisana Sumana and Natha I have elsewhere shown[1] that Natha is the same as Avalokitesvara and that Sumana has characteristics in common with the Mahāyāna Bodhisattva Samantabhadra The other gods of the Ceylon Buddhists too are considered to be Bodhisattvas, and their cults undoubtedly originated owing to the influence of the Mahāyanists who were once very powerful in Ceylon The principal feature of these festivals is the procession held on the full moon day in which the image of the particular god in whose honour the day is celebrated is taken through the streets

The great procession held in Kandy during the month of August was originally connected with the cults of these local divinities though now the public exhibition of the Tooth Relic is its main feature The following description of this festival (the Perahara as it is called) during the days of the

nakata or the situation of the stars, and at the appointed moment, which must either be in the evening or morning, never at mid day, the Kapurāle[2] of the Visnu devale cuts down a young and barren jak tree which has been previously chosen and is consecrated for the purpose by mysterious rites The day before, the Kapurala[1] must bathe in pure water, anoint his head with the juice of the lime and clothe himself in clean garments When the tree has been cut down it is divided into four sections, one of which is conveyed to each of the devales, under a white canopy, and accompanied by music The section is cleaned at the devale, and put into a hole, protected by a roof and covered and ornamented with palm leaves, flowers, and fruits, and the priests of temple carry in procession round it the bows and arrows of the gods

"The consecrated wood is adorned with leaves, flowers, and fruits, and during the first five days the procession simply passes round it, the Kapuralas bearing the sacred vessels and implements After this time they are brought beyond the precincts of the devale and paraded through the principal streets of Kandy On the night of the full moon, the procession is joined by the Tooth Relic magnificently accompanied, which is afterwards carried to the Ādāhana Maluva, a consecrated place, near which are the tombs of the ancient kings and other individuals of the royal race The relics receive the adoration of the crowd until the morning when it is returned to the temple At the end of the five days the principal part of the perahara, called the randōlibama commenced The procession just described was joined by

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the *randōlis*, or palanquins, four in number, each dedicated to a particular goddess and each furnished with a golden pitcher and sword, similarly dedicated. In the evening the palanquins followed the elephants bearing the arms of the gods; but by night they preceded them. They were attended not only by the women of the temple, but likewise by the ladies of the court, and by the young wives and daughters of the chiefs dressed in royal apparel, presented to them by the king. The king, who was before a mere spectator of the ceremony, now took an active part in it, and during the five days that the *randōlibima* lasted, regularly joined the evening procession in his golden chariot drawn by eight horses. According to the natives this part of the *perahara* was extremely magnificent, the chiefs vieing with each other in splendour of dress and in the multitude of their attendants, and every party concerned, the king in particular, used every exertion to make the spectacle as imposing or brilliant as possible.

Towards the end of the festival the procession approaches the river at the ancient ferry, near the bridge of Perādeniya, and while the multitude remains upon the bank, the *kapurāla* enters a boat that has been splendidly decorated for the occasion. The boat is rowed to some distance, when the *kapurāla* takes a golden sword, and strikes the water. At the same instant a brazen vessel is dipped into the river, and while the water is yet departed, a portion is taken up, which is kept until the vessel can be filled in the same manner at the next festival. The water which has been taken the previous year, is at the same time poured back into the river."[1]

[1] Pridham, *Ceylon*, Vol. I, pp. 331-2

CHAPTER XVIII

THE AUTHENTICITY OF ASOKAN LEGENDS

The Asokan legends to be discussed in this paper are those contained in the northern text of *Divyāvadāna* and the southern text of *Mahāvamsa* to be referred to as *Div* and *Mahā* respectively in the course of the paper

Geiger, in his introduction to his translation of the *Mahāvamsa* (Pāli Text Society, 1912), has discussed 'the trustworthiness of the Ceylon Chronicles' and defended them against 'undeserved distrust and exaggerated scepticism on the basis of the confirmation they have received from certain external sources These are some inscriptions found on the stūpas of Sāñci which curiously mention three of the Buddhist missionaries mentioned in the legends, *viz* , Kāsapagota, Majjhima and Dadabhisāra Geiger, however, has not brought out the remarkable degree of confirmation which the legends relating to Asoka receive from another external and unimpeachable source, the inscriptions of Aśoka It will appear on a close and comparative study of both these sources, the legends and the inscriptions of Aśoka that both must be used like a pair of scissors for the constitution of a complete Asokan history Nay more for, so far as *this most important aspect of that history is concerned, its* chronological framework the legends are more helpful than the inscriptions , they furnish us with a fairly complete set of dates in the life and history of Aśoka, which readily

fits in with the fragments of chronological scheme found in the Edicts and other sources

To Greek writers we owe the starting point of Indian chronology If we make a start with 323 B C as the date of the commencement of Candra Gupta Maurya's kingship, the Brahmanical and the Buddhist texts, the *Purānas* and the Ceylon Chronicles, both cite the number of years for his kingship, *viz*, 24 Thus we come to 299 B C as the date of Bindusāra's accession to the throne The *Purānas* assign to him a reign of 25 years, so that Aśoka's accession to the throne took place in 274 B C, and his coronation in 270 B C, after allowing for it an interval of 4 years according to the Mahāvaṃsa V 22, which states "Four years after the famous Aśoka had won for himself paramount sovereignty (ekarājjam), he consecrated himself as king in the city of Pāṭaliputta" It may be noticed that when the Edicts mention dates, they count them from the king's coronation (*abhiṣeka*) which must have thus been an important event in Aśoka's reign

This same date, 270 B C, that we get for Aśoka's coronation from his legends, we also get from his Edicts In his Rock Edict XIII, he refers to five western kings as his contemporaries According to the *Cambridge History of India* (Vol I, p 502), these kings were all living up to 258 B C when one of them, (Magas of Cyrene), if not another (Alexander of Epirus), died It is just possible that Asoka at the other end might not have heard of his death for a year, *i e*, till 257 B C which may thus be taken to be the date of R E XIII From R E III, IV, V and Pillar Edict VI, we know that the Rock Edicts were issued in the twelfth

and thirteenth year of his coronation The date of R E. XIII being found to be 257 B C, we come to 270 B C as the date of the coronation

We come to the same date, 270 B C, by another way. From *Mahā* V 37-48, we come to know that Nigrodha, the posthumous son of Aśoka's elder brother, Sumana, was born in the year of his father's death which was followed by Aśoka's accession to the throne, and hence in the year 274 B C, and that he converted Aśoka to Buddhism when he was seven years old, and after the seventh year of Aśoka's accession to the throne, *i e*, about 266 B C Curiously enough, we obtain about the same date for Aśoka's conversion to Buddhism from a close study of the two Edicts bearing on this question, *viz*, R E XIII and Minor R E I The former refers to the king's bloody conquest of Kalinga, in the eighth year of his coronation, *i e*, in 262 B C, and to the further fact that it was followed by a mental reaction in the shape of an intense (tīvra) devotion of the king to his Dharma (of non-violence) The minor R E I also refers to two stages in Aśoka's attitude towards the Dharma (1) a stage of indifference lasting for more than two years and a half when he was only an *Upasaka*, a lay worshipper, (2) a stage of active devotion to the Dharma (*badham ca me pakamte*) It is evident that (2) represents the mental reaction of the Kalinga conquest which took place in 262 B C And so about three years earlier, 266 265 B C Aśoka became a convert to Buddhism as an upāsaka under the influence of Nigrodha, as stated in the *Mahā*

Taking now the initial dates for Aśoka's accession to the

throne and coronation as settled, we obtain a crop of other dates from the legends without any violence to reason or sober history From *Mahā* V 204 we learn that Aśoka's eldest son Mahendra and daughter, Saṅghamitrā were both ordained in the sixth year of his coronation and that they were respectively twenty and eighteen years of age at that time We can now find the precise dates of these three events The ordination of the brother and sister took place in 264 B C The brother was born in 286 B C and the sister in 284 B C From the date of birth of his eldest son, we may infer the date of birth of his father It must have been somewhere near 304 B C This assumes that Asoka became a father at the age of 20 A younger age for his fatherhood is not permissible under the limits indicated in *Maha* XIII, 8 11, stating that Asoka was already old enough to have been deputed as his Viceroy, by his father, to Ujjayini, and on his way, at the town of Vedisa, he met his first love Devī, who later became the mother of Mahendra (*Ib*)

We may, now, present the following table of dates establishing a fairly complete chronology of the life and reign of Asoka, on the basis of the two fold sources the texts and inscriptions —

304 B C —Birth of Aśoka as inferred from the date given below of the birth of his eldest son It is interesting to note that Candra Gupta Maurya lived to see the birth of his grandson who outrivalled his greatness

286 B C —Aśoka (at the age of 18) deputed by his father Bindusāra to Ujjayini from Pāṭaliputra as his Viceroy *Avantirāṣtra* was the name of the Central Provinces of the

Maurya Empire with its two famous towns *Ujjayini*, which was its capital and *Vedisa* where Asoka married his first wife Devi—(*Maha* XIII, 8 11) Asoka's age at that time is taken to be 18 as the lowest permissible age, considering that he was then old enough (1) for marriage and (2) for the rulership of a province (*Avantirastram bhuñjato*) Besides, Hindu Law has fixed 18 as the age of majority Asoka, as a minor could not have been trusted with the government of a province

286 B C —Asoka marries his first wife, Devi at the age of 18 (*Ib*)

284 B C —Birth of Aśoka's eldest son Mahendra (*Ib*), V 204

282 B C —Birth of Asoka's eldest daughter, Samghamitrā (*Ib*)

274 B C —(1) The war of succession between Aśoka and his brothers

(2) Death of the Crown Prince Sumana

(3) Asoka's accession to Supreme Sovereignty (*ekarajjam*)

(4) Birth of Prince Sumana's posthumous son Nigrodha (*Ib* 40 50)

270 B C —Aśoka's Coronation (*Ib* 22)

270 240 B C —Asandhimitrā figuring as Asoka's Queen (*Mahesi*) at the Court of Pāṭaliputra (*Ib* 85 XX 2) instead of his first wife Devi who was all along left at her native town Vedisa (*Ib* XIII 1 8 11) This agrees with the fact stated in R E V that Aśoka had his harems (*Olodhana*) both at Pāṭaliputra and in outlying towns (*bahukesu ca nagalesu*) (Dhauli Text)

270 266 B C —Tissa Asoka's youngest uterine b othe as his Viceregent (Upa rāja) (*Maha* v 33 168)

/268 B C —Samghamitrā married to Agnibrahma

/267 B C —Birth of Asoka's grandson named Sumana son of Samghamitrā (*Ib* 170)

266 B C —(1) Conversion of Asoka to Buddhism b Nigrodha (*Ib* 45)

This is also the date derivable from data contained in th R E XIII and M R E I , as already explained

(2) Asoka converts his brother Tissa his Viceregent to Buddhism (*Ib* 160)

(3) Tissa ordained by Mahādhammarakkhita (*Ib* 168)

(4) Appointment of Prince Mahendra as Viceregent in place of Tissa (*Ib* 202) As Mahendra took orders two years later it is inferred that he must have been acting in the interval as the King's Viceregent in the vac nc caused by Tissa's resignation of that office It is to be noted that Mahendra was then 18 years old and thus just qualified for an administrative office

(5) Agnibrahma, son in law and nephew of Aśoka or dained (*Ib* 170)

266 263 B C —Construction of *viharas* and of *caityas* at places visited by the Buddha (*Jinena* parivuttesu thānesu) by Asoka (*Ib* 173 175)

According to the *Divyavadana* also (XXVI pp 380 381 Cowell's ed) the conversion of Aśoka is followed by his building activity His conversion is announced by him in the following words Śaranam gam upaimi tam ca Buddham ganavaram aryamuditam ca dharmam' His building activity is described in two stages The first com

prised the construction of what are called *Dharmarāṇikās* or *stūpas* all over the empire to receive the Buddha's corporeal relics which were extracted by *'Ārya-Maurya-Śrī'* Aśoka out of seven previous *krtis* of his predecessors, including the *Drona Stūpa* of Ajātaśatru By this pious work (*cf puññena kammunā, Mahā* V 189), Aśoka earned the title of *Dharmāśoka* These *stūpas* are described as being 'resplendent like the autumn clouds' (*śāradābhra prabha*) and also as 'high as hill tops' (*Giriśrnga-kalpa*) The second stage of Aśoka's building activity consisted of *caityas* which were erected at places where the Buddha had dwelt (ye pradeśā adhyusitāh Bhagavatā Buddhena) (*Div* p 389)

265 262 B C —Aśoka as an *upāsaka* (M R E I , as already explained)

264 B C —(1) Ordination of Mahendra by the Thera Mahādeva, under Majjhantika acting as President of the chapter which met for the *kammaṭācam* , his second ordination by Moggaliputta Tissa as his Upādhāya

(2) Ordination of Samghamitrā by her *acāryā Āyupālā* and *upādhyāya* Dhammapālā (*Mahā* V 204-209)

(3) Promotion of Dhammāsoka from the rank of a *Paccaya dāyaka* to that of a *Sāsana dāyāda* (*Ib* , 197)

263 B C —Birth of Kunāla, son of Aśoka's wife, Padmāvati, "on the day when 84 000 *dharmarāṇikās* were completed by King Aśoka" (*Div* , p 405)

262 B C —(1) Conquest of Kalinga and the consequent *intense* (*tira*) devotion of Asoka to Dhamma (R E XIII) , Aśoka's closer connexion with the Samgha (*samghe upagate*) and whole hearted exertions (*parākrama*) on its behalf (M R E I)

(2) Death of the monks, Tissa and Sumitta, followed by the increase in the number of heretics in the Samgha, and the consequent retirement of Moggaliputta Tissa (*Mahā*, V 227 30) This happened "in the eighth regnal year of the king" (*rañño vassamhi atthame*)

(3) Accession of Mahendra to the headship of the Samgha (*Ib*, 232)

260 250 B C —Period of Asoka's pilgrimage to Buddhist holy places—"places where the Lord Buddha had dwelt" The pilgrimage according to *Div* (pp 389 397), had followed the completion of the stūpas and included visits to holy places in the following order —

(1) *Lumbinivana*, 'first of all' (*sarva prathamena*), (2) *Kapilavastu* (3) *Bodhimula* or *Bodhi* (4) *Varanasi*, (5) *Rṣi vadana* (6) *Kuśinagara*, (7) *Jetavana*, where Aśoka worshipped the stūpas of the Buddha's chief disciples Sāriputra Mahāmaudgalyāyana Mahākāsyapa, of Vatkula, and Ānanda The *Div* also marks out the four most important of these places of pilgrimage as those which are associated with the Buddha s (1) *Jati* (2) *Bodhi*, (3) *Dharmacakra* and (4) *Parinirvana*

The fact of Asoka s pilgrimage is also attested by his own inscriptions Only there are discrepancies between the *Div* and the inscriptions as regards (1) the places visited (2) the order in which they were visited and (3) the dates of some of these visits The Edicts do not mention *all* the places visited but only *two* of these *viz* Lumbini and Bodh Gaya or *Sambodhi* The former pilgrimage is dated 250 B C in the Rummindei Pillar Inscription and the latter in 260 B C in R E VIII The Edicts thus make the visit to Bodhi

as prior to that to Lumbini The Edicts also mention Aśoka's pilgrimage to a place *not* mentioned in the *Div*, *viz*, the stūpa of Buddha Konākamana as recorded in the Nigliva Pillar inscription

It is interesting to note that the words '*atana āgācha mahīyate hida Budhe jāte*' correspond closely to the following words of the *Div* 'ye Buddhena Bhagavatā pradesā adhyusitās tān archayāmiaham *gatiā* chinhāni chaiva kuryām asmin Mahārāja pradeśe—Bhagavān jātah'

262 254 B C —The Samgha under the headship of Mahendra, recall by Aśoka of Moggaliputta Tissa who taught him the doctrine of the *Sambuddha*, meeting of the samgha under him and expulsion by the king of the heretical monks ('te micchāditthike sabbē rājā uppabhajāpayi') (*Mahā* V 231 274) It is to be noted that the expulsion of heretical monks by the king is also referred to in the Pillar Edicts at Sāñci, Sārnāth and Kauśambī

260 B C —Issue of the first Edict, the Minor R E I, the first of Aśoka's *dharmāyatrās* to Bodh Gayā (R E VIII), addressing the Bhabra Edict to the Samgha, popularising the gods (M R E I as interpreted by some scholars)

259 B C —Issue of the two separate Kalinga Edicts

258 257 B C —Issue of the 14 Rock Edicts, grant to the Ājīvikas, of cave dwellings in the Barabar Hills (as stated in the Nigrodha and Khalatika caves Inscriptions)

257 B C —Institution of officers called Dharma Mahāmātras (R E V).

256 B C —Double enlargement of the Stūpa of Buddha Konākamana (Nigliva Pillar Inscription)

253 B C —Meeting of the Third Buddhist Council under

Moggaliputta Tissa (*Mahā* V, 280), and despatch by him of missionaries to different countries (*Mahā* XII, 1-8).

The fact of despatch of missionaries to foreign countries is also attested in the Edicts But there are points of agreement and divergence in the versions of the event presented by the Edicts and the legends The former attribute the despatch of missionaries to Aśoka, the latter to Tissa The Edicts call them *Dharma Mahāmātras* or *Dūtas* The *Mahā* tells of more countries to which they are despatched than the Edicts

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252 B C —Mahendra on way to Ceylon visits his mother, Devī, at Vedisa when already 12 years a monk (*Maha* XIII, 1-8 11).

251 B C —Gift of a cave in the Khalatika Hill as shelter against rain (Khalatika Hill No 2 Cave Inscriptions)

250 B C —Pilgrimage to Lumbini , to the Stūpa of Buddha Konākamana ; erection of a commemorative pillar and a shrine at the first, and a pillar at the second place

243-242 B C —Issue of Pillar Edicts

240 B C —Death of Asandhimitrā, the dear consort of Aśoka, and faithful believer in the Sambuddha (*Mahā.* XX, 2)

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235 B C —Kunāla sent out as Viceroy to Taxila, then in revolt (*Div ib*) Kunāla was then 18 years old

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It is interesting to note that this *Div* story is also represented on stone in one of the sculptures of Sāñci The *Div* refers to 1000 pitchers filled with scented water used by Aśoka to revive the "Bodhi druma " ('*Kumbhānām sahasram gandhodakena pūra yitvā*') We also find to the left of the Sāñci sculpture (on the front face of the lower lintel of the eastern gate) figures of pitchers being carried by a crowd of musicians and devotees , in the centre, the temple and the Tree of Knowledge (*Bodhi*) , and to the right a royal retinue, a king and queen descending from an elephant and their

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offering worship later at the tree. This scene is also repeate on the top and second panels of the rear face of the le pillar of the south gate. The association of these sculpture with Aśoka is further attested by the figure of pairs of peacoc appearing at the ends of the architrave, the peacock bein the dynastic symbol of the Mauryas

232 B.C.—Death of Aśoka in the thirty-eighth year o his reign (*Mahā.* XX, 1-6).

CHAPTER XIX

WANTED A PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE—? BUDDHISM

Doubtless for the reason that all serious things are treated frivolously and all frivolous things seriously, Buddhism has not yet received that attention in the West which it deserves Conditions now are more favourable for its due appreciation there than at any previous time, for thousands in Europe are without an adequate or satisfactory explanation of life, while at the same time finding in themselves a greater disposition to explore spiritual things than ever before To these people Buddhism presents itself with high credentials · it is the religion and hope of the preponderant portion of the world's peoples It can be presented in a simple way while its founder and central figure strikes the heart once and for all The late Sir Edwin Arnold conferred a great benefit on the Western reading public with his beautiful poem "The Light of Asia" Like all eternal things the great religions, their Scriptures, the world's mighty mountains and rivers, and the shining of the planets, Buddhism comes with power to him who has reached a certain stage of evolution Tired of that everlasting round of trying to possess 'things' he desires to KNOW and to BE For this man there are all the glorious depths of Buddhist Philosophy and Psychology, "he is too tired for such a search, let him contemplate the glorious Tathāgata, who was once himself but a man, and those lesser lights" the blessed Bodhisattvas

Like all the real MASTERS the Buddha has no condemnation and knows nothing of 'sinners' in the Church

sense All creatures are bound to the Wheel of the Law and actions proceed from nature In a world ruled by law none goes without the just and meticulous reward for his deeds, whether these be good or evil, and man is expected to act honourably and uprightly because he is a man, a birth difficult to get

This is not to say that all public presentations of Buddhism are without fault, for this great Philosophy has often failed to appeal to Western thinkers in the past because of the incomplete and partial presentations known to them These Western students having failed to find satisfaction in their own exoteric and anthropomorphic creed were not drawn to a Buddhism offered to them as little better than a philosophical atheism These nihilistic forms while suited, presumably to the Asiatic temperament and accompanied by comforting superstitions in the case of the vulgar, could not appeal to the positive Western man, with his intense will to live and having the sort of hardihood which made the great world war possible Prof Karl Reischauer in his Studies in Japanese Buddhism," says rather appositely, in reference to this doctrine of the absence of a permanent ego "Now this denial of the reality of the self seems very strange, at least to the average Western mind, for at once the thought suggests itself that if the belief in the reality of the self is an illusion it must be an illusion to something or some one, and what is that "something or some one ?"

And still further if the Enlightened One (the Arhat) knows that the belief in the existence of the ego is an illusion, then what or who is it that knows this ?"

Mr G R S Mead in "Some Features of Buddhist Psychology" in his "Quests Old and New" has many just things to say in reference to this question, and, amongst others

"If there is no spiritual principle of identity, no genuine continuity, no true entity, it seems but empty words to speak of moral responsibility, and vainer still to write of Buddhist belief in 'expansion of memory down the long past, the supernormal range of vision and hearing, telepathic, or rather telenoetic power, the mastery of will over the body and beyond that' We have every belief in the spiritual reality that transcends ever changing subject and ever changing object, and have not the slightest wish to misconceive that reality as a static essence, but we cannot see how it is more philosophical to insist on the ever changing nature of the relativity of subject and object, to the exclusion of any principle of spiritual self identity which fundamentally embraces all relativity"

The only satisfactory answer to these very valid objections is that the Buddha, like all other teachers, had an esoteric doctrine, and that this esoteric teaching reflected in the Mahayāna school assimilates *real* Buddhist teaching to *real* Vedānta teaching or to the arcane teachings of any other valid mystical world system This position is, of course, strenuously denied by many writers on Buddhism but to what purpose In other words what is the value of establishing atheism supposing it can be done The great need to day in the East as in the West is more faith hope and enthusiasm This is surely to be cultivated by working along the line of least resistance, which in the case of the European is that of encouraging his traditional belief of an

enduring ego, but pointing out that there is a phenomenal and a noumenal ego, and that every act and thought has a MORAL value, whether downright murder or buying shares in an armament firm

The dreadful mental and spiritual bankruptcy of the West was evidenced by the great war, and these Western men and women are to day turning eyes made clearer by their terrible sufferings on to these old philosophies Their extraordinary doctrine of *one life* only has made them terribly matter-of-fact and impatient of pedantry, whether spiritual, or otherwise To this extent they are good arbiters of the value of these old Eastern teachings whether Buddhistic or Vedāntic, and if the Western man's *will* is really aroused to adopt them what might not be accomplished with his relentless *efficiency turned in another direction to that of* destruction

Benjamin Kidd's "The Science of Power" is worthy of very careful study in reference to this great possibility of the changing of thought currents a reversal of aim Once the current of world thought sets in the right direction, by the action of dynamic minds, with all the means of publicity which exist to day what might not be possible The Tathāgata preached to "all the creatures of the three worlds" and to day Science can send a message round the earth in a few seconds and one man talk to another across oceans

Certain broad world tendencies are showing themselves unmistakably and with great swiftness on the one hand are those sections of civilised man which appear to have ranged themselves on the side of animalism and are devoting themselves to the activities of the lower centres of the

human being and their delight is in sensual and degraded forms of music, art and literature, nor is this tendency merely sporadic—there is a system about it On the other hand are those whose more enlightened minds having pierced, to some extent, the false, glittering illusions of materialistic life are by their developing w i l l s reaching out to that SPIRITUAL LIFE which is the common property of all human beings In other words, civilised man is to day MAKING HIS CHOICE individually and nationally, it is no longer an apparently mere blind struggle, the great war has shown all, except those who do not count that man must accept his responsibility as a M A N and dominate the purely animal elements To the extent, therefore, that Buddhism, or Vedanta or any other mystical philosophy, (for a merely i n t e l l e c t u a l system is of no use), can take its rightful position, show that it has the innate POWER to influence the i n n e r s e l v e s of men and women, not merely to make them formally and outwardly respectable but to cause them to act and think like incarnate g o d s,—for nothing else will serve,—to this extent that system will become *the* world force

This to my mind is the crux of the whole matter the whole world is in bitter need of a World Buddha that is —a spiritual and Self enlightened Leader —not of any man—appointed potentate who moves by means of edicts or precedents, these to day are naught but pedants trumperies

human being may to form some conception of it is by reason
forms of music the Teachings of the Buddha
merely sporadic y of Buddhism it is also possible for one to
hand are those w asoning powers and logically conclude that
to some extent, t bāna
life are by then the Buddha, in one of His previous births
SPIRITUAL Li ght to Himself —

human beings although there *misery* is
MAKING HIS Cl ess is also found,
no longer an app ndeed *existence* is
has shown all, excel nce should be sought"
except his responsib
animal elements Though there may be *heat*,
or Vedānta or any *cold* is also found,
Intellectual we three fold *fire* exists,
Likewise Nibbāna should be sought"

"Even as, although there *evil* is
That which is *good* is also found
So, though 't is true that *birth exists*,
That which is *not birth* should be sought'[1]

Thus pondering on the positive and negative aspects of life, he came to the definite conclusion that there must exist a sorrowless and deathless Nibbāna opposed to a miserable and changing Samsāra or in other words an absolute existence in contradistinction to the phenomenal existence

But logically or scientifically one can never comprehend its true nature It is *Atakkāvacaro*—not within the sphere of logic

[1] Warren's Buddhism in translations p 6

"Nibbāna, Nibbāna friend Sāriputta, thus they say But what, friend, is this Nibbāna ?' was a question asked by a Brāhmin ascetic some two thousand five hundred years ago It was echoed by King Milinda at Sāgala five hundred years later As the question sounds still fresh in the ears of all, it may be permitted to re echo the same in these pages too

The Pāli word Nibbāna is *composed of* 'Ni" and "Vāna" Ni is a negative particle and *Vana* means weaving or craving which acts as it were a cord to connect one life with another

That which enables one to depart from craving or let loose the cord, is known as Nibbana

The Venerable Anuruddha defines it in his Compendium of Philosophy thus —' It is called Nibbana in that it is a "departure" (ni) from that craving which is called Vana 'lusting '

As long as one is bound up by craving one accumulates fresh Kammic forces which must materialise themselves in one form or other—thus subjecting oneself to the eternal cycle of birth and death When all forms of craving are extirpated Kammic forces cease to operate and one eventually attains Nibbana escaping the cycle of rebirth

Nibbana is also explained as "the blowing out —the blowing out of the fire of lust (Lobha) hatred (Dosa), and illusion (Moha) The whole world is in flames says the Buddha By what fire is it kindled ? By the fire of lust hatred and illusion , by the fire of birth, old age death, pain lamentation sorrow grief, and despair is it kindled ?"

Nibbana, in one sense may be interpreted as the blowing out of these flames For in reply to the question put by Jambukhādaka, Venerable Sāriputta says — Nibbāna is

the extinction of lust, hatred and ignorance "[1] But one must not understand on the strength of this statement that Nibbāna is nothing but the extinction of the above passions "*Khayamattam 'eva na Nibbānan 'ti Vattabbam*—One must not say that Nibbāna is mere extinction" says the Visuddhi-Magga Venerable Sāriputta merely mentioned in this connection the means whereby Nibbāna may be attained

To prove that Nibbāna is nothingness simply because one cannot conceive it with one's worldly knowledge, is as illogical as to conclude that there exists no light just because the blind man does not see it In that well known fable, too, the fish arguing with his friend, the turtle, triumphantly concluded that there exists no land

If Nibbāna is nothingness, then it must necessarily coincide with space—Ākāsa

In the Anguttara Nikāya, the Buddha says —

"There are, O Bhikkhus, two Dhammas, permanent, eternal, everlasting, not changing, *viz* space (Ākāsa) and Nibbāna " 'The former is eternal because it is nothing in itself With regard to the difference between space and Nibbāna it may briefly be said that the former is *not*, but the latter *is*

Speaking of the different modes of existence, the Buddha makes a special reference to a 'Realm of Nothingness" (Ākiñcaññāyatana)

The fact that Arahants realise Nibbāna as an object, one of the Vatthu-Dhammas decidedly proves that Nibbāna is not a state of nothingness If it were such, there would be no necessity for the Buddha to describe its state in various

[1] Samyutta Nikaya Book iv p 251

terms, as "Living Water," "Endless Security" (Khema), "Immortality" (Amata), "Emancipation" (Mutti), "Peace" (Santi), and so forth

Nibbāna of the Buddha is, therefore, neither a state of nothingness nor a mere cessation

Sopādisesa and Anupādisesa Nibbāna Dhātu

References are frequently made in the Books to Nibbāna as Sopādisesa and Anupādisesa These, in fact, are not two kinds of Nibbāna, but the one single Nibbāna receiving its name according to the way it is experienced before and after death

Sopādisesa—having a remainder, substratum or basis—used of the attainment of Nibbāna by a Saint, where, although the Nibbāna has been attained, there yet remains the body as the 'nexus' Here it must not be forgotten that *Arahants and others do not uninterruptedly enjoy the bliss* of Nibbāna in the course of their life span

Anupādisesa—without a basis—used of the true Nibbāna itself is mentioned with reference to the state—so to say—of the Arahants and Buddhas after the dissolution of the body

A careful consideration of the three following characteristics, attributed by Buddha to Nibbāna will perhaps enable one to comprehend its nature to some extent

Three Distinct Characteristics of Nibbana

Contrasting Nibbāna with Samsāra the Buddha states that the former is eternal (Dhuva), desirable (Subha) and happy (Sukha)

According to Buddhism everything cosmic and hyper cosmic is classed under two divisions, namely —things

conditioned by causes (Sankhata) and things unconditioned by any cause (Asankhata).

All conditional things, and to which category belongs everything in this universe, are, as a consequence, constantly changing, not remaining for two consecutive moments the same.

This truth propounded by the Buddha, the Peerless Scientist of the East, some 2,000 years ago, was realised by the Scientist of the West only yesterday. For not more than 70 years ago it was believed as gospel truth that there existed in the domain of matter a 'substance," an unchanging indivisible atom. But the theory was held up to scorn and ridicule and died a natural death at the hands of the more enlightened analytical scientists The so called atom is at present believed to consist of magnetic forces, electrons and corpuscles, in incessant movement, a balance of action and re-action no longer considered indestructible

In the realm of consciousness the Westerners are still groping in the dark. Fortunately enough Professors Bergson and William James have now proved that the consciousness is also in a state of constant flux remaining for no two consecutive moments the same 'All consciousness is time existence, and a conscious state is not a state that endures without changing It is a change without ceasing"

Life which is composed of mind (Nāma) and matter (Rūpa) is thus a mere flowing on incessant flux

To illustrate this all-pervading law of transiency one need not multiply instances The past history of nations, the fall of powerful empires, the rapid changes a particular

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To illustrate this all pervading law of transiency one need not multiply instances The past history of nations, the fall of powerful empires, the rapid changes a particular

individual undergoes during one brief life-span itself, undoubtedly reveal to the thinking man that there exists here nothing but a constant becoming and passing away.

Everything that has sprung from a cause must inevitably pass away, and as such is undesirable (Asubha). That which is transient and undesirable cannot certainly be happy (Sukha).

What we call happiness or pleasure here is merely the gratification of some desire. No sooner is the desired thing gained than it begins to be scorned, so unsatiate are all desires. "We crave to acquire wealth, and we gain it but we are weary in the midst of our goal. We long fo fame, and we gain it; but we are lonely, our heart i unsatisfied. We want power, and we gain it; but we ar the object of envy and jealousy." What earthly joy i there that does not sooner or later lose its savour What known pleasure is there that does not pall and weary with long continuance? What worldly amusement or delight is there that can, not to say, be enjoyed, but be even endured for some length of time? Wordly bliss, heavenly bliss not excluded, is only a prelude to pain. Sorrow is, therefore, essential to life, and cannot be evaded. If it can find entrance in no other form, then it comes, as Schopenhauer says, in the sad, grey garments of tedium and ennui.

But Nibbāna, being the only unconditioned thing, that which has not arisen from a cause, is, in contradistinction to phenomenal existence (Saṁsāra), Eternal (Dhuva) Desirable (Subha) and Happy (Sukha) It is one whole Sukha, Bliss, Real Happiness. A happiness that never fades, never

wearies, never falls, never fluctuates A happiness which grows not stale or monotonous It is a form of happiness which arises as the result of calming down passions (vupasama) unlike that worldly happiness which results from the gratification of some desire (vedayita)

So far well and good, but, where is this so called Nibbāna ? In the Milinda Pañha, Venerable Nāgasena gives the answer to the question in the following words —"There is *no spot* looking East, South, West or North, above, below or beyond, where Nibbāna is situate, and yet *Nibbāna is*, and he who orders his life aright, grounded in virtue, and with rational attention, may realise it, whether he lives in Greece, China, Alexandria, or in Kosala "

In illustration thereof he says —

Just as the fire is not stored up in one particular place but arises when the necessary conditions exist, so Nibbāna is not said to be existing in a *particular* place, but *it is attained* when the necessary conditions are fulfilled

To put it in the words of the Buddha Himself—Nibbāna is nowhere but is dependent upon this one fathomed carcass itself

It therefore follows that Nibbāna is not a sort of Brahma-Heaven where a transcendental ego resides, but a dhamma, a mere state inconceivable by ordinary knowledge

What attains Nibbāna, is another question which requires careful consideration The question must necessarily be set aside as irrelevant, for Buddhism admits of no permanent entity or of an immortal soul

The so called "being" of which we often hear as the

'vestment of the soul' is, to quote Bhikkhuni Va[illegible]tself, un-
bundle of conditional factors. [illegible]xists here

"And just as when the parts are rightly [illegible].
The word 'chariot' ariseth (in our minds) [illegible]nevitably
So doth our usage covenant to say, [illegible]). That
'A being' when the aggregates are there. [illegible]uinly be

According to Buddhism there is no 'being' in t[illegible]
sense. This personality is composed of mind [illegible]rely the
(Nāma and Rūpa) which are ever in a state [illegible]d thing
flux. Matter, the perceptible component part of [illegible]are all
which may be termed the 'vestment of the *mind*,' [illegible]ain it;
forces and qualities. As Bishop Berkley quite co[illegible]ng for
proved, the so-called indivisible atom, the supposed [illegible]rt is
matter, according to Buddhist philosophy, is only a [illegible]re
physical fiction.

The mind, where resides the imaginary ego, is also on the other hand composed of fleeting mental states.

A being is thus a ceaseless flux instead of an unchanging soul embodied. Buddhism admits of an individual life-flux, but not a personal identity. As there is neither a permanent ego nor an identical being, it is needless to say that there is no "I" in Nibbāna. Thus hath it been said :—

"Misery only doth exist, none miserable,
Nor doer is there, nought save the deed is found.
Nibbāna is, but not the man who seeks it,
The *path* exists, but not the traveller in it."

It must be admitted that this question of Nibbāna is the most difficult to be understood in the teachings of Buddha However much we may speculate we shall never be in a position to comprehend its real nature, The best way to

ut Nibbāna is to try 'to get to it' or 'let it get us'
weaned never really knows anything without some doing, and
grows not than anywhere else is that true here Although
which arhana lies in obscurity inasmuch as the worlding is con
(upasampadā, the path that leads to Nibbāna, which could be
from the fov any seeker after peace, is explained by the Buddha
So far all the necessary details, and is laid at the disposal of all
In the Mi he path to Nibbāna is the *Via Media* that avoids the
to the qu extremes—the extreme of self mortification, which
looking Lolves unnecessary pain, and the extreme of indulgence
where Nibensual pleasures which tends to cloud one's mental
orders lus on and retard spiritual progress
attention The first stage on this Grand Highway is Sīla or Dis-
Alexcipline Without killing or causing injury to any living
being, he should be kind and compassionate towards all, even
to the small creature that crawls at his feet Refraining
from stealing whether in its dissembled or obvious forms, he
should be upright and honest in all his dealings Abstaining
from sexual misconduct, he should be pure and chaste
Shunning false speech, he should be truthful Avoiding
pernicious drinks, he should be sober and diligent

These five precepts should be strictly observed for transgression of them is likely to create fresh troubles and obstacles almost impassable and insurmountable

En passant it must be mentioned that as the spiritual pilgrim proceeds on this Highway, he is expected to live a life *of complete chastity, simplicity and voluntary poverty*, nourishing the body but sparingly, lest vigour and comfort might foster indolence sloth and torpidity

Whilst he progresses slowly and steadily with word and

deed well regulated and senses well restrained, His kammic force compels him to renounce worldly pleasures and adopt the ascetic life To him then comes the idea that

"A den of strife is household life,
And filled with toil and need ;
But free and high as the open sky
Is the life the homeless lead "

Accordingly, he voluntarily forsakes his earthly possessions, and entering the Order, endeavours his best to lead the Holy life in all its purity. Here he practises the Higher Sīle to such a high pitch of perfection that, as a result of his absolute purity, he practically becomes selfless in all his actions Neither fame nor wealth nor honour nor worldly gain could induce him to do anything contrary to his lofty principles

The homeless life is certainly the shortest cut to Nibbāna, but one must not understand that it is absolutely necessary to enter the Order to attain Sainthood There are several instances of laymen who have realised Nibbāna without renouncing the worldly life The lay follower Anāthapindika was a Sotāpanna, the Sākya Mahānāma was a Sakadāgāmī, the potter Ghatīkāra was an Anāgāmī, and King Suddhodana died as an Arahant An Anāgāmī must, of recourse, lead a life of celibacy, and a lay Arahant, according to the books, must either enter the Order or attain Pari-Nibbāna, for he cannot live for more than seven days amidst the uncongenial surroundings of the worldly life

Securing, therefore, a firm footing on the ground of Sīla, the aspirant then embarks upon the higher practice of Samādhi, the second stage on the path to Nibbāna Purity

of virtue is an essential preliminary for the development of Samādhi, for "unregulated conduct imparts the predominance of passion, and where passion prevails, there, for the time being, his mind is in a state of exile"

Samādhi is "one pointedness of the mind" It is the concentration at will on one object, to the entire exclusion of all irrelevant matter In order to cultivate this one-pointedness of the mind, the aspirant should at first give a careful consideration to the subject under contemplation Of the forty subjects that are elaborately discussed in the Visuddhimagga, he should choose the one most suited to his character

This being satisfactorily settled he retires to a quiet place where he is least disturbed, and adopting any position that is easy and relaxed, makes a persistent effort to focus his mind on the subject of contemplation (Kammatthāna)

However intent he may be on the subject he will not be exempt from the initial difficulties that confront a beginner External thoughts dance before him like the flickering pictures of a cinematograph, impatience overcomes him owing to slowness of progress, and his efforts get slackened in consequence The resolute individual only welcomes these hindrances, the difficulties he cuts through the obstacles he surmounts, and looks straight to his goal, never for a moment turning his eyes from it

Thus with renewed confidence and redoubled vigour he strives after his desired end, concentrating his entire attention on the object (Parikamma Nimitta) until he gets so wholly absorbed and interested in it, that all other thoughts are *ipso facto* expelled from the mind A point is ultimately

reached when he is able to visualise the object—in case it happens to be a physical one On this visualised image (Uggaha Nimitta), which is an exact mental replica of the object, he now concentrates until it develops into a conceptualised image (Patibbāga Nimitta) As he continually concentrates on this abstract concept, he is said to be in possession of proximate concentration (Upacāra Samādhi), and the innate five hindrances to progress (Nīvarana), namely —sense—desires, sloth and torpor, restlessness, and brooding, and doubts—get temporarily inhibited Eventually he gains ecstatic concentration (Appanā Samādhi), and, to his indescribable joy, becomes enwrapt in jhāna, enjoying the calmness and serenity of an one pointed mind

When once he succeeds in exercising perfect control over his discursive mind, he can, without the least difficulty develop the five supernormal powers (Abhiññā)—clairvoyance (Dibbacakkhu), clairaudience (Dibbasota), reminiscence of past births (pubbe nivāsānussati ñāna), thought-reading (Paracitta vijānana), and various psychic powers (Iddhividha)

Samādhi and these supernormal powers, it may be mentioned, are not essential for the attainment of Arahantship, though they would undoubtedly be a valuable asset to the possessor There are, for instance, dry-visioned Arahants (Sukkha Vipassakas) who without resorting to the Jhānas, attain Arahantship by cultivating insight alone

The mind of the aspirant at this stage is considerably purified, but he is not wholly free from giving vent to his passions For, by concentration, the evil tendencies are only

temporarily inhibited They may rise to the surface at quite unexpected moments

Discipline regulates word and deed, concentration controls the mind, but it is Insight (Paññā), the third and the final stage, that enables him to annihilate completely the passions inhibited by Samādhi

At the outset he cultivates "Purity of Vision" in order to comprehend things as they truly are With his one pointed mind he scrutinizes his "self" and on due examination discovers that his I-personality is nothing but a mere composition of mind and matter—the former consisting of volitional activities that arise as a result of the senses coming in contact with the sense stimuli, and the latter of forces and qualities that manifest themselves in multifarious phenomena

Having thus gained a correct view of the real nature of his self freed from the false notion of an identical substance of mind and matter, he attempts to investigate into the cause of this I-personality He realises that everything worldly, himself not excluded is conditioned by some cause or causes past or present and that his existence is due to ignorance, craving, attachment, and Kamma of the past, and physical food of the present life On account of these five causes this personality has arisen and as the past activities have conditioned the present so the present activities will condition the future Meditating thus he transcends all doubts with regard to the past present, and future Thereupon he contemplates that all conditioned things are transient, (Anicca), subject to suffering (Dukkha) and devoid of an immortal soul (Anatta) wherever he turns his eyes he

sees nought but these three characteristics standing out in bold relief. He comprehends that life is a mere flowing, a continuous undivided moment. Neither in heaven nor on earth does he find any genuine happiness, for every form of pleasure is only a prelude to pain. What is transient is therefore painful, and where change and sorrow prevail there cannot be a permanent ego.

As he is thus absorbed in meditation a day comes when, to his surprise, he witnesses an aura emanating from his body. He experiences an unprecedented pleasure, happiness, and quietude. He becomes even-minded and strenuous. His religious fervour increases, mindfulness gets perfect, and insight extraordinarily keen. Labouring under the misconception that he has attained Sainthood, chiefly owing to the presence of the aura, he yearns for this state of mind. Soon he realises that these temptations are only defilements to insight and that he has not really attained Sainthood. Accordingly he endeavours to distinguish between the right and the wrong path.

Perceiving the right path he resumes his meditation on the arising and passing away of conditioned things. Of these two characteristics the latter becomes more impressed in his mind, because change is more visible than becoming. Therefore he turns his attention to the contemplation of the dissolution of things. He perceives that both mind and matter, which constitute this personality, are in a state of constant flux. To him then comes the knowledge that all dissolving things are fearful. The whole world appears to him like a pit of burning embers—a source of danger. Sub-

sequently he reflects on the wretchedness and vanity of the fearful and wicked world, and feeling disgusted of it, gets the desire to escape therefrom

With this object in view, he meditates again on the three characteristics, and thereafter becomes completely indifferent to all conditioned things—harbouring neither attachment nor aversion to any worldly object Reaching this point of mental culture, he takes for his object one of the three characteristics that appeals to him most, and intently keeps on developing Insight in that particular direction until that glorious day comes to him when, to his indescribable joy, he would realise Nibbāna, his ultimate goal, for the first time in his life

'As the traveller by night sees the landscape around him by each flash of lightning and the picture so obtained long thereafter swims before his dazzled eyes, so the individual by the flashing light of Insight catches a glimpse of Nibbāna with such clearness that the after picture never more fades from his mind"

When the spiritual pilgrim realises Nibbāna for the first time he is called a Sotāpanna—one who has entered the stream that leads to Nibbāna He discards three fetters, namely—self illusion doubts, and indulgence in (wrongful) rites and ceremonies As he has not eradicated the will-to-live, he is reborn seven times at the most In his subsequent birth he may or may not be aware of the fact that he is a *Sotāpanna* Nevertheless he *possesses the characteristics* peculiar to such a Saint He gains implicit confidence in the Buddha Dhamma and the Sangha and could never be induced to violate any of the Five Precepts He is moreover

a spiritual happiness which is absolutely independent of the five senses, and which arises as the result of inhibiting the desire for pleasures of sense In the fourth Jhāna, however, even this type of happiness is discarded as coarse and unprofitable, and equanimity is termed happiness

Referring to the tenth grade, the Nirodha Samāpatti—*i e*, experiencing Nibbāna in this life itself the Buddha says that of all the ten grades of happiness it is the highest and most sublime

Well, as the Buddha has anticipated one may ask,—How can that state be called a happiness when there is no consciousness at this juncture to experience the feeling ?

The Buddha replies—"Nay, friends, the Blessed one does not recognise bliss merely because of a pleasurable sensation, but friends, wheresoever Bliss is attained there and there only does the Accomplished One recognise Bliss"

The very fact of the cessation of the flux is termed "bliss" (Sukha) in conventional language, which has no word to actually depict it

Why does the Arahant continue to live when he has already realised Nibbana or, when he has denied the will-to live, so to say ?

It is because his Kamma force which conditioned his birth is not still spent To quote Schopenhauer it is like the potter's wheel from which the hand of the potter has been lifted, or, to cite a better illustration from our own books. an Arahant is like a branch that is cut off from the tree It puts forth no more fresh leaves, flowers and fruits, as it is no longer supported by the sap of the tree, but those which already existed would last till life becomes extinct

in that particular branch The Arahant lives till his life span is over without adding any more fresh Kamma to his store and utterly indifferent to whether he dies or not

What happens to the Arahant after his Pari-Nibbāna ? As a flame blown to and fro by the wind, says the Buddha, goes out and cannot be registered even so an Arahant set free from mind and matter has disappeared and cannot be registered

One enquires —Has he then merely disappeared, or does he indeed no longer exist ?

For him who has disappeared, says the Buddha, in the Sutta Nipāta, there is no form that by which they say "He is" exists for him no more when all conditions are cut off, all matter for discussion is also cut off Or again as the Udāna sings —

"As the fiery sparks from a forge are one by one
extinguished
And no one knows where they have gone—
So it is with those who have attained to complete
emancipation,
Who have crossed the flood of desire
Who have entered the calm delight of those no trace
remains'

Perhaps it will not be out of place here to give an account of the interesting discussion that took place between the Buddha and Vacchagotta concerning this very question

Vacchagotta a wandering ascetic approached the Buddha and questioned—But Gotama where is the Bhikkhu who is delivered of mind reborn ? He was of course referring to the Arahant

absolved from states of woe, for he is destined to Enlightenment

Summoning up fresh courage, as a result of this distant glimpse of Nibbāna, the Aryan pilgrim makes rapid progress and perfecting his Insight becomes a Sakadāgāmī—"Once-Returner"—by attenuating two more fetters, namely—sense desires and ill-will He is called a Sakadāgāmī because he is reborn on earth only once in case he does not attain Arahantship in that very birth itself It is interesting to note that the pilgrim who had attained the second stage of Sainthood is only capable of weakening these two powerful fetters with which he is bound up from a beginningless past Occasionally he may be obsessed with thoughts of lust and anger, to a slight extent

It is by attaining the third stage of Sainthood, Anāgāmī (Never-Returner), that he completely discards the above two fetters Thereafter he neither returns to this world nor does he seek birth in the celestial realms, since he has rooted out the desire for sensual pleasures After death he is reborn in the Pure Abodes (Suddhāvāsa), a camping place exclusively confined to Anāgāmīns and Arahants Even an Anāgāmī, it must be understood, has not completely got rid of his "will-to live"

Now the earnest pilgrim encouraged by the unprecedented success of his endeavours, makes his final advance and destroying the remaining five fetters, namely—lust after life in Realms of Forms (Rūpaloka) and Formless Realms (Arūpaloka), conceit, restlessness, and ignorance, attains Arahantship, the last stage of Sainthood

Instantly he realises that what was to be accomplished

has been done, that a heavy burden of sorrow has been finally relinquished and that all forms of the "will-to-live" have been totally annihilated The happy pilgrim now stands on heights more than celestial, far removed from the rebellious passions and defilements of the world, enjoying that unutterable, eternal Bliss of Nibbāna

An Arahant, however, not wholly immune from physical pain, as he is not experiencing this Bliss of Deliverence uninterruptedly, and has not cast off the material body he bears While Nibbāna is assuredly accessible here and now a continuous realisation of the Emancipation of the mind from sorrow is therefore knowable only after death

It may be mentioned in this connection that Anāgāmins and Arahants who have adopted the Samatha path or, in other words, have developed concentration and acquired the different kinds of ecstasies, could experience the Bliss of Nibbāna in this life itself This, in Pāli, is called the Nirodha Samāpatti In this post—cataleptic state, the person is wholly free from pain and his mental activities are all suspended This according to Buddhism is the highest form of happiness that could be experienced in this life itself

In the Bahu—Vedaniya Suttanta (No 57 M N) the Buddha enumerates ten grades of happiness beginning with the gross material pleasures which are the resultant of the pleasant stimulation of the five senses As one ascends higher and higher in the spiritual plane the so called happiness becomes more and more exalted, sublime, and subtle, so much so that it is scarcely recognisable as happiness to the ordinary worldling One in the first Jhāna experiences

The Buddha replies—"Vaccha to say that he is reborn would not fit the case."

"Then Gotama, he is not reborn."

"Vaccha, to say that he is not reborn would not fit the case."

"Then, Gotama, he is both reborn and is not reborn."

"Vaccha to say that he is both reborn and is not reborn would not fit the case."

"Then, Gotama he is neither reborn nor not reborn."

"Vaccha, to say that he is neither reborn nor not reborn would not fit the case."

Vaccha was more than confounded when he heard these seemingly preposterous answers, and in his confusion exclaimed—

"Gotama, I am at a loss what to think in this matter, and I have become greatly confused."

"Enough, O Vaccha! Be not at a loss what to think in this matter and be not greatly confused. Profound, O Vaccha, is this doctrine, recondite, and difficult of comprehension good, excellent, and not to be reached by mere reasoning subtle and intelligible only to the wiser, and it is a hard doctrine for you to learn, who belong to another sect to another faith, to another persuasion, to another discipline, and sit at the feet of another teacher. Therefore, Vaccha, I will now question you, and do you make answer as may seem to you good. What think you, Vaccha? Suppose a fire were to burn in front of you, would you be aware that a fire was burning in front of you?

"Gotama, if a fire were to burn in front of me, I should be aware that a fire was burning in front of me."

"But suppose, Vaccha, some one were to ask you, 'On what does this fire that is burning in front of you depend?' What would you answer, Vaccha?"

"I would answer, Gotama, 'It is on fuel of grass and wood that this fire that is burning in front of me depends.'"

"But, Vaccha, if the fire in front of you were to become extinct, would you be aware that the fire in front of you had become extinct"

"Gotama, if the fire in front of me were to become extinct, I should be aware that the fire in front of me had become extinct"

"But, Vaccha if some one were to ask you, 'In which direction has that fire gone—east, or west, or north, or south? What would you say, O Vaccha?"

"The question would not fit the case, Gotama, for the fire which depended on fuel of grass and wood, when that fuel has all gone, and it can get no other, being thus without nutriment, is said to be extinct"

"In exactly the same way, Vaccha, all form, sensation, perception, mental activities and consciousness have been abandoned, uprooted made like a palmyra stump, become non existent, and not liable to spring up in the future The Saint, O Vaccha who has been released from what are styled the Five Aggregates is deep, immeasurable unfathomable, like the mighty ocean To say that he is reborn would not fit the case To say that he is not reborn would not fit the case To say that he is both reborn and not reborn would not fit the case To say that he is neither reborn nor not reborn would not fit the case

"One cannot say that the Arahant is reborn as the will

to-live is completely extirpated, nor can one say that the Arahant is annihilated for there is nothing to annihilate."

"Buddhism does not totally deny the existence of a personality in the empirical sense. It only attempts to show that it is no ultimate reality. The Buddhist term for an individual is Santāna, *i.e.*, a flux or a stream. It includes the mental elements and the physical ones as well." The Kammic force of each individual binds these elements together This flux which is not limited to present life, but having its source in the past and its continuation in the future is the Buddhist counterpart of the *soul* or the *self* of other systems.

Nibbāna; it may safely be concluded, is the complete cessation of this flux ; the blissful state that lies beyond no words could adequately express

CHAPTER XXI

MAN AS WILLER*

We know that in the Pāli and Jain scriptures we find, as we do not find in other early Indian scriptures the triplet action of mind, action of word, action of body We know that the triplet is a feature in the ancient Persian thought which we associate with the work of Zarathustra And we may or we may not have noted as significant, how three great founders of creeds, which were primarily concerned with the importance of man's will and man's actions or conduct, should be credited with the wording of this triplet, while the intermediate development in India of the creeds of the rite and the ritual, the priest and the sacrifice, left the triplet unstressed When this threefold wording of thought, word, and deed as modes of action (*kamma*) came into use in Buddhist teaching we do not know It does not appear everywhere in the Pāli scriptures In many books it scarcely appears at all It attains its chief prominence in the fourth, or Anguttara Nikāya But wherever it does occur, it occurs as an unquestioned and accepted way of wording It is probably of the original Śākyan mandate[1]

There is one important branch of Buddhist literature where it is not brought to the front—a branch where we should expect it would have been brought to the front This is in the field of the analysis of man *as expressing himself*

* From Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies 1926 by kind permission of the Editor

[1] Yet without importance is its emphatic occurrence in the Jataka episode No 96 Kancanajataka

in body and mind As such he is not scheduled under the category of mental action, vocal action, overt or bodily action He is analyzed under other categories, chiefly under (i) the twofold one of "name" and 'shape," and (ii) under the fivefold one of the material and immaterial groups (*khandhas*), and again, later (iii) under the threefold category of material qualities, mind, and "mentals"[1] But when conduct and the consequences of conduct, either in the past, or here below, or hereafter, come to be considered, then it is that the triple category of action or the deed is worded

It was no small achievement, in man's early attempts to word and worth himself as man, to sum up himself in this threefold activity. Wherever it began, it was a notable vantage ground For it presents man to men as chief and as always, not a static beholder, nor a passive creature of destiny, but as actor, as doer, and, as such, as willer, a chooser and a 'becomer" It looked behind, it looked forward It saw how man, as agent, is no creature only of the hour that now is It saw him in the perspective of the worlds It saw him in a state of perpetual becoming As were his actions, so was he now so would he be He was not just played upon He was actor, maker, *Werdender*

Now it is because we of the West have come to realize this in our own way and our own wording, that we have found a place, in our summing up of the man, for the words "will' and willer" It has taken us long to get even only so far as we have got And India never got so far

But she felt early and much after what we have somehow

[1] *I pa c tta cetas ka*

come to know. We have come to know, because we have, at least, to some extent, learnt what it is that we mean by "will." And that which we have come to learn in a very vital, very general way, we have named. India did not word "will" as Latins and Teutons and other Aryans worded it. The root of the word was in her Aryan heritage as it was in ours. That which we developed as WALH, she held, but did not equally develop, as WAR :—choice. It is not likely that the very different fate of these two forms of a common root—if common indeed it was[1]—has been a matter of mere accident. The history of this very pregnant word has yet to be written When it is, much of the history of Indo-Aryan and European Aryan will be involved.

India used her word *var-* in narrow, ineffective ways. It was used for one or two modes of choice : for a boon, for marriage-custom ; and again as meaning "of chosen, choice, or elect quality."[2] It appears much in compound and in these both Jain and Buddhist worded the importance of self-restraint. But we cannot point to any words in which *var-* has attained to a force and worth approaching that of *val-* in, for instance, *uelle, uolo, uoluntas*, or *will* (*e*), *wollen*.

We of to-day cannot imagine a literature where occasion for wording what we will to be or to do, does not arise. Man expresses himself in many ways both then and now, but if a literature reveals him as expressing himself, without it being often necessary to word that self expression as some form of will, we should not in such documents get man as we ever

[1] Cf Skeat *English Dictionary*, Aryan roots

[2] *Kauśitaki Up* II, 1 To him said Indra 'Choose a boon (*varam vrnīsveti*)' ' Do thou thyself choose for me that which thou deemest most well working for mankind To him Indra "Nay, verily the elect (*vara*) for the unelect (inferior) chooses not Choose thou!'

in not one of them[1] does he mention the word *Wille* or any equivalent save in one passing allusion to Schopenhauer! This may be due to want of psychological interest, yet it is inconceivable that a writer so sympathetic to most of his subject matter and so humane should have ignored this great side of man's nature had the literature itself worded that side with any emphasis So far as I have been able to discover, the only use he made of Wille" was to suggest it as an alternative to Verstand in one or two places where the text has *manas* (e g Brh U 1, 2 1 3 6)

Regnaud, on the Upanisads[2] gives us no index but under "Diverses facultes psychologiques' he distinguishes *samkalpa* as *manas* acting hence we may take it he says to mean desire (*kama*) or volition

Now *samkalpa* is certainly a term involving will The root of it (*klp*), according to Whitney means 'be adapted And if we found it meeting us wherever in the context we should look for some reference to man as *willing* the point of this article would be weakened But it is precisely the very rare and the irregular use which is made of the term both in the Upanisads and in the Pitakas that does not weaken but sharpens my point

Taking the older Upanisads we find *samkalpa* occurring in nine contexts Judging by the renderings given of it in these we cannot conclude that translators have made out for it so unambiguous a meaning as Regnaud does A

[1] *Illge e e Cesch ll ler Pl lo opl e* (Ind a) *Se l j l pa sha l s Ph loso ph he Texte les Mah Upa ta* In the last ork the ndex s expressl sa l to be of n te orth na es a l a leys Hence he has fo n l noth ng note orth v n all

[2] *Mat r a x* 93

comparative table of the ways in which four of them have Englished the word will best show this :—

	Samkalp	M. Müller [1]	Deussen [2]	Tatya Cowell & Ross [3]	Hume [4]
1.	Ait. U. 5, 2	conceiving	Vorstellung	determination [5]	conception
2	Kau U. 3, 2	conception	Erkenntniss	resolve	,,
3.	Kena U. 30	imagination	vorstellen	ascertained	,,
4	Chh. U. vii, 4, 1	will	Entschluss	will	,,
5	,, viii, 2, 1	,,	Wunsch	wishes	,,
6	*Brh. U. i, 5, 3*	*representation*	*Entscheidung*	*determination* [5]	*imagination*
7	,, iv, 4, 11	percepts	Strebungen	,,	intentions
8	Swet. U. 5, 8	thoughts	Vorstellung	,,	conception
9	Katha i, 10	(*śānta*°) pacified	beruhigten Gemüths	appeased in thought	intent appeased

We can sympathize with the translator's need, in using equivalents that do not coincide, of varying his renderings to suit the context. We could humour the alternatives : will, Entschluss, wishes, intentions, resolve, etc. But there must be a limit to alternatives, and we cannot justify a tether so loose that it brings in, with these, percepts, conception, ascertaining, representation, imagination, thoughts, Vorstellung, etc. We can only conclude, either that the translators were uncertain as to the meaning, or that precision in terms of mind was not a part of their mental equipment. If so, they falter in notable company. No one thrust the potency in the idea of will upon dormant European philosophy as did Schopenhauer, yet how slovenly he is in psychology one needs not much reading of him to find out

Not only do translators here and there camouflage in this way the word *samkalpa* as a makeshift for will, but, as we see, the word itself is not used to express any very *funda-*

[1] S B E i, xv
[2] *Sechzig Upanishad's*
[3] *Twelve Principal Upanishads*
[4] *Thirteen Principal Upanishads*
[5] I e , definition, not resolve.

mental aspect of man, much less the most fundamental aspect Thrust for one moment into relief, in the reference No 4,[1] as "greater than *manas*," it is dropped forthwith into the series as less than *cittam* and as, *a priori*, less than many other aspects It was not an indispensable a constant in Indian thought on man And this is equally true of the base of Indian thought termed Buddhist, as we shall see

Was there then any other word were there any other by which the early Indian literature expressed man day we perhaps judge, as Oldenberg suggests, ner activity we word by will was implied in the but was as yet undifferentiated [2] Oldenberg, his later work,[2] has nothing about *saṁkalpa* (which barely occurs in the Brāhmanas), but is more concerned with *kratu*, a word also of active import, and occurring frequently in Vedic works Here, he judged, we have a word bound up with *manas* and meaning both insight how to act and will to act Such a meaning is implied in *manas* itself, e g , in the passage "when he desires with *manas* "

If then we are discussing a stage of wording 'man' prior to such differentiations we need not judge that we are considering the records of an abnormal section of humanity But let us not forget this—it is the very gist of what I have here to say —if the ancient Indian worded both mind and will by words belonging to the category of mind leaving will to be implied it is evident that for him (assuming we translate truthfully) man was mainly minder not willer Willing was an adjunct of thinking

It is possible too that among the European branches

[1] See table in prepage
[2] *Die Weltanschauung der Brahmana texte* (9)

of the Aryans we should not find it so early a date the notable developments of the will stem. Of those other branches the Greeks in their greatest thinkers came nearer than India to a worthy conception of all that is really implied in our own words will and willer. They too earnestly worded the man they earnestly worded man is both seeking the good and as capable of becoming better. They conceived human world as 'movements.' And among these movements of the psyche they reckoned the will word *boulē boulesthai*. Plato even saw *boulesis* in his conception of the Divine. But they did not raise the notion of will to that true worth which still is lacking even in our own outlook. A thoughtful writer, Miss Mary H. Wood,[1] has laid all the works of Plato under embargo to show that while a definition a doctrine of will—she adds hypostatization of will—is not in him the real thing is there in that his whole philosophy treats man as exerting self activity.

This is I hold most true. And Aristotle herein followed in Plato's wake. Miss Wood as a special pleader forces the note occasionally over emphasizing a 'principle of growth' in *phusis* and 'process of becoming' in *kinesis* but both thinkers I grant were feeling out after a view of man as willer. It was only the heavy hand of tradition shaping the view of man as mainly thinker which hindered them from a truer perspective.

Professor Bloomfield finds the equivalent for ancient India to our will in the Indian desire. He quotes the notable passage from the Upanisads. 'Man is wholly formed

[1] *Plato's Psychology and Ethics, Lectures on the Development of the Will*, 1909.

from desire[1] (*kama*) as is his desire so is his insight[2] (*kratu*), as is his insight so does he the deed (*karma*), as he does the deed so does he experience.'

This is well said. *Kama* undifferentiated serves here for will and might have continued worthily to do so. But it underwent that specialization which usually connotes depreciation. And with regard to this poor over-driven word 'desire,' here it is the modern translators who (with the exception of the more discerning Deussen) have failed to differentiate. As I have pointed out long ago, 'desire has been fitted by various translators to no fewer than sixteen Pāli words all conveying varying meanings of, as we might say, feeling *with some co efficient* of will or conversely.[3] It is here that *kama* in noun and verb does play a fairly large part in the Indian's inner world emerging in action. It is even placed at the back of the all-creator's fiat in creating (*akamayata*) both in Vedas and old Upanisads as the wish of God.[4] On the other hand we find the word in the troubled conscience of the Buddhist restricted, I think without exception, to the world of man's sense-desires and sense-pleasures. But for the desire stirring in the man of the Buddhist literature towards the Fit or Best—now worded as *samma* or *brahma*, not as *atman*—we come upon very different terms.

Here the wordlessness I have commented upon becomes more marked and less explicable. The older literature is in its way as religious as is the Buddhist and the Jainist

[1] S. as Rat. a. I. Hume, De. ss. I. er. le. = r. n.
[2] M. Muller, w. I. I. n. t. fn. l. n. ght, a. j. t. rn. le.
[3] F. *JRAS.* 1898. The Will in Buddhism, p. 4.
[4] Olde. berg, *op. cit.* I. J. *n.* 3.

And it is more closely concerned with the 'man' than are these in the relatively later ideas which are *practically all that we get* in either scriptures But that older Brahmanic thought did not concern itself searchingly with man's *choice of conduct* with man's will to righteousness as *the* essential in religion Nor did it *systematically* analyze and define man as in outer and inner microcosm Hence that older thought was not so travailing as were its successors with the *springs* of action, nor with the analysis of man *as willing or not willing* to walk in a Way towards the Best It could therefore use more lightheartedly less anxiously all available words bearing on its goodly brave world of warrior and priest of thinker and worker It could mean much in little, or it could an it willed deploy some word here and there especially if a little entertaining word play were possible And so we get a pleasant if incidental sing song wording of *la* alliterations about wishing enjoying working on *lalp llp*-alliterations about planning and uniting on *tar* alliterations about boons and rank and so forth The authors make out their gods as loving cryptic speech [1] but that was because early man himself loved the oracular and the pun

But in the Buddhist books while we have also oracle and pun we are in a world that has been changing Attention is fixed on the plastic nature of man on his being in a way of becoming better or worse on his composite nature, on his serial life Here if ever or anywhere was the world one would think where man's somewhere innate tendency to become better to live up to the Right (*dhamma*) which the whole Buddhist teaching sought to develop called aloud

for a distinguishing, called aloud for a wording of what it was in man which could express that tendency. For *what was it* in man that sought after the best, the "right" in thought, word, and deed? What was it in man that responded to the teacher's monitions herein? *Manas* the mind, *citta* the observer, would never "seek," would never "move towards" What was it but "will" that moved, that sought?

Yet in this world we no more find that clear distinguishing, that adequate wording than we did before Buddhism arose. Some wording we do get. In the teaching, initiated (in wording in a dialect largely lost) by Gotama, and developed in "Pāli" by the church, which acknowledged him as its supreme teacher, we get a wording of human nature that plays all round the will, assumes it, evokes it in such words as *chanda, viriya, vāyāma, iddhi, padhāna*, etc, regulates and "tames" it. We get a wording of amity (good will) to men, of quest for one's own and of others' welfare. We get a wording of man's personality as composite Yet we never get a wording of, a name for, man's tendency to seek his good as a bed-rock factor in his nature, nor any grasp of it as that on which his salvation depends

I have tested the worth attached to will by indexes Let us do so once more In his valuable Coda to the Sacred Books of the East, the *General Index*, Dr. Winternitz has had eight volumes of Buddhist classical works before him Yet his articles on Will and Volition are *entirely unaffected by this increment* The articles are of the briefest and not one reference to those eight volumes is in them The only references are to Pahlavi and Vedāntic texts (The articles

on Desire and Tanhā are almost equally meagre) Such a silence is impossible had a clear wording of will been forced from the pen of the translator by their subject matter.

But while there is no clear word for that in man which could worthily respond and react to the Buddhists' system of *sikkhāpada* or training, they were not without makeshifts, else neither could they have formulated nor could we read of such a system

In the first place, as with the Vedic wording so with them, the words *citta, cetas, cetanā,* all wording what we express by mind or thinking, awareness or consciousness, are now and then used in such an active or volitional sense as we convey by the words intent, purpose or will, when the speaker wishes to express this aspect of mind This is true also of *mano Manokamma* "action of mind" can mean 'will to-act," notably in the Upāli-Suttā[1] In it, as has been said, mind is viewed as active process So is *cetanā* which, in one Sutta[2] (but in one only) is stated, like *manas,* to be action (*kamma*) —

'I say, monks that *cetanā* is *kamma* When we have *cetayitā,* then we make action of deed, word, and thought"

Manasikāra, again, "work of mind,' is another word, unspecialized in the early literature and possibly used with volitional implication[3] Again, we read of Gotama being made to say, he forced his *citta* by *cetas,*[4] albeit *cetas* is nowhere, early or later, defined, distinctively or otherwise.

Citta is even used to cover the four well known Suffusion-sentiments called Brahmavihārā or divine states, a volitional

[1] *Majjhima* i 371 f
[2] Cf *Compendium of Philosophy* p 170 n 1 and Mr Aung's note p 85
[3] *Anguttara* iii p 415
[4] *Majjhima,* i, 212

rite of aspiration ascribed to brahmins, but adopted by Buddhism. They are spoken of as the love *citta*, pity *citta*, [sympathy with] joy *citta*, equanimity *citta*. In each of them, starting with a person, a house, a street, and so expanding, one suffuses (*pharati*) the person etc. with these *cittas* in turn. We should call this 'willing' or "wishing' the welfare of others with love, or pity, etc. there being of course present the thought or idea of those others. We ought not, as we now tend to do in treating of the subject, to lose sight of the will in the feeling. If Buddhists did not word will in them, neither did they word them as emotion. The whole inner man was engaged in these *citta's*. And if we were to translate *citta* here by "will" we should be psychologically correct but we should be historically wrong. Oldenberg discusses them—without psychological insight—as "a psychic gymnastic for a man of feeling." This is again historically (as well as psychologically) wrong.[2] The Buddhist uses no emotional terms save in naming three of the *cittas* as amity, pity, joy (with others' joy). But he speaks of a "radiating"[1]—admirable and true word!—whereby his *thought* spreads and spreads till the very world is warded by (the good will in) it. Yet earlier probably he expressed this as a "creating (*bhāvana*) of amity."[2] And he speaks here of "the mother"[3]. But he is not referring merely to her sentiment towards her only child, but to her warding will of him. Her love is but the reverberation of her very synergy.

In the second place, Pāli tried to make good its want of a worthy word for the strenuous and systematic mental and

[1] *Pharati*. Lord Chalmers is the first to render the word in this connexion.
[2] Sutta Nipāta 507, mettam cittam bhāvayam appamānam.
[3] Khuddakapāṭha, Sutta Nipāta Vis. Magga, ch. ix.

moral training it so commended by certain adjunct words some of which are strong and lusty We find *sankalpa* again as *sankappa* Thus is both used to a factor in the Eightfold Way of the Middle Course of the right living and it has a definition peculiar to itself and one other term in Abhidhamma It is defined (and so is *vitakka*) as lifting the mind on to its object disposing or adapting or applying it[1] Hence it is what we should now be disposed to call attention And the word is often rendered intention Corresponding to the *śantasankalpa* or appeased intentions of the Upanisad term we get twice the compound *paripunna sankappa* fulfilled or satisfied aims We have here as in attention mind active alert purposive To that extent a will word is found Yet nowhere is any use made of the term in the structure of the fivefold or *khandha* summary of man as body and mind No factor or factor group of this is reserved for will terms In the Abhidhamma analyses where the group called *sankharas* or plannings is specified under some fifty items *sankappa* and *vitakka* are both included as is also *cetana* But they are defined as always more intellectually than volitionally And they are classed in a list in which will is less represented than is either cognition or emotion It is indeed curious that a term so suggestive of will of *mano kamma* of man's inner world as movement activity as is *sankhara* should have been thrown away as effective for will classification and have served as a dumping ground for whatever did not fit under the other three mental groups feeling perception mind

[1] *Buddhist Psychological Ethics* § 91
[2] *Majjhima Nikaya* 19 (translated by Neumann)

(consciousness, cognition) If I have rendered the term by "synergies," it is merely to give a literal Englishing of the Pāli It has no more reference to the miscellany classed under the term, than has *sankhārā* The only old definition we have of *sankhārā*,[1] enforced by the Commentary, is that of a prepared complex Yet among the 50 are items such as "calm," "rapture," "mindfulness," which we should not so describe I am inclined to think that when those 50 items came to be specified, *sankhārā* had lost its old quasi-volitional force, and that the Buddhist teaching was virtually considering the items more as just *cetasikā*, mental adjuncts, "mentals," which were even then in use,[2] and were soon after to supersede the skandha classification

Other noteworthy substitutes are three words of vigour *iddhi*, literally "effecting," "having wrought", *viriya* "energy," "effort"; *padhāna* "effort," "endeavour" Of these *iddhi*, as a mode of supernormal will power, meets us throughout Pāli literature Yet it seems to be nowhere intelligently defined Nor was it a faculty of the normally human It was "psychic,' abnormal and as such to be found only in the few, whether morally worthy or morally unworthy As now, quite a small minority then possessed or developed it It was not the will of the average man But it was in the few a tremendous *will phenomenon*

Viriya on the other hand and *padhana* are both practicable, and should be practised, by every man who is morally earnest *Viriya* is "mental inception of energy, striving,

[1] Samyutta III 88 Cf *Buddhist Psychology* p 50 f In the Suttas there are only three *sankharas* spoken of those of deed word and thought meaning pre requisites. (*M* I 54 301) Buddhaghosa s grouping here in *Visuddhi magga* xvii are not without interest

[2] *Buddhist Psychology* § 1022 and note

onward effort, exertion, endeavour, zeal, ardour, vigour, fortitude, unfaltering verve, sustained desire, unflinching endurance, and firm grasp of the burden, right *padhāna*"[1] *Padhāna* is nowhere so defined, its modes are described in terms of moral training,[2] it is used to describe four modes of *iddhi*,[3] but it is not included in the factors distinguished under the mental group *sankhārā*. *Viriya* is so included. And whereas, for all the fine earnestness shown in the teaching as to the importance of energy, endeavour, and "ardour in effort," no sign betrays that herein the most fundamental factor of mind itself (*citta, mano, viññāna*) was being laid hold of, we can at least say, that Buddhists in these terms just missed stumbling upon a notable doctrine of will. They were all the nearer not only to a doctrine of will, but to a truer doctrine than any psychology has yet put forward, in that, for them, *viriya* and *padhāna* were bound up with growth, with progress. To the world the saintly "almsman" may have appeared a Quietist, but his inner world was seething with energy.

O see my forward strides in energy[4]

is a recurring note in the anthology. The Community was

Of strenuous energy and resolute,
Ever advancing strongly[5]

For the conception of the believer's remainder of life as a 'way,' was a transformed one. It was no longer the endless round of *samsāra* which we have renamed 'transmigration.' It had become a progress in holiness. It was a way of growth in many worlds. Here is a notable growth word. "Growing

[1] *Bud. Psy. Ethics* § 13. [2] Ib. I. § 136 (v).

by the five growths the Ariyan woman disciple grows with the Ariyan growth, she becomes one who lays hold of the real (*sāra*) and of the excellent (*vara*) things in her person, to wit, faith, morals learning giving up and wisdom "[1]

The books hover in this way about this vital notion of growth (*vaddhi* or *vuddhi*, and *ambrūheti*, cf Dhp Comy, II, 107), but just miss gripping the truth, that their central tenet of the Way is just that growth of the *man* (not only of body or mind) along the agelong way of the worlds

Still nearer was Buddhism to a worthy theory of will in yet another word the word *chanda* Abhidhamma early and late has been psychologically sound enough to save the term from the monastic associations which often lowered it to the level of *kāma* The Sutta usage wavers Now *chanda* ranks with *viriya* and its equivalents *vāyāma, ussolhi ussāha, padhāna*,[2] now it named, as that, the suppression of which is the aim of the holy life There was righteous desire, *dhammacchanda* And later, *chanda*, as such, is described as an un-moral "desire-to do" (*kattukamyatā*) I have sought for many years[3] to do justice to this distinction, not without some special pleading It was impossible without a hot sense of injustice to read the many fine calls in the *Nikāyas* on what we call the will, the earnest exordiums to energy, to noble quest (*ariya pariyesanā*), to progress in the way, the lovely 'faith in what we may become,"[4] and then to note how translators and narrators glossed over it all and emphasized only 'extinction of desire"

[1] *Samyutta Nikaya* Matugama § 10 Person = *kayassa* bt group, i e either body or the whole person

[2] Eg, *M* I 480 A II 194 f III 108

[3] *JRAS*, 1898 49 f *Bud Psy Eth* 1900 p lxv *Bud Psy* p 125 158 167, Compendium 244

[4] Wordsworth *Prelude*

Yet after all Buddhism has been its own worst enemy When the eminent disciple Ānanda told a brahmin that elimination of *chanda* was the object of the holy life[1]—that the saint did but exercise *chanda* to gain his saintship and then needed it no further—"just as you, brahmin, exercised *chanda* to come and find me, and have it now no longer"—we begin to see why it is that Buddhism had no worthy conception of will For it the perfected man is a will less man He is not without intellectual or emotional powers But he is depicted as using these for joyful retrospect over victory won in past struggle He is conceived as so near the final mysterious change past birth and death of *parinibbāna*, that he is already *nibbuta*, "in" *Nibbāna* "the goal" He has "done what was to be done"[2] He can no longer become And so he has ceased to will Will is therefore not of the nature of man, it was not as were *citta* or even *vedanā* *A fortiori* there could be no vision of the Man as Pure Will in Parinirvāna Groped after by the Brāhman in his conception of the Divine Desire in creation, it was repudiated in all other such conceiving, much more so by Buddhism harping on its Anicca, Anatta

When we read such vigorous will words as these—"When a man is not thoroughly aware of some blemish, he will not bring *chanda* to birth, he will not strive he will not set energy afoot to get rid of it,"[3] we ask, how can we say there is no wording of will in Buddhism? When we read such words as Ānanda's we realize that for Buddhism, such activity

[1] Samyutta v 262 *Chandapahanatham*
[2] *Katam karaṇiyam Bhagavati brahmacariyam vussati*
[3] *M* i 95 Lord Chalmers in his admirable translation of the *Majjhima* renders *chanda* by will power but this is a reading too rich for the Pali

was not of the very life of the complete man, but was only an episode, was only the writhing of the learner

Nearer still to a really worthy theory of will was Buddhism (as was Jainism) in the frequent use, in the training, of the causative form of the word "to become" *bhavati*, namely, the form *bhāveti* "to make-become" In our poverty of words for this notable expression, we render the term by meditation, practice, cultivation These by no means coincide with *bhāvanā* *Bhāvanā* is not a learning by intellect, which also requires practice, cultivation It is a developing-one's self-into, a re creating-one's self according to an ideal For example, the difference between *viññāna* and *paññā*, both words being forms of "to know," is that the former is so to be understood, the latter is to be made to-become [1] For in the *original* Sakya from which "Buddhism" grew, *prajña* will have been that potential Deity which was man's very nature

Is it not a little singular, that with such a view of religious training, in which the disciple is expected to concentrate with utmost *vim* and *verve* on growing into, on becoming what he was not before and which is figured as a way or road strenuously, unfaltering pursued towards a goal, we should not find man *conceived as a willer* putting forth will—that we should only find man conceived as a minder, or as mind, set in body,[2] and having certain mental adjuncts or co-efficients of energy, endeavour, desire, intention, which were to be discarded with maturity with perfect attainment [2] How was it that the Buddhist teaching, finding no worthy

[1] *Majjhim a Nikaya* i 293 *parinnatabbam bhavetabbā*
[2] *Digha* i 77 *Majjh* i *a*, ii 17

form of *ear*-to hand, did not look on man as essentially *using viriya*, or *chanda*, or as essentially *becoming* in his Way to Well? Why is there not even a *bhāvanā*-or *viriya-khandha*! How was it that Buddhists made shift with these terms as merely incidental in the life they held most worthy, and not as fundamental in man's nature?

It is not enough to say that they did not find wording corresponding to ours ready to their hand. They were so far pioneers in wording, that they brought into use, brought into high relief, brought into recreated use words which we do not find employed till Buddhists employed them. Where once men "will" strongly about anything not covered by the day's wording, they will find a name for it. Language old and new is strewn with these increments.

It is an interesting problem and not to be solved in a sentence To some extent, I repeat, they were their own hinderers. They felt after the truth that man, as he becomes better, is not as it were dressing or painting himself with something external, but is undergoing an inner *change*. Yet they feared the idea of change Never are the words "transient," or impermanent, otherwiseness, or change used in any sense save as ushers-in, or guarantees of ill They pictured spiritual progress as a *making to become, bhāvanā*, yet they strained every nerve to suppress the tendency "to become," *i.e.*, be reborn (*bhava*). They spoke of saintly advance, yet they aspired to cut short vital progress by a cessation of that way of life in the upward way of the worlds, and by hustling on a final change for which not a single man on earth was ready And in resisting rightly the Brāhmanic conception of the real man as unchanging, and as, even

now, if he knew it, actually, not potentially Very God, they emptied the flux of man's activities, bodily and mental, of the man Nay, thereby they emptied the stream itself, and spoke of the banks as the river

Now we cannot get very far in an adequate notion of will without the willer We may cheat ourselves by figuring *thought* as a world of impressions and ideas, and by figuring *feeling* as waves of somatic resonance or what not But we cannot get on thus with will Because will is a self-directing And the Buddhist, with his excellent emphasis on the "taming of the self" and self reliance, had inherited a protest against self conceived as God This he *came to interpret* as meaning there was no self at all So he barred the way to a clear view of all that *bhāvanā* implied

In such considerations as these there may be material to account for Buddhism, with no word for will in its world-heritage, finding or annexing any adequate term for that self-directed activity which it so zealously and admirably fostered

Other considerations too we must take into account, considerations of world currents, where Buddhism itself is merged in Aryan history nay is but a ripple in the word-growth of man himself The laying hold and developing of the root-word for choice as *val vol, vel, vil,* instead of leaving its form *var* in relative atrophy, belongs to most of those Aryans who took not the southern (possibly the earliest) trek into India but who went westward by the longer trek and spread over Europe north, west, and south And of these it is at least noteworthy that the branches most potent and effective in moulding Europe by common

action of each were the Latin the worder of *volo velle*, *vo* and the Teuton the worder of *Wahl Wille, Wohl* Th would seem never to have been any such consensus o race in action in Indo Arya as to be driven to word itself such ways Nor of the Hellenic world, galvanized brie into patriotic action though it was by Persia

But the stage of Indian thought we have been consider is older by a little than these developments of Europe Arya old enough to be the more overshadowed by the pr world wording in terms for thought and mind and actu as compared with words otherwise expressing man M was first and foremost a beholder a namer, once he tried word himself He was as we see Adam represented loo at and naming a procession of interesting beasts He coul do very little with his world His will was very limited H was a child of fate and the unseen What he feared therein and what he sought help from was Will, yet he pictured i as power and as the To be placated In course of time h figured it as Mind like himself

In these ways too then the sons of Indo Aryans were kept by obstacles not of their own making from developing a self expressing of man as willer equal to that of him as minder

In conclusion I would say that to render Pali words in our own Western wording of will terms is to let *traduttore* become to some extent *traditore* I write this with a guilt stained pen which cannot be washed white In changing the English of *cetana* from thinking to volition [1] I have con sented to use the meaning read into the word by the Burmese

[1] *Buddhist Psychological Ethics* 2nd ed p 88

scholar *of to-day*. That there was some notion in the Abhidhamma editors' mind of distinguishing it from *citta*, such as we get implied here and there in the *manas* of the old Upaniṣads, is possible. Why else are we given both *cetanā* and *citta* side by side in, *e.g.*, the Dhamma aṅgaṇi.? But to say "volition," weak form of will as it is, is going too far. Again, the responsibility of "will" for *cetas* in *Kindred Sayings*, III, is, I fear, mine. It also goes too far. So does "will-power" used in Lord Chalmers's translation of the Majjhima for *chanda*. It puts something there which the Buddhist editors had not. It is a little like translating the "wooden horse of Troy" by "camouflage." It is part of our duty, as translators, to our readers *to make them realize* that India had no word equating "will."

It is true that, when we review the muddled way in which "will" is used in general literature, and the boycotting (with furtive reinstating here and there) of the word "will" in current psychology, it may seem to matter very little where or how the word is made to serve in work on Buddhism. But for me that is not so. I see in the word "will," now under a passing shadow. or in the dust of misuse, a most precious legacy, a word pregnant with a great future. I will try to say why I see this.

We have the heritage which Buddhists had not. We have the word "will," and its daughter "well"—for "well" is just what we "will"-to-be. And we are freed, as the Buddhists were not, from a call to protest against a morbid use of the word "self," that is, "the real man," and also from the strangle-hold on life of a monastic ideal. In other words, we can believe that both God is spirit (*pneuma ho*

theos) and we are spirit, and we do believe in life, we hold that the words "I am come that ye might have life and that ye might have it more abundantly"[1] is a bigger, truer gospel than that man should renounce all substrates of rebirth. Like the Buddhists we hold that everything is in a state of change, that we *are* not so much as we are *becoming*. Unlike the Buddhists we do not view this world fact *as a whole* with deprecation. We believe, with them, that there is a becoming worse in this or that aspect of life. But, unlike them, we believe that becoming better is that the *whole* man and the complete man should progress, not the man or woman who has renounced the betterment of the race in the family, the community, the nation, and has simplified his or her life to a segregated a-sexual wrestling against human nature. We do not believe that man's progress, as man, is assured, aloof from that great laboratory of experiment in good will, life in the world. We believe, more consistently than the Buddhists in the necessity and value of "making to become" (*bhāvana*), for we believe in education, in training in culture, in development, in evolution, in reform in the world by the world. We believe, theoretically that we cannot stand still, we must go on, if we would not stagnate, rust, fall back, become Rip van Winkles. Actually we are not so consistent. We still hold there are traditions 'instincts"—oh! the word fetter there for man!—tendencies we shall ever follow unchanging.

Here it is that our psychology, no less than that of the Buddhists is a creaking, still primitive vehicle. And we have not their excuse. We are still, as we ought not to be,

[1] John's Gospel.

over-shadowed by the primitive domination of the old attitude : that man's inner world is fundamentally a beholding, a naming. We have not got to the bottom of what that inner world fundamentally is When we shall have taken right home this thing, that the living man's fundamental self-expression is a radiating movement, an activity from within, after something felt to be "well"—whether we call it life-preserving, or "better," or well-being, or welfare matters little—that in exercising this *he is "becoming"* (and in "becoming" is making to become), that in "becoming" he is finding a way (*magga*) towards what he deems is "well" —when, grasping this, we shall call that radiating movement of becoming :—"will to well"—then at length our psychology will become fit both for the great legacy it has in these two words and also for the new heritage it holds in awareness of what they imply. Not ours should it be to rest contented with the saying of Kant : "You can for you ought " More fit for us is it that we say : "As willers we bear in us the guarantee of becoming whole."

CHAPTER XXII

AŚOKA AND HIS MISSION

The epigraphic records of Aśoka have been found i numbers. They have been discovered in the various parts o India, excepting the southernmost part of the country. I was only last year that another copy of two series of hi inscriptions was announced to have been found in the Kurnoo District of the Madras Presidency, and nobody is yet certai how many more will come to light in the course of time These records form a literature by themselves. And the question naturally arises : what could have been the motive which impelled this Maurya ruler to engrave them on rocks and pillars, at different places in his wide empire. Do they throw any light upon his life and activities ? The two most important series of his inscriptions are the Fourteen Rock Edicts and the Seven Pillar Edicts. These have been designated by him as *Dhammalipis* or 'Documents about Dhamma.' It is thus clear that his object was to promote Dhamma. It therefore behoves us to see what he understood by Dhamma in this general wide sense. So many times has the Buddhist monarch given us glimpses into the inner recesses of his mind that it is inconceivable that in this particular case alone which is of the greatest importance he has not thought fit to take us into his confidence. In Rock Edict VI he says : "There is no higher duty than the welfare of the *whole world*. And what little effort I make is in order that I may be free from debt to the *creatures*, that I may render

them happy *here* and they may gain heaven *in the next world*" The words put in Italics here show exactly what ideal was before him In the first place he feels that he is concerned with the whole world, the creatures in fact, not simply with men but with the whole animate world And secondly, he feels that his supreme duty is to secure them not only temporal but also spiritual weal Let us proceed a little deeper and see whether the different parts of this statement are borne out by what his other records have to tell us The most important feature of his Dhamma mission is the realisation of not only the temporal but also the spiritual good The words he uses in this edict are *idha* and *paratra* And a student of Asoka inscriptions need not be told how many times he has used words of similar import in his various records, such as *hida lokika* and *pala lokika* (R E XIII), *hida palate* (P E I), *hidatikāye* and *palatikāye* (P E III), *hidatam* and *palatam* (P E IV and VII), *hida logam* and *pala logam* (J SRE II), and so on and so on Sometimes for *palata* he uses the word *siaga*, but of that we shall see later on Here what we have to bear in mind is the fact that Aśoka thought himself bound to look after not only the temporal but also the spiritual good The next important feature of his mission is to ascertain how wide was the scope of his activity Of course he says as we have seen above, that it was co extensive with the whole world and included all creatures But is there anything in his records which supports this inference ? The animate world may be divided into three parts (1) men (2) animals, and (3) other creatures. Let us first confine our attention to the temporal welfare of the world which he sought to promote In P E VII he

but this only shows that his philanthropic activity did not go beyond man and beast There are other creatures besides these in this world Did he show any concern for them? Two of the ethical practices constituting Dhamma in its narrow sense were *prananam anarambho* 'non destruction of life and *avihimsa bhutanam* non injury to creatures And quite in keeping with this he admits in P E II that he conferred various benefits on the bipeds and quadrupeds, on birds and aquatic animals even up to the boon of life' No reasonable doubt can possibly be entertained as to Asoka's programme having been so comprehensive as to include the whole creature world and the whole earth accessible to him His confession of his ideal in R E VI is thus verifiable from the programme of his Dhamma activity which he sought to carry out

From the above considerations it follows as a corollary that so far as man was concerned he thought that his duty lay in regard to the whole of mankind not simply his subjects We have already seen that in respect of the physical happiness the works of charity including medical treatment and provision of medicinal herbs and roots which he inaugurated he tried to carry out also in the territories of the independent kings in and outside India who were known to him This evidently means that so far as the material comforts were concerned he did not provide them for his people only but also for the subjects of those independent rulers in fact practically the whole of mankind to whom he had access He is quite explicit on this point In both the Separate Kalinga Edicts he tells us that just as for his offspring he desires welfare and happiness pertaining not only to this

world but also the next, he desires it precisely for all mankind (*sava-munisa*); and in the second of these edicts, he goes further to instruct his officers to create in the mind of the alien subjects the belief: "the king (Aśoka) is unto us even as a father; he loves us even as he loves himself; we are to the king even as his children." This unmistakably shows that Aśoka's attitude as of a father to his children is by no means restricted to his own subjects but extended also to those of the foreign kingdoms, so as to embrace the whole mankind as he understood it. But it goes without saying that he could do much more to his subjects as they were his own. Thus the arbitrary harassment and imprisonment on which he has dwelt in Separate Kaliṅga Edict I he could detect and remove only in the case of his own people. Similarly, the duty of making a money grant to an enchained man if he is the bread-winner and has a large family to support, to free him if he is wrongly fettered and to release him if he is aged, and such other works of humanitarian character which he has assigned to the Dharma-mahāmātras as we see from R.E. V, could be carried out only in the case of Aśoka's own subjects. But this much cannot be denied that so far as it lay in his power, he did all he could to the people of all the foreign states to which he had access. To sum up, so far as the temporal good, or physical happiness, was concerned, he accomplished it not only in the case of man but also all other creatures, and again in their case not only in his own kingdom but also in all foreign territories known to him and also so far as political connections allowed it.

The most important part of Aśoka's work was to secure

palata or *pala loga*, or, in other words, to promote spiritual weal This was possible only in the case of men not of beasts or any other creatures And he tried to realise this end by generating and disseminating Dhamma among the whole of mankind, not merely among the people of his own empire but also outside This is Dhamma in the less wide and more specific sense of the term Let us now try to ascertain what he exactly understood by this Dhamma He is explicit on this point also, and gives us not only the attributes that fall under the term but also the specific practices thereof which he is never wearied of asking his people again and again to bring into action In Pillar Edicts II and VII, Asoka specifies the qualities, which, in his opinion constitute Dhamma With him Dhamma consists of (1) *sadhaie* or *bahu kayane*, much good, (2) *ap asinaie*, freedom from depravity, (3) *dayā*, mercy, (4) *dāne*, liberality, (5) *sace*, truthfulness, (6) *socaye*, purity and (7) *mādaie*, gentleness But how are these virtues to be put into practice ? Aśoka makes several enumerations of duties in this connection, which vary but slightly in different inscriptions These may be summed up as follows *anārambho pranānam*, non slaughter of 'animate' beings, *avihimsā bhūtānam* non injury to creatures, *mātari pitari susrūsa* hearkening to father and mother, *thaira susrūsā* hearkening to the elders, *gurūnam apaciti*, reverence to teachers, *mita samstuta ñāti kānam brāhmana samanānam danam sampatipati*, liberality and seemly behaviour towards friends acquaintances and relatives and towards Brāhmana and Śramana ascetics, *dāsa bhatakamhi sammāpatipatti* seemly behaviour to slaves and servants, and in one inscription only (R E III) *apa*

vyayatā and *apa bhāndatā*, small expense and small accumulation He does not rest satisfied by merely telling us to practise *dayā, dāna, mārdava*, mercy, liberality, gentleness, and so forth, but also shows how these virtues are to be translated into action Thus *dayā*, mercy, means *anārambho prānānam, avihimsā bhūtānam* non-destruction and non injury to creatures, *dāna*, liberality, means liberality towards friends, acquaintances and relatives and towards ascetics whether they belong to the Brāhmana or Sramana sects, and *mardava*, gentleness, is to be manifested by hearkening to the parents and the elders, and seemly behaviour not only towards relatives or Brāhmana and Śramana recluses but also towards slaves and servants

The simple character of the Dhamma taught by Aśoka in his edicts is apparently in conflict with the fact that he was a Buddhist and has much puzzled the scholars That he was a Buddhist cannot possibly be doubted That has been proved by two of his edicts The first of these is the Bhābrū Edict, which opens with a declaration of his faith in Buddha, Dhamma and Samgha according to the well-known Buddhist formula and of his conviction that the utterances of Buddha are gospel truths No doubt can possibly be entertained as to the sectarian character of this record The second document of this nature is the Edict whose copies are engraved on the Sārnāth, Sāñchi and Allāhābād pillars and whose one aim is to prevent schism, put down apostasy and preserve the Buddhist Church whole and entire These edicts make it impossible to doubt that Asoka was a Buddhist Nevertheless, the Dhamma which he inculcates in his edicts is of such a

simple and general nature that scholars have doubted whether it has anything to do with Buddhism

Thus V A Smith in one place[1] says that "the Dharma, or Law of Piety, which he preached and propagated" "was essentially common to all Indian religions" Rev J M Macphail[2] and Prof Radhakumud Mookerji[3] follow in his foot steps In another place Smith remarks that the inducements of *svarga* held out by him are "hardly consistent with the Buddhist philosophy of most books"[4] and that very probably the monarch looked forward to *nirvāna*, although he did not express the hope Dr F W Thomas also says "there is no mention of the Four Grand Truths, the Eightfold Path, the Chain of Causation. : the word and idea of Nirvāṇa fail to occur"[5] It is, however, forgotten by these scholars that Buddhism really consists of two parts (1) Dhamma for the monks and nuns, and (2) Dhamma for the householders Now, Aśoka was a householder at any rate, he was so when he preached his Dhamma The people, again, to whom he taught it, were householders, not men who had embraced the monastic life Why should Asoka therefore speak of the *nirvana*, the Four Grand Truths and the Eightfold Path which are all intended for monks ? If it is desired to determine whether his Dhamma was inspired by Buddhism or not, it is necessary to find out what scriptural text or texts have been reserved by that religion specially for the laity to read contemplate and practise The most

[1] *Asoka* pp 9 60
[2] *Asoka* p 48
[3] *Asoka* p 68
[4] *Asoka* 63 6
[5] *The Cambridge History of India* Vol I (Anc Ind) p 501

important of these, perhaps the only one of these, that has been so prescribed is the *Sigālovāda-sutta* comprised in the *Dīgha Nikāya* of the Buddhist scriptures. This is considered to be of such paramount importance to a Buddhist layman that it has been designated *gihi-vinaya*,[1] that is, what a *vinaya* of the *Vinaya-piṭaka* is to a monk, this scripture is to the householder. The term has been explained by Buddhaghoṣa as follows: "In this Sutta there is left nothing undescribed that constitutes the whole duty of a houseman. The Suttanta is, therefore, entitled *gihi-vinaya*." This is really a discourse to Sigāla, a householder's son, by Buddha, which is summed up in a few Gāthās, the first of which may be quoted here:

> Mother and father are the Eastern view,
> And teachers are the quarters of the South,
> And wife and children are the Western view,
> And friends and kin the quarter to the North;
> Servants and working folk the nadir are,
> And overhead the Brahmin and recluse.
> These quarters should be worshipped by the man
> Who fitly ranks as houseman in his clan.[2]

Any scholar who carefully reads these verses, cannot fail to note that it enumerates just those courses of conduct which Aśoka is never tired of inculcating on the minds of his people. Hearkening to parents, reverence to teachers, liberality and seemly behaviour towards friends, acquaintances and relatives, and towards Brāhmaṇa and Śramaṇa ascetics,

[1] *J R.A.S.*, 1915, p. 899

[2] *Sacred Books of the Buddhists*, IV. 173 & ff.; T. W. Rhys Davids' *Buddhism*, pp. 143-4.

and seemly behaviour towards slaves and servants are the practices of Dhamma on which Aśoka has laid so much stress and are exactly those which Buddha emphasizes to make Sigāla a good, virtuous householder The code of duties, on which Aśoka insists, may contain nothing that will not be assented to by other religious sects, such as the Jainas, the Ājīvikas, and so forth, but most of these duties are, as it were, brought to a focus and found mentioned in this group in the Sigālovāda Sutta, a text which has been specially prescribed by Buddhism for its laity Let any scholar point to any other religious faith in India which in any scripture specially reserved for lay men has enumerated the ethical practices preached by Aśoka in this particular lump as the *Sigālovāda sutta* has done specifically for the Buddhist laity and has therefore been rightly styled the *gihi vinaya* And so long as this is not proved, the conclusion is irresistible that the Dhamma inculcated by Asoka in his edicts is Buddhism such as is taught to its laymen

If it is once grasped that Aśoka was himself a lay follower of Buddhism and preached to the householders and that his teaching was based on what that religion ordained for its laity, there is nothing surprising in the fact that he makes no mention of the *Nirvana* or the *astangika mārga* in his edicts, but on the contrary, speaks of *svarga* and holds it up as the reward of Dhamma in the next life According to Buddhism the doctrine of heaven and hell is especially the layman's religion the higher attainments and the goal of Nirvāṇa being reserved for a Bhikkhu This was just the view of Buddha who has more than once implied that a pious householder is born in the next world as a god in one

of the heavens[1] It is therefore no wonder at all if Asoka regards *svarga* as the *summum bonum* to be attained for leading a virtuous life on earth The belief in *svarga* is not something peculiar to Buddhism, but was shared by many religious sects And the question that really arises is whether Asoka believed in *svarga* such as that described in Buddhist works In Rock Edict IV Asoka says But now in consequence of the practice of Dhamma by King Priyadarsin beloved of the gods the sound of the drum has become the sound of Dhamma after his having shown to the people spectacles of aerial chariots (*vimanas*) spectacles of elephants (*hastins*) masses of fire (*agni skandhas*) and other divine representations What he means is that with him the drum has become the proclaimer of Dhamma The sound of a drum invariably precedes either a battle a public announcement or the exhibition of a scene to the people But since he entered on his career of Dhamma it has ceased to be a summons to fight but invites people to come and witness certain spectacles and as these spectacles are of such a character as to generate and develop Dhamma the drum has thus become the proclaimer of Dhamma But what spectacles did Asoka show to his subjects? Obviously they were the *vimanas hastins agni skandhas* and so forth The exact sense of these terms has been made clear by a work in the Pali literature called Vimanavatthu It describes the various rewards which are in store for a virtuous man in his next life as he becomes one kind or another of *deva* according to the degree of his merit One of these rewards is the *vimana* or column supported palace which is a

[1] *Ind Ant* XX I pp 388

centre of supreme bliss and which could be moved at the will of its divine owner Another kind of reward is the *hastin* or well caparisoned all white celestial elephant The Vimānavatthu again describes most of the gods as possessed of a resplendent complexion which is compared to lightning star or fire and when therefore Asoka says that he exhibited *agni skandhas* or *jyotih skandhas* to his people what he must have done is that he showed what kinds of lustre emitted from the bodies of virtuous men when they became gods in their next birth The lives of the Devas in heavens according to Hindu belief then as now are limited and depend upon the merit accruing from their good acts What the Vimanavatthu however does is only to describe according to Buddhist notion what celestial abodes and vehicles were reserved for the pious people and lay particular stress on them in order to induce readers and listeners to lead good unblemished lives on earth and be zealous in the performance of religious duties Evidently the mention by Asoka not only of the *vimanas* but also of *hastins* and *agni* or *jyotih skandhas* as being the cause of the development of righteousness among his people is a clear proof of the fact that the system of *svarga* in which he believed and to which he refers in his twelfth year is that known to and evolved by Buddhism

Asoka's indebtedness to Buddhist scriptures may be traced in many other important features and aspects of Dhamma We have seen from what Sutta he has adopted the practices of Dhamma And if we compare P I s II and VII to certain verses in the *Lakkhana suttanta* of the Digha Nikaya we find that even in the enumeration of the qualities which constitute Dhamma he was inspired by this Suttanta

If any further proof is needed, it is furnished by R E XII where he exhorts his people not to praise one's own sect and condemn another's unduly The whole of this edict is a development of the theme set forth in the *Cūlavyūha sutta* and *Mahāvyūha sutta* of the *Sutta Nipāta* It is not necessary to proceed further in this direction, because what has been pointed out is enough to show that the Dhamma he believed in was also the Dhamma he taught and that this Dhamma was no less than Buddhism itself,—the Buddhism of the layman

Let us now see what means he adopted for the promotion of this Dhamma We shall have to discuss this subject under two heads (1) what measures he took for its propagation in his empire, and (2) what measures for its dissemination in the different parts of the world to which he had access Let us here take up the first of these points In R E VIII Aśoka tells us that up till the tenth year of his reign he like the previous kings used to find relaxation in *vihāra yatrās* or tours of pleasure, where he indulged in hunting and other sports In that year he gave up the idea of continuing these *vihāra yātrās* and started instead the *Dhamma yātrās*, where *inter alia* he came in personal contact with the people of the provinces, and discussed and preached Dhamma to them This clearly shows that he turned a missionary in the real sense of the term This *Dhamma yātrā* began in the tenth year of his reign and with his visit to the Bodhi Tree But the king, after all, was a single individual, and it was not possible for him to approach all people What was he to do to spread this Dhamma amongst them? In fact the beginning of P E VII shows that this was the question which

troubled his mind There he takes us into his confidence and tells us that in times past many kings tried to foster a growth of Dhamma among their subjects, but, as a matter of fact, there was no befitting growth of Dhamma amongst them. He pondered over this question, and the idea came to him as to how he should realise this object Thereafter he specifies in a lucid manner what measures he took with that object in view. The first of these is *Dhaṁma-sāvana* and *Dhaṁma-ānusathi* which are really two aspects of one and the same thing The latter is 'Instructions in Dhaṁma,' which, when delivered to the people, become *Dhaṁma-sāvana* or 'proclamations of Dhaṁma.' In P.E. VII he speaks of his resolve to order his Purushas and Rajjukas to preach to the people. In R.E. III, however, he gives us somewhat more detailed information. There he says that in the twelfth year of his reign he commanded not only the Rajjukas but also the Prādeśikas and the Yuktas, to deliver instructions in Dhamma to the people as well as to discharge their office duties, while going out on circuit tour every five years. The Yuktas seem to be District Treasury Officers Rajjukas, the highest District Officers and the Prādeśikas the Provincial Governors. When, therefore Aśoka asks them to preach to the provincials it means that these Mufassil Officers of the superior rank were not only officers but also teachers This was doubtless a novel and ingenious mode of propagating Dhamma, namely utilising his official hierarchy for the purposes of preaching Certainly this was his own idea, and is not known to have been adopted by any king prior or posterior to him

The second measure which Aśoka took for promoting

Dhaṁma was the erection of Dharma-stambhas. The latter do not denote any material pillars put up for any religious purpose but point rather in a metaphorical sense to the works of charity which were instituted by him and which have been described above. The question that arises here is: why are these philanthropic activities mentioned here? The reply is contained in the remark with which he winds up the enumeration of charitable works. "But I have done this" says he, "with the intent that (they) may practise the practices of *Dhaṁma*." Evidently Aśoka inaugurated these works of public utility in order that the royal example may be followed by others. It was in this way that the Dharma-stambhas were intended to promote Dhaṁma.

The third measure which he adopted was the creation of Dharma-mahāmātras. These officers had to look to the spiritual as well as to the temporal good of the people. We are here concerned with the first part of their duty, that is, with their missionary activity, and not their duty of tempering justice with mercy. They discharged this function in a twofold manner. They were occupied with the various sects and were to see that amity and concord prevailed amongst them. They were also connected with the organisation of charities, whether of the royal household or the private individuals. We have already referred to the works of public weal and utility instituted by Aśoka. The king desired that in this philanthropic activity the members of the royal family should be associated and should heartily co-operate. And in P.E. VII he specifies the different members of his family whom the Dhaṁma-mahāmātras and other head officials should approach and elicit money-grants for chari-

table purposes But they were to educe these charities not simply from the king's relatives but also from the people as is quite clear from the ending passage of R E V

The above account gives us a clear idea of the sort of means which Asoka adopted for the promotion of Dhamma among his people It will be seen that he utilised the official machinery of his kingdom not only for the governance of his people but also for the dissemination of Dhamma among them The question that we have now to consider is what means he adopted to spread Dhamma outside his empire The reply to it is given by what he says in R E XIII immediately after he speaks of the independent kings in whose realms he claims to have done this work 'Even where the envoys of the Beloved of the gods do not go,' says he "hearing the ordinances uttered according to Dhamma and the teaching of Dhamma by the Beloved of the gods practise Dhamma and will so practise' This clearly shows that so far as the independent kingdoms in India and those ruled over by the Greek *potentates were concerned, he utilised for his mission* the official legations he dispatched to their courts Each of these legations must have originally consisted of a sufficiently big staff of officers which was now perhaps supplemented by more appointments required for the humanitarian and missionary purposes which he wanted to carry out outside his empire

It may now be asked what was the upshot of the phenomenal missionary activity displayed by Asoka? Did it lead to a similarly phenomenal spread of Buddhism in India or outside? The question has to be answered decidedly in the affirmative For we do find Buddhism suddenly spread over

a very wide area from about the middle of the third century B.C. onwards and studding the various parts of India and Afghanistan with Buddhist edifices, such as *stūpas*, monasteries and caves. The Buddhist faith occupies such a preponderant position during this period that it practically puts all other religions in the background, very few vestiges of which are found, pertaining to art and architecture. It may be contended that the Buddhist clergy also put forth effort more or less strenuously in the same direction, as is evinced by the Dīpavaṃsa and Mahāvaṃsa. As a matter of fact the clergy of every other religion such as Jainism, Vāsudevism, and so forth must have manifested similar activity in favour of their faith. But in the period immediately following Aśoka we perceive Buddhism and Buddhism alone spreading far and wide in this country, that is with almost phenomenal success, as is indicated by the find of the Buddhist monuments. This can be explained only on the supposition that Asoka had the whole machinery and finances of his imperial government to help him to push forward his Dhamma and when, as we find, he hit upon the novel but effective method of requisitioning the whole hierarchy of officials as his proselytising agents, it is no wonder if he attained far more real, rapid and extensive results.

But what about the spread, at any rate, the influence of Buddhism outside India? Did Aśoka's missionary zeal produce any effect? It is a noteworthy fact that Buddhism and Christianity possess many important features in common and that their agreement cannot be ascribed to mere chance. Hence we cannot do better than summarise the contents of an illuminating lecture delivered by F. Max Muller

nearly twenty-five years ago. He said that two Roman Catholic missionaries travelling in Tibet were startled at the coincidence between their own ritual and that of the Buddhist priesthood They attributed the coincidence to the Devil. But if a coincidence can be produced by natural causes, no other explanation need be sought. And it was an historical fact that Christian missionaries were active in China from the middle of the seventh to the end of the eighth century. Here then was the coincidence explained in a fairly satisfactory manner. There were other coincidences, however, between Buddhism and Christianity which belong to the ancient period of the former. They included confessions, fasting, celibacy of the priesthood and even rosaries, and, as they were honoured in India before the beginning of the Christian era, it followed that if they had been borrowed, the borrowers were the Christians. If such coincidences could be accounted for by reference to the tendency of our common humanity, let analogous cases be produced If they were set down as merely accidental, let similar cases be brought from the chapter of accidents Max Muller's own opinion was that at least they were too numerous and complex to be attributed to the latter causes [1] Again it is not merely in the externals of a religion that there is a close correspondence between Buddhism and Christianity This correspondence is equally close and indubitable even in regard to the moral teaching This was admitted even by Rhys Davids as early as 1877 [2] It is not too much to say that almost the whole of the moral teaching of the Gospels as distinct from the dogmatic teaching will be found in Buddhist writings several

centuries older than the Gospels that for instance of all the moral doctrines collected together in the so called Sermon on the Mount all those which can be separated from the Theistic dogmas there mentioned are found again in the Pitakas In the one religion as in the other we find the same exhortations to boundless and indiscriminate giving the same hatred of pretence the same regard paid to the spirit as above the letter of the law the same importance attached to purity humility meekness gentleness truth and love And the coincidence is not only in the matter it extends to the manner also in which these doctrines are put forward Like the Christ the Buddha was wont to teach in parables and to use homely figures of speech and many of the sayings attributed to him are strangely like some of those found in the New Testament

How, it may be now asked had knowledge of these things been spread? Of course Indian influences had long been suspected in the Æsopian fables and some parts of the Bible When this exchange of thought was going on between the east and the west from time immemorial are we to suppose that the main ideas of Buddha's religion alone should remain unknown in the west? The Buddhist books however, nowhere say that Buddhism was preached by the monks in those regions On the other hand we know as Asoka distinctly tells us that he had employed his official legations to the courts of his contemporary Greek princes as much to *propagate Buddha's Dhamma as to carry out his* humanitarian propaganda exactly as he used his official hierarchy for the same purpose in his own empire There may or may not have been any people actually converted

to Buddhism outside India But this cannot be denied that Aśoka's Dhamma though it was the Buddhism of the layman, could not have been preached without any knowledge of Buddha, his doctrine and religious institutions spreading in the dominions of the five Greek kings, namely, (1) Antiochus II Theos (B C 261-246), king of Syria, (2) Ptolemy II Philadelphos of Egypt (B C 285 247), (3) Antigonus Gonatus of Macedonia (276-239), (4) Magas of Cyrene (C 300 C 250) and (5) Alexander of Epirus (272 C 255) or of Corinth (252 C. 244) It is, therefore, no wonder at all if Buddhism influenced Christianity not only in external ritual but also internal ethical doctrine What we have now to see is whether there were any pre Christian faiths which were similarly influenced

Christianity, as a matter of fact, was not the only religion though that was the most important religion in Western Asia on which the influence of Buddhism was incontrovertible There must have been other religious sects also which were similarly influenced This is quite natural because when the knowledge of Buddha and his faith once began to spread in the western world through Asoka's propaganda not only Christianity but also other religions must have been more or less impressed One such sect is that of the Essenes whose clergy formed a small monastic Jewish order with their quaint semi ascetic practices and lived on the shores of the Dead Sea And it has long since been admitted by scholars that they were indebted to Buddhism for some of their important characteristics[1] It has also been admitted that the Essenes were in existence even before the rise of Christianity A

[1] *Ency Rel & Eth* V 401

similar religious confraternity as the Therapeutæ who were residing in the neighbourhood of Alexandria and formed another order of the pre Christian Judaism Even here the influence of Buddhism has been recognised in their precepts and modes of life[1] The Buddhist influence on the religious condition of Western Asia is thus traceable prior to the first century A D and must undoubtedly have been caused by the missionary zeal and activity of Aśoka in these regions

Let us now revert to the ideal which Asoka had placed before his mind and which stimulated him to this stupendous activity His ideal was to promote the material and spiritual welfare of the whole world consisting not only of men but also of beasts and other creatures not only again in his own kingdom but also over the world known or accessible to him The question that now arises is to what source was he indebted for this grand and noble ideal? Those who are conversant with Pali literature and especially the Digha Nikaya will perceive that Asoka was evidently aspiring to be a Cakravartti Dharmaraja The thirtieth Sutta of this Nikāya is entitled the *Lakkhana Suttanta* and sets forth the thirty two marks of the Superman The *Sutta* itself begins by saying that to a Superman possessed of these marks two careers alone are open If he forsakes the worldly life he becomes an Arahant a Buddha Supreme But if he chooses to live in the world and becomes a householder he becomes *Raja cakkavatti dhammiko dhamma raja caturanto vijitavi So imam pathavim sagara pariyantam adandena asatthena dhammena abhivijiya ajjhavasati* a King Turner of the Wheel the Righteous One Ruler of Righteousness

[1] Enc Rel Eth XII 318

Lord of the four quarters, Conqueror Having conquered this earth to its ocean bounds, not by the chastising rod, not by the sword, but by righteousness (*dhamma*), he lives supreme over it" The only question that now and here arises is whether such a Cakkavarttī Dhārmika Dharmarājā has been described any where in the Pāli literature Here also the Digha-Nikāya comes to our help, whose twenty-sixth *Sutta* called *Cakkavattī Sihanāda Suttta* gives a reply to this question Here we are told that in the days of yore there ruled a number of these Cakravarttī Dharmarājas who occupied this exalted position, because they were abiding by the Aryan duty of a Cakravarttī In course of time kings arose who did not stick to this rule of conduct, and the result was that all kinds of immorality sprang up, shortening more and more the span of human life The worst has not yet come, and the degradation and miseries that will confront men during this state of things have been graphically described When the worst is once reached, things will take a better turn and continue improving till another Cakravarttī Dharmarāja will come into existence The first of these Cakravarttins in the age long past was Dalhanemi He reigned, many thousand years, till the Celestial Wheel shone over his palace When, however it slipped down from its place, he retired to a forest placing his eldest son on the throne But on the seventh day after the royal hermit left, the Wheel completely disappeared Thereupon the son hastened to the father and informed him of what had happened The royal hermit exhorted him to act up to the noble deal of duty set before themselves by the Cakravarttins

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Let us now revert to the ideal which Aśoka had placed before his mind and which stimulated him to this stupendous activity. His ideal was to promote the material and spiritual welfare of the whole world consisting not only of men but also of beasts and other creatures, not ony again in his own kingdom but also over the world known or accessible to him. The question that now arises is: to what source was he indebted for this grand and noble ideal? Those who are conversant with Pāli literature and especially the Dīgha-Nikāya will perceive that Aśoka was evidently aspiring to be a Cakravarttī Dharmarāja. The thirtieth Sutta of this Nikāya is entitled the *Lakkhana-Suttanta*, and sets forth the thirty-two marks of the Superman The *Sutta* itself begins by saying that to a Superman possessed of these marks, two careers alone are open. If he forsakes the worldly life, he becomes an Arahant, a Buddha Supreme. But if he chooses to live in the world, and becomes a householder, he becomes *Rājā....cakkavattī dhammiko dhamma-rājā cāturanto vijitāvī....So imaṁ pathaviṁ sāgara-pariyantaṁ adandena asatthena dhammena abhivijiya ajjhāvasati*, 'a King, Turner of the Wheel, the Righteous One, Ruler of Righteousne

[1] Ency. Rel. Eth., XII. 319.

Lord of the four quarters, Conqueror Having conquered this earth to its ocean bounds, not by the chastising rod, not by the sword, but by righteousness (*dhamma*), he lives supreme over it" The only question that now and here arises is whether such a Cakravarttī Dhārmika Dharmarājā has been described any where in the Pāli literature Here also the Dīgha Nikāya comes to our help, whose twenty sixth *Sutta* called *Cakkavatti Sīhanāda Suttta* gives a reply to this question Here we are told that in the days of yore there ruled a number of these Cakravarttī Dharmarājas who occupied this exalted position, because they were abiding by the Aryan duty of a Cakravarttī In course of time kings arose who did not stick to this rule of conduct, and the result was that all kinds of immorality sprang up, shortening more and more the span of human life The worst has not yet come, and the degradation and miseries that will confront men during this state of things have been graphically described When the worst is once reached, things will take a better turn and continue improving till another Cakravarttī Dharmarāja will come into existence The first of these Cakravarttins in the age long past was Daļhanemi He reigned, many thousand years, till the Celestial Wheel shone over his palace When, however it slipped down from its place, he retired to a forest placing his eldest son on the throne But on the seventh day after the royal hermit left, the Wheel completely disappeared Thereupon the son hastened to the father and informed him of what had happened The royal hermit exhorted him to act up to the noble deal of duty set before themselves by the Cakravarttins,

which was thereupon expounded The son returned to the palace, and things were soon alright as before Let us now see what this Aryan duty of a Cakravarttī is "This, dear son," says Dalhanemi, "namely, that thou shouldst provide watch and ward and protection according to Dhamma, for thine own folk (*ante-jana*). for town and country dwellers (*negama janapadesu*), for the Brāhmana and Śramana ascetics, and *for beasts and birds* And when, dear son, the Śramana and Brāhmana ascetics shall come to thee from time to time and question (*paripucchayāsi*) thee concerning what is good and what is bad what is to be done and what left undone, thou shouldst hear what they have to say, and thou shouldst deter them from evil, and bid them take up what is good" Whoever reads this passage from the *Sutta* cannot but be struck by the extreme similarity it bears to the life and action of Asoka It is scarcely necessary to dilate on these various points of similarity To resume, however, the thread of our story the son of Dalhanemi followed his father's advice and the Celestial Wheel which makes a king Cakravarttī revealed itself He followed the progress of the Wheel, which first went to the east, then to the south, west and north, and the conquered enemy kings in each of these regions said "Teach us, O mighty king" And what does this Cakravarttī do? He does not receive any political homage from them, but preaches to them, saying 'Ye shall slay no living thing Ye shall not take that which has not been given and so on and so on Anybody who reads this story carefully will be convinced that we have here a case not of terrestrial, but of spiritual, conquest, and that the Cakravarttī

is a supreme ruler of the earth, not by physical might but by moral spiritual power, and this is just what is meant by the *Lakkhana-Suttanta* referred to above, when it says that the Superman 'lives supreme over the earth, conquering it, not by the chastising rod or the sword, but by Dhamma' Evidently he becomes a Cakravarttī, not by *vijaya*, but by *dhamma vijaya* There can hardly be any doubt that Aśoka took his cue for *dhamma vijaya* from some such Buddhist Sutta This can satisfactorily explain why his charities were *not confined merely to the human beings but* extended to the beast, nay even to the bird, in fact, to the whole creature world, as we have just seen This further explains why those activities were similarly not restricted to his own subjects only, but extended also to those of the independent kingdoms, in fact, to the whole human race, and those, again, not merely for their material comfort but also spiritual elevation These last kingdoms were conquered by him, not by war or brute force, but by Dhamma or soul force In other words, Aśoka aspired to become a Cakravarttī Dhārmika Dharmarāja From Rock Edict XIII it appears that Aśoka believed that he had attained to this lofty position through *Dhamma vijaya* That he did not over rate himself may be seen from the fact that the Divyāvadāna actually styles him *Caturbhāga cakravartti Dhārmiko Dharmarājo*

CHAPTER XXIII

BUDDHISM IN WESTERN ASIA

Thanks to the active propaganda of Asoka and the pious zeal of missionaries and monks like Mahendra Kāsyapa Mātanga, Bodhidharma, Kumārajīva Śānta rakṣita, Padmasambhava, Atisa and others of lesser note, Buddhism spread throughout Southern, Central and Eastern Asia and the neighbouring Islands, where millions of people to this day *revere the Śākya sage as their teacher and master* But Western Asia remains outside the spiritual empire of the Blessed One The tide of Indian spiritual influence it has been said, flowed eastwards rather than westwards Nevertheless it is a fact that the vast region beyond the western frontiers of India came within the geographical horizon of Buddhist writers as early as the *Baveru Jataka* and possibly the *Sussondi Jataka* and its princes figure not inconspicuously in Buddhist inscriptions of the third century B C The records of Asoka show that the eyes of the imperial missionary of Magadha were turned more to the West than to the East and even the traditional account of early Buddhist proselytising efforts given in the chronicles of Ceylon[1] does not omit to mention the country of the Yonas where Mahārakkhita delivered in the midst of the people the *Kalakārama suttanta* in consequence of which a hundred and seventy thousand living beings attained to the reward of the path (of salvation) and ten thousand received

[1] *Mahawamsa* Ch XII

the *pabbajjā*." It will perhaps be argued that the Yona country mentioned in the chronicles is to be identified with some district in the Kābul valley, and is not to be taken to refer to the realm of "Antiochos, the Yona king, and the kings, the neighbours of that Antiochos, namely, Ptolemy, Antigonos, Magas and Alexander," mentioned in the second and the thirteenth Rock Edicts of Aśoka. Rhys Davids, in fact, is inclined to regard the declaration in these edicts about the success of Aśoka's missionary propaganda in the realms of Yona princes as mere "royal rhodomontade." "It is quite likely," says he, "that the Greek kings are only thrown in by way of make weight, as it were; and that no emissaries had been actually sent there at all "[1]

Alberuni,[2] however, writing in the eleventh century A.C. says, "In former times Khurāsān, Persis, Irāk, Mosul, the country up to the frontier of Syria, was Buddhistic, but then Zarathustra went forth from Ādharbaijān and preached Magism in Balkh (Baktra) His doctrine came into favour with king Gushtasp, and his son Isfendiyād spread the new faith both in East and West, both by force and by treaties He founded fire-temples through his whole Empire, from the frontiers of China to those of the Greek Empire. The succeeding kings made their religion (*i e* Zoroastrianism) the obligatory state-religion for Persis and Irāk. In consequence, the Buddhists were banished from those countries, and had to emigrate to the countries east of Balkh Then came Islam ' The above account may not be correct in all its particulars The statement that Buddhism flour-

[1] *Buddhist India*, p 298
[2] Sachau, *Alberuni's India* vol I p 21

ished in the countries of Western Asia before Zoroaster is clearly wrong But the prevalence of the religion of Śākyamuni in parts of Western Asia in a period considerably anterior to Alberuni, and its supersession by Zoroastrianism and Islam may well be based upon fact The antagonism of Buddhism to the fire-cult is hinted at in the *Bhūridatta Jātaka* (No. 543) It has even been suggested that Zoroastrian scriptures allude to disputes with the Buddhists (Sir Charles Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, III, 450)

Four centuries before Alberuni, Hiuen Tsang bore witness to the fact that Lang-kie (ka)—lo, a country subject to Persia, contained above 100 monasteries and more than 6,000 Brethren who applied themselves to the study of the Great and Little "Vehicles." Persia (Po-la-sse) itself contained two or three Saṅghārāmas, with several hundred priests, who principally studied the teaching of the Little Vehicle according to the Sarvāstivādin school The *pātra* of Śākya Buddha was in this (country), in the King's palace [1]

The Chinese pilgrim did not probably personally visit Persia But no doubt need be entertained regarding the existence of Buddhist communities and Saṅghārāmas in Irān Stein discovered a Buddhist monastery in "the terminal marshes of the Helmund" in Seistān [2] Mānī, the founder of the Manichæan religion, who was born in A D 215-16, at Ctesiphon in Babylonia, and began to preach his gospel probably in A D 242, shows unmistakable traces of Buddhist influence [3] In his book *Shābūrqān* (*Shapurakhan*)

[1] Beal *Records of the Western World* vol II, pp 277 278 Watters *Yuan Chwang* II 257 [2] Sir Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, III, 3
[3] *Ibid*, I 446 *The Dacca University Journal* Feb 1926 pp 108 111 *JRAS* 1913 69 76 81

he speaks of the Buddha as a messenger of God Legge and Eliot refer to a Manichæan treatise which has the form of a Buddhist Sūtra It speaks of Mānī as the Tathāgata and mentions Buddhas and the Bodhisattva In his *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*,[1] Dr Vincent Smith refers to a picture of a four armed Buddhist saint or Bodhisattva in the guise of a Persian with black beard and whiskers, holding a thunderbolt (vajra) in his left hand, which had been found at a place called Dandān Uiliq in Turkistan Such figures are undoubtedly the products of a type of Buddhism which must have developed in Irān, and enjoyed considerable popularity as late as the eighth century A D which is the date assigned by Dr Smith to the fresco or distemper paintings on wood and plaster discovered at Dandān Uiliq

It is difficult to say to what extent Buddhist literature made its influence felt in Western Asia Sir Charles Eliot points out the close resemblance between certain Manichæan works and the Buddhist *Suttas* and the *Pātimokkha*, and says that according to Cyril of Jerusalem the Manichæan scriptures were written by one Scythianus and revised by his disciple Terebinthus who changed his name to Boddas[2] He finds in this 'jumble' allusions to Buddha Śākyamuni and the Bo tree It may further be pointed out that some *Jātaka* tales show a surprising similarity to some of the stories in the *Arabian Nights* The *Samuggа Jātaka* (No 136), for instance tells the story of the demon who put his

[1] P 310

[2] *Cf* M Crindle *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature* p 185
Terebinthus proclaimed himself learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians and gave out that his name was no longer Terebinthus but that he was a new Buddha (Boddas) and that he was born of a virgin Terebinthus was the disciple of Scythianus who was a Saracen born in Palestine and who travelled with India

beautiful wife in a box and so guarded her in order that she might not go astray. But this did not prevent her from taking pleasure with others. The tale in all its essentials recurs in the *Arabian Nights*.[1]

The *Jātaka* verse,

> "He his true bliss in solitude will find,
> Afar from woman and her treachery"

is comparable to the statement of the poet in the *Arabian Nights*:

> "Never trust in women; nor rely upon their vows;
> For their pleasure and displeasure depend upon their passions.
> They offer a false affection; for perfidy lurks within their clothing."

Whatever may be the case at the present day, in times gone by, Western Asia was clearly not altogether outside the sphere of the intellectual and spiritual conquests of Buddhism.

[1] Olcott, *Stories from the Arabian Nights*, p 3, Lane's *Arabian Nights*, pp 8 9 A similar story is found in Lambaka X, taraṅga 8 of the Kathā sarit-sāgara, Penzer, The *Ocean of Story*, vol V, pp 151 152 'So attachment to women, the result of infatuation, produces misery to all men But indifference to them produces in the discerning emancipation from the bonds of existence"

CHAPTER XXIV

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF PĀLI LANGUAGE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO SANSKRIT GRAMMAR

Pali is one of the oldest of Indian languages of which we have records at the present day Its real name, that is the name by which it was known to those who used it, was Māgadhī, or Magadhabhāsā (*i e* Māgadhese or the language of the people of Magadha country) In fact it was never known as Pāli amongst the ancient writers either in India or in Ceylon It is only in comparatively recent times that this language has been referred to as Pāli, and that, too, only in the conversational parlance and not in literature Even such late writers as Srī Sumangala Mahā Thera of the Vidyodaya College of our days have never referred to this language as Pāli (*Cf* The Commentary on Bālāvatāra by Sīri Sumangala Sanghanāyaka Thera) In the Sinhalese literature also, both of modern and ancient days, we never find that this language is referred to as Pāli

What, then, the word Pāli really means, how the word originated and how it has come to be used as a name of the language in which the sacred Texts of Buddhism are recorded, may here be briefly traced and explained

The word Pāli always means the text, specially the Text of the Buddhist Scripture Compare the following expressions :—"Pālimahābhidhammassa" (Recited the text of Abhidhamma) Mahāvamsa, Ch 37, Verse 221, "Pālimattam

idhānitam" (only the text has been brought here), *Ibid*, Verse 227, "Neva pāliyam na atthakathāyam dissati" (It is to be found neither in the text nor in the commentary)—Sāmaññaphalasuttatthakathī Again this word, Pāli, is interchangeable with Patha which is also found in the same form and in the same or similar sense in Sanskrit There is also a word as Pāli in Sanskrit which means a line a row, a boundary or an edge and the like and never anything like a text or a sacred saying The great commentator Buddhaghosa Mahā Thera has often used the words Pāli and Pātha in one and the same sense throughout his commentaries (*Cf* 'Setakīni atthini etthā'ti setatthikā setattikā ti pi pātho —Samantapāsādikā Verañjakandavannanā Apagatakāḷako ti, kāḷakā vuccanti dussīlā tesam abhāvā apagatakāḷako apahatakiḷeso tipi pātho *Ibid* 'Mahaccarājanubhāvena ti mahatī rājānubhāvena Mahaccā iti pi Pāli, mahatiyā ti attho Sāmaññaphalasuttavannanā of the Sumangalavilasini) The later commentators also found these two words interchangeable (*Cf* Paramatthadipanī, the commentary on the Therigāthā "Ayācito tatāgacchi'ti, tato paralokato kenaci ayācito idha āgacchi, āgato'ti'pi pāli' and in the same book, "Tattha attā ti attitā ayameva vā pātho ')

Thus it is clear that the word Pāli and Patha in the so called Pāli language are very closely connected in sense and in use So it is certain that these two words are either of the same origin or one is derived from the other But we do not know of a word in Sanskrit or in the Vedic language which can produce these two forms whereas we know that the word Pātha in Sanskrit (I mean both the Classical and the

veda) is a very old one which had been often used to indicate the Vedavākya (the text of the Veda, as well as reading, studying or reciting the Veda) This word seems to have been popularly used in the sense of the Sacred Texts by the people of ancient India and afterwards was borrowed by the early Buddhists to denote their Sacred Texts. We know very well that the first followers of the Buddha were at first believers of the Veda and were mostly Brāhmanas When they changed their faith, they employed the words they used to indicate the sacred objects of their former religion to denote those of their new faith Thus the words such as Muni, Tapodhana, Tapasvī, Pravrajita, Śramana, etc indicating the ascetics of the pre-Buddhistic religious orders continued to be used for the disciples of the Buddha Even such words as Tantra, Samhitā and Pravacana, we find were often used to indicate the Buddhavacana (the doctrine of the Buddha) in their modified forms as Sahita, Tanti and Pāvacana (*Cf* "Appampi ce sahitam bhāsamāno," Dhammapada, and "Apanetvāna tato ham—Sīhalabhāsam manoramam bhāsam, Tantinayānucchavikam—Āropento vigatadosam," the opening lines in the Sumangalavilāsinī, and, "Atita-satthukakam pāvacanam," Commentary on the Brahmajāla-sutta) When such words as Tantra and Samhitā, which are simply names of certain parts of the Veda, are borrowed and utilised for the Buddhist texts, no surprise can be felt if they should borrow a more general and more common word such as Pātha for the Buddhavacana The use of such words that have gathered some honorific or sacred sense for objects for which men feel some veneration is human nature and it is psychologically supported In languages there are

words which have gathered some special sense of awe and reverence Men, when they feel reverence for some new things, invariably apply those words to these new object even if they know very well that tradition does not sanction it This is because they feel that they must not refer to them by the ordinary words Even to day in Ceylon the newly converted Christians use all the honorific terms of the Sinhalese language which are of Buddhist origin and denoting in most cases Buddhist objects with Buddhistic ideas in referring to the objects of the Christian religion This may be sometimes a figurative way of using words to denote objects of veneration, but it is very freely done and there is no other way of referring to them either to convey veneration or to express awe and respect This was exactly the attitude of the early Buddhists, and they were quite correct in it Thus there shall be no doubt that the old word Pātha meaning the Veda Text has been taken by the Buddhists in a modified form as Pāli to refer to the Buddhist Text in the same way as Tanti (from Tantra), Sahita (from Samhitā), and Pāvacana (from Pravacana)

But then the question arises whether the phonetic laws of the Indian languages would permit such a change When we investigate into that branch of Philology we can see that the change of "tha" into "ḷ" is but a very common phenomenon in these languages We find that all the cerebral consonants of the old language change into ḷ in the later languages For example, Āṭavika (born or dwelling in the forest) in Sanskrit is Āḷavika in Pāli, Paṭaccara (old cloth or rag) in Sanskrit is Paḷaccara in Pāli, Krīḍā (sport, amusement, play) in Sanskrit is Kīlā or Keḷi in Pāli, Eḍaka

(goat) in Sanskrit is Elaka in Pāli, Venu (bamboo) in Sanskrit is Veḷu in Pāli, Dṛḍha (hard, firm) in Sanskrit is Daḷha (with ḷ to represent the aspiration in the original) in Pāli If this is the rule Pātha can easily become Pāḷa and then into Pāḷi with the final a changed into "i" This sort of changes of final vowels are not at all unusual in Pāli as well as in other Prākrts (*Cf* Krīḍā—Kīḷā-Keli, Angula—Anguli or Aguḷī, Sarvajña—Sabbaññū, etc) Such changes are, in some cases, due to the influence of the preceding vowels, and in other cases, due to analogy, but in most cases no reason whatever is apparent In the present case, however, we can find the reason for the change of the final vowel and that is the analogy We know that there is in Sanskrit as well as in Pāli a word in the form of Pāli which is, of course, of altogether different origin and of different sense, but which is very common and very popular There is no doubt that it is this word, Pāli, which has analogically influenced the form of Pāḷa into Paḷi This is proved beyond any doubt by the pitiful confusion of these two words, Paḷi and Pāḷi, by the older as well as the later writers I quote below the full note given in the Abhidhammappadīpikā Sūci where all what is known to the ancient and modern scholars about this word is given —

Pāḷi—Pā Rakkhane, ḷi , Pāti, rakkhati ti, Paṃ, Pāḷi 'ti ekacce Tanti, Buddhavacanam, Panti, Pāḷi (Bhagavatā vuccamānassa atthassa voharassa ca dīpanato saddoyeva Pāḷi nāmā 'ti ganthipadesu vuttan'ti Abhidhammatthakathāya likhitam),

Pāḷi saddo Pāḷidhamme-taḷākapāḷiyampi ca,
Dissate pantiyam ceva-iti ñeyyam vijānatā "

Ayam hi Pāḷisaddo, Pāḷiyā attham upaparikkhanti 'ti ādisu pariyattidhamma saṅkhāte pāḷidhamme dissati, "Mahato talākassa pāḷī 'ti ādisu talākapāḷiyam, Pāḷiyā nisīdimsū'ti ādisu, patipāṭiyā nisīdimsū'ti attho, īmasmim panatthe dhātuyā kiccam natthi, paṭipāṭiko hi pantivācako pāḷisaddo, pariyattidhammavācake pāḷisadde, attham pāṭi, rakkhatīti pāḷī 'ti ca, antodakam rakkhanatthena mahato talākassa thirā mahatī pāḷi viyā 'ti pāḷi 'ti ca, pakatthānam ukkatthānam sīlādiatthānam bodhanato sabhāvaniruttibhāvato Buddhādīhi bhāsitattā ca, pakatthānam vacanappabandhānam āḷi 'ti pāḷi 'ti ca nibbacanāni veditabbāni"

No more proof, I think, is necessary to show how badly the words Pāḷi and Pāḷi have been confused owing to the ignorance of their origin The weak pronunciation of "ḷ" of the Sinhalese also, I suppose, has to do something with this confusion In later times they pronounced both "ḷ" and "l" in the same way Their weak pronunciation and the consequent confusion of these two consonants have led them so far as to make a grammatical rule (*Cf* "Lalānamavviseso") to say that there is no difference between the "l" and "ḷ" It is to be noted here that this "ḷ" in Pāḷi (as well as in Sinhalese) represents the Vedic "ḷ" (such as in Agnimīḷe) on the one hand and 'd" found in many of the Aryan vernaculars in Northern India on the other hand

Thus we find no difficulty in concluding that the word Pāḷi denoting Buddhavacana is derived from Pāṭha and though its form is thus changed it is still keeping the *same* sense and use The application of this term as the name of the language in which the Buddhist Texts are composed is simply figurative. Its real name, as I have once mentioned,

is Māgadhī. It is also called Suddha Māgadhī (*i.e.* Refined Māgadhī) just to distinguish it either from its more corrupted later form known by the same name, or from the Grāmya type (*i.e.* the colloquial type) of the same language used by the ordinary uneducated people and represented by the words of Makkhalī Gosāla and others quoted in the Brahmajāla Sutta and some other places in the Buddhist Canon

As regards the origin of this language there is nothing more to be added to what has been said by Dr Rhys Davids in his 'Buddhist India' and by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji in the Introduction to his Origin and Development of the Bengali Language. The only thing I have to tell is that it was the Sabhya Bhāsā (or the refined form of the language) of the people of Northern India in the 7th century B C. It is to be added here that in Northern India at the time of the Buddha there was only one language spoken by the Aryans with only very little dialectical differences If we compare the edicts of Aśoka inscribed on the rocks and pillars in different places of his kingdom we can see how little these dialects which were known as Deśabhāsās differed from one another. Now, Aśoka ruled more than two centuries after the demise of the Buddha in whose times these differences must have been less All these Deśabhāsās (*i e* the Provincial types of the language) were surely confined to different provinces known as Janapadas but all had one Sabhyabhāsā which was like the literary language of our day, and which was known alike by all the people This Sabhyabhāsā was not the household speech of any people But it was the refined form of speech used in assemblies, and the medium of communication between different peoples. It

is through this language, no doubt, that the disciples of the Buddha who hailed from different walks of life and different parts of the country, learnt and preached the doctrine of the Buddha. This is proved by the following statement in the Cullavagga, one of the oldest of the Buddhist canons : "Anujānāmi, Bhikkhave, sakāya niruttiyā Buddhavacanam pariyāpuṇituṁ" (I enjoin, O Bhikkhus, to study the Buddhavacana in "own language") Here the great scholar Buddhaghosa Mahā Thera is quite correct in commenting on the words "Sakāya niruttiyā" as, "Ettha sakā nirutti nāma sammāsambuddhena vuttappakāro Māgadhako vohāro." There is no doubt that by "Sakā nirutti", the Buddha had referred to the standard vernacular in which he preached and which was used in the country of Magadha and which was the common medium of communication of the people of the whole of the Āryāvarta, a *Linqua Franca* of India, a refined and elegant vernacular of all Aryan-speaking people. It is highly improbable that the Buddha by "Sakā nirutti" referred to "Own colloquial tongues" of his disciples who had come from the different parts of India including the Drāvida and the Yavana countries. He prohibited the translating of His words even into Sanskrit by the canonical rule, "Na, Bhikkhave, Buddhavacanam chandaso āropetabbam, yo āropeyya āpatti dukkaṭassa." Now, if he did not like the translation of his words into such an elegant and honoured language as Sanskrit in which all the other sacred works of the Aryans were composed, could it be supposed that he would allow his words to be translated into some ordinary colloquial tongue where most of the words had changed their original meanings and force ?

There can be no doubt as to the fact that the Buddha preached his doctrine in the standard vernacular of the Magadha country and his disciple studied and taught it in that very language.

The next question is, where this language came from and what its exact relation was to the other languages known to the Aryans of India in

We know very well that in those days there was a language in India which was regarded as holy and sacred and the study of which was prohibited to others than the twice-born and in which the Vedas and the connected sciences were composed. This language was then known as Chandas, which, afterwards having been refined by Pānini came to be known as Saṁskṛta This language, long ago, was the common tongue of all the Aryans of India. When time passed on, owing to the phonetic and semitic changes, this took different shapes and forms, and at one stage it took the form of what is called Māgadhī, the subject of our discussion here The older form, although existing side by side appeared to be quite different from the new, owing to the numerous changes that had meanwhile taken place, and the ordinary people never knew that their forefathers spoke that language Now this language was in earlier days known by the name of Ariyaka (Āryaka), *i e* the language of the Āryas (the Aryans) (*Cf* Ariyakena vā vadati milakkhakena vā . . paccakkhātā hoti sikkhā-Pathamapārājikavannanā in the Samantapāsādikā) The name Chandas as used by the Buddha and Pānini is a later one, and the name Samskrta is the latest which came to be given to it after Pānini had refined it It is to be noted here that the word Chandas, just like the word

Pāli originally meant not a language but the holy scripture of the Brāhmaṇas But afterwards it was used frequently to indicate the language in which the holy scriptures were composed It is clear that the Māgadhi or Magadhabhāsā is nothing but a later form of the Ārṣa or the Āryabhāsā which was in later times known as Chandas or Chandobhāsā which name it naturally got just to distinguish it from the Laukika bhāsā *i e* the Vernacular languages of the day (such as Māgadhi) This Māgadhi now known as Pali, in *its turn became subject to phonetic and semitic laws* and changed into different forms in different countries and at different stages and appeared in the forms of Hindi Bengali Sinhalese, etc

It is necessary I suppose to note here that the word Samskṛta that we now use both for the classical and the Vedic language is a misnomer It must be used only for the Classical Sanskrit which properly got that name because of the Samskaraṇa (refinement) that Pāṇini effected and it should never be used for the old Āryabhāsā in which the Vedas *and the Upaniṣads were written This misuse of the* term is often misleading to students, and even some of the Oriental Pandits who have no knowledge of Philology or modern science of language have been led astray It is, therefore, highly advisable now to revert to the old name of the Vedic language by which it was known to Pāṇini himself and thus avoid all confusion

How and why this language got this name, Māgadhi, is not difficult to explain In the life time of the Buddha, Magadha became the most powerful kingdom of Northern India after the conquest of the vast kingdom of Kośala and the

Vajjian republic A short time after his demise it became the leading kingdom not only of India but also among the countries around Its ruler was the emperor of the whole of India and his sway was felt by all rulers both in India and outside Its civilisation was the highest and it was copied by the whole world. Its sciences, its philosophies, its Arts were the best in the then known world, and its name was almost synonymous with that of Jambudvīpa, *i.e.*, India, specially of Northern India in which it was situated Though the Magadha Janapada was not very big, the Magadha Rājya, the kingdom of Magadha, that is, the country under the rule of the King of Magadha was as big as India So anything good, anything admirable in India surely might have gone by the name of Magadha This being the case the dialect of Magadha must have been the most refined of the Aryan Vernaculars in India and it must have been the common medium of communication for all the Indian Aryans and for those who were under the Aryan sway politically and culturally At the time when this language was thus a common tongue the Aryan dialects of Northern India were not very much different from one another So, Māgadhī or Magadhabhāsā might have been considered by all the people who spoke Āryabhāsā as the refined form of their own dialects and thus it became a name for that refined and elegant form of the vernacular Again, this form of language could not have been confined to Magadha alone as a dialect, it must have been used in the same form by the people of the surrounding countries such as, Kasi, Kośala, Vajji, Śākya, Kolya, and Vatsa, as these countries closely followed the civilisation of Magadha. The Buddha

preached his doctrine in this language about four hundred years before it got its name At the time when the Buddha preached, its name was simply Āryaka (Āryabhāsā) or Sabhabhāsā (the language of the people) By the time Magadha became the predominant country the form in which it was used by the Buddha must have been slightly changed, but it was, no doubt, still the Sabhyabhāsā, or at least the most respected form of the Sabhyabhāsā of the Aryan people A question then may be asked that if this was the Sabhyabhāsā known to the people of Magadha in the days of the Magadhan empire, why the inscriptions of Asoka should be in somewhat deteriorated form and not exactly in this form The answer is, that those inscriptions were meant not only for the people of high and refined life, but also for those of the ordinary life So, Aśoka was compelled to write them not only in the ordinary language but also in the different dialects that were in use in different parts of his vast empire This we can easily understand if we compare his inscriptions found in different parts of his empire The fact that Asoka himself knew the language of Pāli (*i e* Buddhist texts) is clear from his reference to some of the Suttas of the Text by their names, such as, Ariyavasam, Anāgatabhayāni, Rāghulovādasutta, etc It might also have been that these names were in the language of Pāli such as Ariyavamsāni, Anāgatabhayāni, Rāghulovādasuttam, etc but the Anusvāra in the first two forms and the Anusvāra and the sign of re duplication of "t" in the latter might have been lost by the effects of time and weather Even if he had quoted the names of these suttas in their colloquial forms there would be

nothing strange as we even to-day do the same thing when referring to most of the familiar suttas of the canon in the Sinhalese forms of their names, such as Damsak pevatum Sūtraya, Vyāghrapadya Sūtraya and so on This is because the ordinary people, as they usually do with other Pāli and Sanskrit words, changed these forms in their mouth into those which were either familiar to them or which were easy for them to pronounce If we consider for a moment what the foreigners do with the English words that creep into common use we should not at all be surprised about it Sometimes they mutilate words without having a trace of their origin The familiarity of Aśoka with the Buddhist Texts can further be proved by the many and various expressions that he had bodily borrowed from the Buddhist Scripture and used in his inscriptions

Thus we find that the language which we now call Pāli was the refined popular language of the people of Northern India at the time when Buddha was born It afterwards split up into different vernaculars or rather was absorbed by different dialects and vernaculars, such as, Śaurasenī, Gaudī, Lāti, etc which in their turn gave birth to the different dialects of Vernaculars in Northern India, such as, Hindi, Gujrati, Bengali and, for a matter of that, Sinhalese also In this connection I may quote Robert Cæsar Childers, one of the great Pāli scholars in Europe, who says, "What Pāli would have become, had it run on unchecked in its course of decay and regeneration may be seen from the modern Sinhalese, which springs from an idiom closely allied to Pāli, and has long passed into the analytical stage" He is quite correct in his view because Sinhalese is one of the

modern Aryan dialects which had been least influenced by Non Aryan languages such as Semitic, Mongolian, etc The only influence on it was from Tamil and allied Dravidian tongues, but this influence is confined only to the spoken dialect, and the literary dialect even up to this day shows very little influence from that quarter This is because the Aryan settlers in Ceylon were very proud of their high race and did not like to be mixed with the Dravidians in any way They entertained from the beginning of their settlement in Ceylon very bitter feelings against their powerful neighbours with whom they were quarrelling and fighting up to very recent times Till the British advent the relation between the Aryan settlers in Ceylon and the inhabitants of the neighbouring Dravidian country was hostile and so anything Dravidian they learned to hate In spite of this ill feeling the Sinhalese could not altogether avoid the influence of this powerful and civilized neighbour who sometimes as conquerors, at other times as traders, but mostly as labourers, menials, and fishermen poured down to Ceylon and settled there From these the Sinhalese unconsciously and unwittingly borrowed many customs and manners along with the words appropriate to them which exist here and there in the colloquial tongue But the literary language, especially of the earlier and middle periods, is quite free from such influence It is to be added here that the Portuguese and the Dutch and also the English to day have given their quota to our language, but this, too, is confined to the colloquial dialect only

The relation between Pāli and Sanskrit must have been sufficiently understood from what I have said above

This relation obviously is very close. Both are branches from the same stem and both were used by the same people at the same time but for two different purposes—one as a medium of conversation and the other for recording scientific and philosophical discoveries, in other words, one as a common language and the other as a sacred language; one was moulded and refined by the common people and the other by the learned people of the community, one being subject to the natural laws has been undergoing changes of different kinds at different stages and the other, being guarded by artificial rules, has been stereotyped Thus it is clear that Pāli and Sanskrit are one and the same in origin and the difference which we now see is brought about by its being handled by different types of persons So the question of superiority in age of the one over the other, as many Pandits are entangled in, is altogether out of place One is as old as the other with the difference that one has experienced more changes than the other

In spite of all the changes that have been introduced into Pāli it contains very many forms which it had in its earlier stage and which have been discarded by her more conservative sister, the Sanskrit We find in the Vedic language the forms like Devebhih, Karnebhih, etc in the plural number of the Third case which are not to be found in Sanskrit but retained in Pāli as Devebhi, Devehi, Kannebhi, Kannehi, etc which are not exceptions but are regular forms therein. Similarly the Nominative and Vocative Neuter Plural forms ending in "ā" such as Viśvā and Cyavanā as in the example "Yenemā viśva cyavanā krtāni" are still to be found in Pāli in the forms Cittā, Rūpā, etc

The First Person Plural termination 'Masi' of the Vedic language as in 'Nāmo bharanta emasi' is represented by 'Mase' in Pāli as in 'Mayamettha yamāmase'' The Third Person Plural forms ending in 're' as 'Dure' in the Vedic language are to be found still in Pāli as Paccare Bhāsare, etc The Vedic Infinitive suffix 'Tave' is very common in Pāli as in Katave, Gantave etc The Vedic Absolutive ending in Tvaya is represented by the Pali Tvāna and Tūna' as in Chetvana Katvāna Katuna etc There are many Vedic nouns which are retained in Pali and not to be found in Sanskrit Very often we can decide the earlier form of a Sanskrit word by the help of its Pāli form for example the Sanskrit word Āmra is in the Vedic language Āmbra which is in Pāli Amba with the b' as in the Vedic The Sanskrit Gomat Gunavat Caksumat are in the Vedic language respectively Gomant Gunavant Caksumant which are in Pali Gomanta Gunavanta and Cakkhumanta

The syntax moreover in Pali fully agrees with that in Sanskrit To put it briefly we can hardly find two other languages which agree so much syntactically One can translate a Sanskrit sentence into Pali without making any change in the order of words If one can spend time and labour in studying the characteristics of the Vedic language and compare them with those of Pali one can easily write a very comprehensive history of the phonetic tendencies of the early Indian minds and a well formed history of ancient Indian psychology

CHAPTER XXV

BUDDHIST WORSHIP AND IDOLATRY

Occasionally, a charge is laid at the door of later Buddhism that it is a form of gross idolatry Those who hold this theory are not quite correct in their estimation, and it is necessary to show in detail that Buddhist worship has nothing to do with idolatry

Idolatry means worship of idols It has many drawbacks, but it is useful for the society as a whole The formless abstraction and unseen power, which we characterise as God, is a thing very difficult to be conceived even by great ascetics, not to speak of the common people, who have no idea even of what attributes God actually represents If, of course, as we generally do through the medium of images we can make the mass believe in the great unseen power and in his unbounded compassion for the suffering humanity, and make them fear sin and love piety then we must necessarily admit that idol worship is fraught with great utility, and is of great social service That is no reason, however, why we should call idol worship scientific unless we can definitely prove the actual possession of the image of God when a few apparently meaningless words are uttered for the infusion of the image with life This is indeed very difficult to believe in this scientific age and it is one of the reasons why image worship has been characterised by some as grossly superstitious and image worshippers as idolators Idol worship has its utility in its own

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The syntax moreover in Pāli fully agrees with that in Sanskrit To put it briefly we can hardly find two other languages which agree so much syntactically One can translate a Sanskrit sentence into Pāli without making any change in the order of words If one can spend time and labour in studying the characteristics of the Vedic language and compare them with those of Pāli, one can easily write a very comprehensive history of the phonetic tendencies of the early Indian minds and a well formed history of ancient Indian psychology

being external does not exist : and it has no reality This is the conception of the mind and of the external world in the Vajrayāna To the followers of Vajrayāna therefore how can there be any reality in an image, a grossly external object to which worship may be offered ? The Vajrayāna theory of godhead is so peculiar and had such successive stages of development traceable through the Buddhist literature for several centuries, that whenever similar conceptions or theories are met with in literature or in the religion of other sects we can easily put our finger on them and characterise them as borrowed from the later Buddhism

It is due to the Tāntric Buddhists that Buddhism can boast of an extensive and varied pantheon of Gods whose aids were evoked for all kinds of perfections and Siddhis The deities were of various colours and of various forms and were invoked to discharge multifarious functions These deities were represented either in stone or in metal or in paintings in order to provide an aid to the worshipper, to conceive their forms and identify himself with the deities in question The Vajrayāra had made itself attractive and popular by its interesting tenets doctrines and practices, and the exquisite art they had developed in representing images, especially in stone and metal proved doubly attractive and helped the priests in converting a large number of people and bringing them into their fold The conception of the deities is inseparably connected with the Vajrayāra philosophy and is especially so with the conception of Śūnya According to the Buddhist Tantras, the deities of the Pantheon are all manifestations of Śūnya Advayavajra who was a contemporary of the Pāla king, Mahipāla I, who

sphere, and in India, it has been considered as a necessity from very ancient times But on the ground of public utility as such it can have no scientific value because we have never authoritatively known that a deity ever actually takes possession of an image prepared for the purpose The Hindus worship idols in this way and believe that their Mantras can infuse their image with life, and therefore they are for all intents and purposes idolators

The Jainas regard their images as remembrancers, by seeing the images of their Tirthankaras whom they believe to be historical personages they call to mind their noble lives excellent deeds their lofty preachings their high ideals and to their memory they offer various articles of worship in token of reverence Their idol worship is not exactly what can be called idolatry in so far as these Tirthankaras are concerned But the moment they leave this sphere and offer objects of worship to hypothetical beings such as the Yakshas and Yakshinis with four faces eight arms or with other abnormalities and with strange vehicles they are relegated to the sphere of idolatry For here also we cannot prove that these strange creatures ever existed on the face of the earth

But the Buddhist mode of worship is entirely different from that of the Hindus or of the Jainas To the Buddhists the external world has no existence Even the body with its sense organs is unreal The real noumenon is only Śūnya which together with Karuṇā constitute the Bodhicitta The Bodhi mind then is also a reality in fact it has the same reality as that of Śunya and beyond the mind there is nothing in the external world The body as such

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flourished between A.D. 978 and 1030 A D in a characteristic stanza, says :

Spūrtiśca devatākārā nihsvabhāvāh svabhāvatah |
Yadā yadā bhavet sphūrtih sā tathā śūnyatātmikā[1]|

"The deities are nothing but manifestations of Śūnya and are by nature non existent Wherever there is a manifestation it must always be Śūnya in essence "

In another place the same author expresses a similar view in a different wording, the same idea being echoed by later writers Here the following verse occurs

Śūnyatābodhito bījam bījād bimbam prajāyate |
Bimbe ca nyāsavinyāsam tasmāt sarvam pratītyajam[2]|

"The germ syllable proceeds from the understanding of the Śūnya the conception of an icon proceeds from the germ syllable and from the conception of an icon proceeds the external representation of the deity , therefore, the process is one of Dependent Origination "

These two statements of an acknowledged authority on later Buddhism like Advayavajra give a direct lie to the allegation that the Tāntric Buddhism is nothing but idolatry In theory, Buddhism never acknowledged idol worship whether in the early or in the later stages In practice also a careful observer can easily see that they never acknowledged anything like idolatry or idol worship The Buddhists wrote an extensive literature known as the Sādhanas in which they gave elaborate descriptions of the procedure for worshipping the different deities, whose number it is not

[1] Advayavajrasamgraha published as No XL of the *Gaekwad's Oriental Series* ed Mm Haraprasad Shastri p 51

[2] Ibid p 50 The same idea is expressed in the *Sadhanamāla* ed B Bhattacaryya 340 thus Prathamam śunyatabodhim dvitiyam bijasamvrtam
Trtiyam bimbanispattim caturtham nyasamaksaram ||

always very easy to ascertain. When we read the different Sādhanas it never strikes one as to whether any necessity was ever felt by the Buddhists for the representation of deities either in paintings, or in metal or stone Let us take up a Sādhana and analyse its contents to show how the worshipper could worship without the images , and, in fact, to show that they never worshipped anything except certain abstract ideas which took different shapes of gods and goddesses The whole process is primarily a mental process and it has nothing to do with the external matters at all

First of all, the worshipper is enjoined after leaving the bed in the morning to wash his face and feet and repair himself to a lonely place for the purpose of meditation He should there sit in an easy pose and meditate on his heart the orb of the moon which originates from the germ syllable A and notice thereunder a fully blooming lotus On the filament of the lotus he should meditate the germ syllable (*e g* , Tām for Tārā) of yellow colour Then he should conceive innumerable rays of light issuing out from the germ syllable and illumining the innumerable worlds in the ten quarters—as destroying the darkness of ignorance and bringing from the firmament innumerable Buddhas and Bodhisattvas Then after an elaborate worship of these great compassionate Buddhas and Bodhisattvas with celestial flowers incense, scents, garlands, unguents powders mendicant dress, umbrellas, flags bells, banners and the like he should make a confession of sins by saying 'Whatever sinful deeds I have done caused to be done in this endless cycle of creation, everything I confess ' Then after meditation of the restraint of wrong deeds, he should give his assent to the meri-

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torious deeds of others by saying: "I assent to the virtues of the Sugatas, Pratyekas Śrāvakas Jinas and their offsprings the Bodhisattvas, and of the world with all its gods beginning from Brahmā" After this refuge in the Three Jewels should be taken with the words "I take refuge in the Buddha so long as the Bodhi essence subsists, I take refuge in Dharma so long as Bodhi essence subsists, and I take refuge in Saṅgha so long as Bodhi essence subsists" Thereafter adherence to the path of the Tathāgata should be expressed thus "By me shall be followed the path indicated by the Tathāgata and naught else The solicitation should be done with the words 'The gods the Tathāgatas and their children, who have created everything in this world for the benefit of the worldly beings, be constant to me and emancipate me" Then a request should be made with the words "Gods and Tathāgatas instruct me on such incontrovertible lessons on law by which the beings of the world may be freed from the bond of the world quickly' Then he should meditate on the results of his meritorious deeds with the following words 'Whatever merit I have acquired by the seven kinds of extraordinary worship (mentioned above) like the confession of sins, etc all that I devote to gain at the end the final Sambodhi" As an alternative measure the Sādhana recommends that the following verse may be recited instead of the above lengthy process, namely —

Sarvam pāpamahaṃ diśāmi paramam
Prītyanumode subham
Najanmasthitaye rthaye bhagavatah
Saddharmaratnasya ca |

Ratnānām trayamabhyupaimi śaranam
Bodhau dadhe mānasam
Tanmārgam ca samāśraye śubhavidhīn
Sambodhaye nāmaye ||

After offering seven kinds of extraordinary worship the gods who have been invoked should be dismissed with the formula OM ĀH MUH or by reciting the following verse

Śīlacandanaliptāngā dhyānapravaranāvrtā |
Bodhyangakusumākīrnā vihardhvam yathāsukham ||

"You move now according to your will being besmeared with the sandals of the Śilas (commandments) and wearing the garments of Dhyāna (meditation) and being strewn with the flowers of the Bodhi limbs"

Then the worshipper is required to meditate on the four Brahmas, namely friendship, compassion happiness and indifference What is meant by Friendship ? Its indication is the love that exists in all beings like the love towards one's only son The second Compassion is the desire to save others from misery and from causes that lead to misery The third Happiness is that desire on the part of the worshipper to place all being in this world in the sphere of Buddhahood which is unlikely to them The fourth Indifference consists in doing great welfare to all beings good or bad by discarding adverse requests and obstacles or, it is the complete indifference to the eightfold human institution of gain and loss fame and notoriety, blame and praise pleasure and pain and all unusual activities

After meditating on the four Brahmas as mentioned above the worshipper is required to conceive the whole

worldly phenomena to be absolutely pure and the inherent purity of himself. After this he should conceive of t voidness of all worldly phenomena Here voidness mea this : he should conceive the entire universe with its mob and immobile creations as the clear manifestation of no duality (advaya), when the mind is devoid of all kinds false reflections (kalpanā) and of such thought categori as the subject and the object.

Then as previously stated the worshipper should medita on his heart the goddess Āryatārā originating from th yellow germ syllable Tām placed on the moon over a ful blown lotus This goddess should be meditated upon as lon as desired Then the eternally accomplished Bhagavat should be drawn out from the interior by means of th rays that illumine the three worlds issuing out of the germ syllable Tām as aforesaid. After thus taking her out she should be placed on the firmement and should be worshipped with the offerings of scented water and fragrant flowers a also with various ceremonies external and internal by means of flowers, incense, light-stick, food offerings, etc Thus after worshipping her, the Mudrā or the mystic pose of hands should be exhibited. With this Mudrā the goddess of the essence of knowledge should be commingled with the goddess of the essence of Samaya, and by so doing the non-duality of the two should be established and meditated upon. After performing beneficial deeds for the worldly beings the worshipper should meditate on the form of Tārā which is identified with the universe Again he should meditate repeatedly until tired the yellow germ syllable and the Bhagavatī contained therein

The above is only a summary of one Sādhana typical for its completeness and wealth of details The same story is repeated in all others with lesser or greater details But nowhere, either here or elsewhere, do we find any mention of images or the worshipping any image during this long procedure described above In fact, the Buddhists of the Tāntric age never believed the image to be a necessary part of the worship[1] as the Hindūs did even before the time of Kautilya when image worship seemed to have been thoroughly established True it is that on several occasions mention is made in the Sādhanamālā of paintings of deities, but these were required invariably for particular Tāntric practices and not for the purpose of worship nor for meditation

Further the worshipper is generally designated as the Bodhisattva After following the prescribed procedure according to the instructions of the Guru, he should regard himself as nothing but a chain of momentary consciousness full of compassion for the suffering humanity, and should invoke the aid of Śunya with the three elements Śūnya, Vijñana and Mahāsukha This aid can be invoked only when the Bodhi mind of the Bodhisattva is completely identified with Śūnya, and only when this is done that the Śūnya responds In accordance with the Bīja Mantra or in accordance with the purpose for which the aid of Śunya is invoked the latter transforms itself in the form of a divinity with which the Bodhi mind is identified When the commingling of the Bodhi mind with the deity takes

[1] Compare for instance Lakṣmīnkara's *Advayasiddhi* where we meet with the following verse

Na cāpi Vandayeddevān kaṣṭhāpaṣāṇamṛnmayān
Pujam-asyaiva kāyasya kuryānnityaṃ samāhitaḥ ।

place the former develops great power, and is able to do the work for which the deity has been invoked, until the latter is dismissed from the mind with the proper formula. A glance at the list of deities and the aims and objects of the Vajrayānists will show the multifarious duties Sūnya had to perform, and the multifarious forms into which it had to transform itself.

It can indeed be pointed out that because of the large number of images of gods and goddesses of the Vajrayāna

CHAPTER XXVI

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF HINDU AND BUDDHIST MYTHOLOGY

In the Sādhanamālā we hear of four pīthas of the Vajrayāna They are Kāmākhyā, Sirihatta, Pūrṇagiri and Uḍḍiyāna According to the Kālikāpurāna (Chap. 18, Ślo. 42 46), the original pīthas of Hindu Śaktism consisted of the following places, viz, Devīkūta, Uḍḍiyāna, Kāmarūpa, Jālandhara and Pūrnagiri

The author of the Buddhist Iconography suggests that Uḍḍiyāna is the same as Odra Uḍḍiyāna and Odra, beyond doubt, are identical places According to the Kālikāpurāṇa, the presiding deity of Uḍḍiyāna is Kātyāyanī, as would be apparent from the following ślokas

Devīkūte mahādevī mahābhāgeti gīyate
Satīpīdayuge līnā yoganidrā jagatprabhuh
Kātyāyanī coḍḍiyāne Kāmākhyā Kāmarūpinī
Purneśvarī Pūrṇagirau Candrajālandhare girau
(Ch 18, Ślo 49 and 50).

In the following ślokas of the same Purana, the same Kātyāyanī is spoken of as the presiding goddess of Oḍra.

Oḍrakhyam prathamam pītham dvitiyam Jālaśailakam
Tṛtiyam Purnapithantu Kāmarūpam caturthakam
Oḍrapitham paścimetu tathaiboḍresvarīm Śivām
Kātyāyanim Jagannāthamoḍreśañca prapūjayet.
(Ch 64, Ślo 43 and 44).

Oḍra was once an important centre of Śaktism.

In answer to Vetāla and Bhairava's question as to where the Devī should be worshipped, Śiva said,

Bīrāmsyāmi sadā pūjā sampūrnaphaladāyinī
tatastāddvigunā proktā purusottamasannidhau.

(Chap 58, Śl 34)

From what has been said above, it becomes clear that Kāmarūpa, Pūrnagiri and Oḍra were sacred places both with the Hindu Sāktas and the Vajra-yāna Buddhists It cannot be as yet asserted with certainty which cult prevailed in these localities first But the statements met with in the Kālikā Purāna concerning Heruka, may serve as a helpful hint in this direction Heruka is one of the most important gods of the Vajra-yānists In the Kālikā Purāna the term is sometimes represented as the name of a sacred śmaśāna

Pīthe ceddīyate marttyo valim dadyāt Śmamasānake
Śmaśānam Herukākhyāntu tatpurvam pratipāditam
Kāmākhyānilaye Śaile Oḍrādau Viddhi tat kramam
Mama rūpam Śmaśānam tadbhairavākhyāñca kathyate

(Ch 67, Śls 72 and 73)

The Buddhist Heruka of the dvi bhuja variety is represented as standing on a corpse The Śmasāna called Heruka in the Kālikā Purāna is represented in a dhyāna as

Agni nirdagdha vigaladdanga pretoparisthitahm "

(Ch 63 Śls 133 and 134)

The former carries a vessel full of blood Heruka in the Kālikāpurāna is described as the fit locality for the offering of blood

Tatrāngatvam tapah siddha tribhāgartu bhavisyati
Pūrvānge Bhairavākhye tu samutsrstirnarasya tu

Dakṣinānge śiro dadyādbhairavyā munda-mālayā
Rudhiram paścimānge tu Herukākhyai niyojayet.
(Ch. 76, Śls. 88-90).

But the Hindu Śāstras were not content with making a śmaśān of that great deity.

While Vetāla and Bhairava were worshipping Kāmākhyā, the goddess appeared before them from the Śiva-liṅga, whereupon the linga broke up into three parts.

Tasyāṁ vinirgatāyāntu Śivalingam tridhābhavat
Bhairavo Bhairavī ceti Herukaśca tathā trayah
(Chap. 76 Śl 88)

In connection with the description of the different deities of Kāmarūpa, we get the following information :—

Śivalingañca tatrāsti śilāyām Herukāhvayam
(Chap. 79, Śl. 161)

The researches of several scholars have furnished us with a strong case in favour of the theory that Tārā was borrowed by the Hindus from the Buddhists

In this connection, it will be interesting to note the following observation of Nārada to Arjuna as indicated in the Skanda Purāna Māheśvar Khanda, Kumārikā section.

Yayāvistah samujjahre vedān kūrmmo jagadguruh
Anayāvista dehaśca budho Bauddhān hanisyati
Kotiśo vedamārgasya dhvamsakān pāpakarmmah
Iyam mayā samārādhya samānītā gṛeh sitāt.
(Chap 47, Śl. 14)

The Hindus regard Hayagrīva as a form of Viṣnu. This relationship is referred to in the Kālikā Purāna (Chap. 78, Śl. 77), as well as in many other Hindu texts.

Even the Buddhists regarded Hayagrīva as a Hindu god In the image of Parnaśavarī now in the Dacca Museum Hayagrīva along with Śītalā are shown as flying from her wrath But the Buddhists have a god of the same name affiliated to Amitābha as well as to Avalokiteśvara There are differences in forms between the Hindu and the Buddhist Hayagrīvas But there are differences as well, in the representations of the Hindu god as given in the Kālikā Purāṇa, Tantrasāra and Viṣnu dharmottara

The Vajra Yānists have a god, Mañjughoṣa, affiliated to Akṣobhya In the Tantrasāra the manner of the worship of Mañjughoṣa and the merit accruing from it form the subject of an elaborate discourse by Śiva to his consort In answer to her interrogation as to who this Mañjughoṣa was, Śiva said—

Śruyatām devi me vākyam nātra kārya vicāranā
Mañjughoṣastu yo devah sohham devī na samśayah
(Tantrasāra Śl 46)

Kurukulvā occupies a prominent place in the Vajra yāna pantheon The Hindus also appreciated her importance. In the Kalikopanisad, in connection with the adoration of Kālī we find a number of goddesses Kurukulvā being one of them

In the Mahānirvan Tantra, in the abhiseka ceremony in connection with the installation of the Kaulika, invocation is made to various deities There we find also "Kālī, Kapālinī Kulvā Kurukulva, Virodhinī and others"

Her protection is invoked along with that of other deities in the Śyāmā Kavaca, given in the Tantrasāra, the relevant portion of which is quoted below —

Kāli Kapālinī Kulvā Kurukulvā Virodhinī
Vipracittā tathogrograprabhā diptā ghanātvisam

Aksobhyā as the name indicates, is the Śakti of Akso bhya but she is included in the list of 64 yoginīs as given in the Agnipurāna, Chapter 52 We find her mentioned also along with other deities in the same Purāna, Chapter 146 Śl 12

Vārāhī is a very important Hindu goddess She is one of the seven mātrs and her description is found in a very large number of Hindu texts The Vajrayānists have a goddess called Vajravārāhī and another called Āryā vārāhi The latter stands on a corpse Vārāhī in her description as given in the Devī Bhāgavata is also shown on a corpse ,—

Vārāhī Śūkarākārā praudhāpretāsanā matā
(Chap 28, Śl 25)

Aparājitā is another member of Vajrayāna pantheon, being an emanation of Ratna Sambhava A goddess of the same name holds a very important place in the reverence of the Hindus She finds mention in the same list with Kurukulvā in Kalikopanisad and Tantrasāra Her dhyāna is given in the Devi purāna and the Nārada Samhita

Vajravetāli Vajracarcikā Vajragandhāri and Bhrkuti are also deities of the Vajrayāna while the Hindus have Vetali Carcikā Gārdhari and Bhrkuti

The first is referred to in Chap 127 in the Devi Purāna the second in Chap 50 Śl 16 of the same Purana, as well as in Chap 27 Linga Purāna, the 3rd is referred to in Chap 27 Linga Purāna and Ch 146 Agni Purana the 4th in Chap 27 Linga Purana

It is clear from what has been stated above that no wide gulf separates the mythology of the Hindus from that of their Buddhist compatriots, and the two religions could not have developed independently of each other

CHAPTER XXVII

BUDDHISM IN TAMIL LITERATURE

An endeavour is made here to trace the history of Buddhism in South India from the earliest times down to the end of the epoch of the Nāyanmārs and Āḻvārs, roughly tenth century A D The chief source of information is of course the Saṅgam literature and the religious literature contained in the *Tēvāram, Tiruvāśagam* and the *Divyaprabandam* of the Tamils The extant Sangam works of which the *Tolkāppiyam* is the oldest can roughly be assigned to an age extending from the fourth century B C down to the sixth century A D We propose to divide the Tamil literature into three periods, and try to examine the course which the Buddhist religion took These three periods are roughly first, the epoch of the early Sangam literature represented by the *Tolkāppiyam* and the *Tirukkural*, secondly the epoch of the later Sangam literature represented by the anthologies of the *Puranānuru*, the *Ahanānūru* and the twin epics, the *Śilappadikāram* and the *Manimēkalai*, and thirdly the epoch of the Hindu religious revival as represented by the Śaiva Samayācaryas and the Vaisnava ācāryas

Epoch of Early Sangam literature

We can at the outset fix the chronological limits of this epoch Roughly this commences with the fourth century B C and can be said to end with the beginning of the Christian era Though this was the period in which Buddhism had been introduced into the Peninsula, we have unfor-

tunately no definite materials to mark out anything like the Buddhist institutions during this time. There is of course the tradition contained in the legends which speaks of the three missions during the reign of King Devānaṁpiya Tissa of Ceylon.[1] On the first mission Aśoka, the Emperor, sent his son (brother?) Mahendra (Mahinda) and his grandson Sumana.[2] On another request a branch of the sacred *Bodhi* tree was sent to Ceylon through the sea.[3]

This tradition stands on a par with the Jaina tradition that the first Mauryan emperor Candragupta abdicated his throne in the evening of his life, travelled to Śravana-Belgola with the Śrutakēvalin Bhadrabāhusvāmin. There is not any reliable evidence to entitle these two incidents to credence. Whatever may be their basis, in fact, one thing is clear. This was the age when Buddhism and Jainīsm were introduced into South India. It is evident from the inscriptions of Aśoka that when the emperor was ruling, the Cēras, the Cōḷas, the Pāṇḍyas and the Satyaputras constituted the Tamiḻagam and they were enjoying independence, and outside the pale of the Mauryan Empire. It is difficult to say whether these States in the extremity of the Peninsula were affected by the wave of the Buddhist movement, or even of the Jaina movement. The *Tolkāppiyam*,[4] the oldest grammatical work extant, whose composition may be roughly fixed as the fourth century B. C. has no reference, not even a side reference to the Buddha or the institutes connected with the sage of Kapilavastu. It can, then, be inferred that in the days of Tolkāppiyaṇār Buddhism has not yet

[1] Geiger: *Mahāvaṁsa*, Ch. XI.
[2] Ibid., Ch. XIII.
[3] Ibid., Chs XVIII & XIX.
[4] Śrīnivāsa Piḷḷai, *Tamil Varalāṟu*, Vol. I, p. 8.

been introduced to the Tamil Nādu From the *Tolkāppiyam* to the *Tirukkuṛal* there may be a gap of two or three centuries at the most and the latter again which is professedly a work on morals and ethics, has no occasion to mention these sects and their activities Scholars are, however, not wanting to interpret certain terms and expressions in the *Kural* as pertaining to the creed of the Jama and the Bauddha for which there seems to be no warrant whatsoever. That Tiruvalluvar was a Buddhist by conviction is claimed mainly from the section entitled *Turavu*, the ten couplets commencing from the *Kuṛaḷeṇba*, 341 The sum and substance of these ten *Kuṛals* is that renunciation is the cure for all ills, and, therefore, one should aim it But it must be remembered that the concept of renunciation is a very ancient one which on the evidence of archæology can be traced to the Chalcolithic period in the Indus Valley[1].

This idea of renunciation is recommended to such householders who have grown grey in worldly life and who look for peace and happiness in the other world In fact when the whole society was divided into the fourfold system of castes and orders, the *varnāśrama* polity of ancient literature, the renunciation idea took firm root in the minds of the people Again it is this ideal of renunciation that has made many a *rājarṣi* of ancient India relinquish the joys of palace-life to a hard forest life of fasting and penance The *śiṣṭas* and the *viśiṣṭas* among the Brāhmana community invariably donned the attire of the Sannyāsin after going through the first three stages of life, the Brahmacarya, the Gārhasthya and the Vānaprastha And it is generally accepted that the

[1] See *Memoirs of Ar Sur of India*, No 41, p 34

Brāhman sannyāsin formed the model for the Buddha to form an order of sannyāsins As renunciation cannot be claimed to be a solely Buddhistic conception, and as it was a common practice in the Chalcolithic period as testified to by two broken statues discovered at Mōhenjōdāro, it is unconvincing to associate Valluvar with the Buddhistic creed and its tenets [1]

It transpires then that in the centuries before the Christian era Buddhism was not a potent factor influencing the life of the people and the monarch alike Perhaps stray members of the sect might have lived here and there in the capital cities of the Tamil kingdoms, with no regular establishment or organisation, gaining sympathy for their cause from the public slowly but surely as we shall see in the sequel

The epoch of later Sangam literature

The second period of Tamil literature with which we are now concerned may be stated to have covered the first five or six centuries after the Christian era During this period the Buddhist sect has come to stay as a permanent institution It has gathered a volume of strength by the patronage of the kings and the people Stūpas and Caityas have been erected, and a regular order of monks flourished in most of the important cities by adding more and more adherents to their cause In the classical works of the *akam*, the *Puram* and the collection that goes by the name of *Pattuppāṭṭu*, there are no direct references to the Buddha's religion The occurrence of the term *tavappalli* in the Paṭṭi-

[1] For an able study on the subject See Jagadisa Ayyar Raghava Ayyangar's articles in the *Sen Tamil* Vol I

nappalar, (l. 54) is generally associated with the Buddha monastery The institution of *mathas* and *sālās* for ascetics has been in existence from ancient times Therefore the term under reference need not be necessarily Buddhistic It is more reasonable to assume that it refers to the halls which were residences for the monks of the established faith In an ode of the *Puram* anthology again there is a stray reference to the existence of Buddhist literature, according to the commentator of the *Puram*, though it is not warranted as such by the text [1] From this it would appear that during the age when Āvūr mulankiār lived—a contemporary of the Cōlan king Kiḷḷivalavan and the Pāndyan Nanmāran—there had come into being a body of heterodox literature condemning the Vedic literature and posing to propound new truths and true ideals of life It can be also assumed that despite the sinister propaganda of such literature, the Vedic religion continued to flourish, and the Vedic *yajñas* were continued to be performed in an elaborate style as is evident from a number of poems in the *Puram*

From these scattered and far fetched references we are on a firm ground when we come to examine the twin epics It is contended by some that these epics the *Silappadikaram* and the *Manimēkalai*, do not come under the category of the Sangam works But the consensus of opinion is in favour of treating them as pronounced Sangam works What ever this may be, the material which these epics treat of, is valuable as it throws a flood of light on Buddhism Perhaps the heyday of Buddhist religion is marked by the age of the epics, which is taken to the second century A D.

[1] 116 11 1-9

though there are scholars who assign them to the fourth and fifth centuries and even later. We are not here concerned with the chronology of these texts The assumption that Buddhism influenced the Tamil life in the early centuries of the Christian era is warranted by facts We have already referred to the heterodox literature prevalent in the land The stūpas and caityas referred to in the epics must have come into being as a result of the growing influence spread over at least two or three centuries

Coming then to a detailed examination of the epics we find the following facts mentioned in them The chief characters in the two epics are Kōvalan and his wife Kannaki, Mādhavī, the courtesan, whom Kōvalan loved, and Manimēkalai, the daughter of Kōvalan and Mādhavī The minor characters are Māsāttuvān, the father of Kōvalan and Mānāikan, the father of Kannaki To these may be added the name of Kūlavāṇikan Śāttanar, the illustrious author of the undying *Manimēkalai* To what religion these belonged cannot be ascertained with any definiteness It is reasonable to assume that the poet Śāttanār was a Buddhist by religion Equally reasonable is the fact that Kōvalan and Kannaki were followers of the established Hindu religion, though there is reason to believe that the family to which Kōvalan belonged had sympathy with the Buddhist sects, and sometimes extended their patronage This is evident from the fact that a certain Kōvalan, one of the predecessors of Kovalan, the hero of the story in the *Śilappadikaram*, the ninth in generation from him built a *caitya* in Karuvūor-Vañji. It is said that this Kōvalan was attracted by the teachings of the Buddhist monks (*caranar*) and having given away in

charity what all he possessed he became an ascetic and performed penance [1]

Among the other important characters figures Manimēkalai

When the child was born, Mādhavī consulted Kōvalan as to naming the child Kōvalan suggested Manimēkalai after the name of the goddess of the seas It would appear that this divinity once saved a predecessor of his family who was shipwrecked in the sea on one of his commercial voyages In order to honour this deity, he named the child after her [2] According to the *Jātakas*[3] there was the guardian of the sea, Manimēkhala, appointed to save worthy persons shipwrecked in the sea from being foundered in the waters The story of the Sankha Jātaka may be briefly mentioned Once when Brahmadatta was reigning in Mithila as king a certain Brāhman Sankha used to give alms daily to wayfarers and beggars Fearing his store of wealth dwindling the Brāhman took ship to earn riches On the way he saw a pacceka-Buddha making penance on mount Gandhamādana and presented him with shoes and sunshade When he was sailing on the high seas, on the seventh day the ship sprang a leak and all except Sankha and his attendants perished For seven days these kept on swimming when the deity Manimēkhala who kept no outlook for seven days in her divine power saw the virtuous brāhman struggling in the waters She appeared before him and after giving him rich food, conveyed him to his native home in a special ship containing a rich store of wealth [4] This is exactly the

[1] *Mani* canto 28 ll 123 131
[2] *Mani* canto 25 ll 207 211
[3] No 449 and N 539 Vol VI p 22
[4] Cowell ed Vol IV pp 9 13

that she did not treat him properly, Mādhavī was leading a pure life with her daughter. When she came to know that her dear lover had fallen a prey to the sword of the executioners of the Madura city, she turned over a new leaf and became a *bikkuṇi* (the *bhikkhuṇī* or the female ascetic) and embraced the Buddhist creed.[1] She adopted the robes of the *bhikkhuṇī* under the advice and guidance of Aṛavaṇa-aḍigaḷ, the head of the Saṅgha of the place.[2]

Maṇimēkalai was still a young girl when these heart-rending incidents happened. Though she was by birth a member of the class of prostitutes, still the high standards which Mādhavī set before her, left a deep impress in her heart. Being schooled in the disciplinary life of her mother, Maṇimēkalai set no value to the carnal pleasures of the world. Her mind soared high in the region of philosophy, and like her mother, she had abiding faith in the Buddhist creed. How she became an active member of the Saṅgha is as follows.

Mādhavī sent her to the neighbouring flower garden to get some flowers for service. The heir-apparent of the reigning Cōḷa king had occasion to see this charming figure and fell in love with her. Escorted by Sutamati, her mother's companion, Maṇimēkalai reached the garden where the goddess Maṇimēkhala appeared, took Maṇimēkalai to the island of Maṇipallavam and informed Sutamati that she would return to Puhār on the seventh day having learnt their previous existence on earth. Sutamati woke up from her sleep and found herself alone. She ran home and in-

[1] Śilappadikāram, canto 27, ll. 103-8.
[2] *Maṇi*, canto 18, ll. 7-8.

formed Mādhavī of what had happened the previous day. Maṇimēkalai woke up to find herself in new surroundings. She could not find Sutamati and became greatly distressed. She wandered aimlessly and came across a miraculous Buddha-seat from which she learnt her past life. At that time the goddess appeared and endowed her with the capacity to fly in the air and to assume any form she would desire, and disappeared. Soon she met another lady Tīva Tilakai who informed her the method of getting at a never failing begging bowl (*smrta surabhi*) from the neighbouring lily tank, the peculiarity of which would be that food put into it would not get exhausted. After taking leave of her new compapanion Tīva Tilakai, Maṇimēkalai flew through the air to Kāvēripaṭṭiṇam to her home. With her mother and Sutamati, she visited Aṛavaṇa-adigaḷ and placed herself under his guidance. She was initiated into the mysteries of Buddha's teachings and spent her time in doing social service, the chief form of which was distributing food freely to the needy and the worthy. She had become a full-fledged nun.

The prince continued to make love-approaches to her. One day he was slain by a Vidyādhara, the form of whose wife Manimēkalai had assumed. The king punished her with imprisonment but she was soon released. She then went to Sāvakam, now identified with Sumatra and with its ruler Āputra she came to Maṇipallavam. After Āputra got initiated into the secrets of the great Being, he returned to his land and Manimēkalai to Vañji. She learnt that a famine had broken out in Kāñci and consequently the sage Aravaṇa adigaḷ her mother and Sutamati had gone

tradition that is narrated in the classical Tamil work *Manimēkalai*. The divinity is called Manimēkhaladaivam, guardian of the vast ocean (*Pauam*). She offers succour to the worthy among the shipwrecked.[1] She has been appointed by Indra the lord of heaven to protect certain islands and the seas from being disturbed by the Rākṣasas and Asuras. According to the tradition in the story, the merchant member of the family of Kōvalan who was afforded protection during shipwreck was nicknamed *nalanāṭōn* (one fit to attain the Buddhahood). On Indra's command the Manimēkhaladaivam saved the dying man.

In the same way it is said that when the Indra festival usually celebrated in the Kāvēripūmpattinam the ancient Cōla capital was not celebrated Indra grew angry and ordered the Manimēkhaladaivam to devour it with the waters of the ocean.[2] A noteworthy point in this connection is the seven days during which the merchant swam on the seas exactly corresponding to the *Jataka* version.[3] It would appear to be a reproduction of the same story with some more details. Here the goddess explicitly says to him that she is helping him for his limitless charity and righteous conduct[4]—another detail in common with the *Jataka* version. These traditional stories which occur in the *Manimēkalai* clearly demonstrate how the *Jataka* stories had become popularised by the time of Śittalai Śattanār, the author of the work.

Before we examine in detail the part played by Manimēkalai, the heroine of the story of the *Manimekalai*, we

[1] Canto 25 ll. 207 ff.
[2] *Ibid* Canto 29 ll. 14-36
[3] *Ibid* 1. 19
[4] *Śilappa* canto 15 ll. 28-37

shall speak of the other personages about whom we have referred to above These are Māśāttuvān, Mānāikan and Mādhavī When it had been known that Kōvalan had been executed by the Pāndyan king and that Kannaki, his devoted wife, gave up her life in utter grief in consequence, Māśattuvān, the father of Kōvalan, became disgusted with the worldly life After having given away in charity all the store of his wealth, he relinquished the pleasures of home life and embraced asceticism It would appear that he joined the Buddha Sangha established in the Indravihāra [1] According to tradition Indra caused seven vihāras to be built near the Mābodi, the *Pipal* tree sacred to the Buddha in the city of Puhār which was the residence of the Buddhist monks who were occasionally taught the Buddhist Āgamas by *antarasārikal*, the legendary airmen [2]

Mānāikan, the father of Kannaki, also received this episode with great sorrow and disappointment and joined the *ājivika* sect of the Jains [3] According to the Jaina Tamil work *Nilakesi*, the deity worshipped by this sect is known as Maṛkali, and their sacred book *Naṛaladir* [4] Mādhavi, the courtesan, received the news also with great sorrow The courtesans of those days it transpires from this, were not common women, leading a wayward life recklessly and sacrificing all principles and honour They had certain conventions which they followed scrupulously This is illustrated by the story of Mādhavi and her daughter Mani mēkalai After Kōvalan once for all left Mādhavī finding

[1] *Śilappadikaram* canto 27, ll 90 97
[2] Ibid canto 10 ll 10 17
[3] Ibid canto 27 ll 98 101
[4] See Ājivika 13 quoted by Pandit V Swaminatha Ayyar

there to help the suffering. Then she proceeded to Kāñci, and saved the dying peoples. Aṟavaṇa-aḍigaḷ further explained to her the intricacies of the Buddhist dharma and the conception of *nirvāṇa*, and from that day she led a disciplinary life of hard penance towards attaining the *nirvāṇa*.

The Buddhist philosophy of the *Maṇimēkalai* may engage our attention next. Much has been written on the subject by scholars of standing and hence we refrain from going into the subject in any detail here.[1] The chapter XXVII opens with the enumeration of the ten *pramāṇas* and these are[2]:

1. *Direct perception*—Kāṭchi (*Sans.* Pratyakṣa)
2. Inference—Karuttu (*Sans.* Anumāna)
3. Similitude—Uvamam (*Sans.* Upamāna)
4. Authority—Āgamam (*Sans.* Āgama, also Śābda)
5. Inferential assumption—Aruttāpatti (*Sans.* Arthāpatti)
6. Appropriateness—Iyalbu (*Sans.* Svabhāva)
7. Tradition—Aitiham or Ulahurai (*Sans.* Aitihye)
8. Non-existence or negation—Abhāvam—(*Sans.* Abhāva)
9. Inference by elimination or by correlation—mitchi or olibu or olivu (*Sans.* Pariśēṣa)
10. Occurrence—undaneri or ullaneri (*Sans.* Sambhava).

Next we are introduced to six systems of philosophy current at that time. These are Lōkāyata, Bauddha, Sānkhya, Naiyāyika, Vaiśesika, and Mīmāmsā, as against the accepted orthodox system of Pūrvamīmāṁsā, Uttaramī-

[1] A notable contribution is by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar in his introduction to his work, *Manimekalai in its Historical Setting*, pp 54 ff

[2] I have generally followed Dr. S. K. Aiyangar's translation.

māmsā, Vaiśesika, Nyāya, Sānkhya and Yōga The *Manmēkalai* therefore knows only one system of the *Mīmāmsā* philosophy and includes the Lōkāyata and the Bauddha in the category of the then accepted systems This is followed by an examination of the principles of Buddhist logic, the method of enquiry into the validity of knowledge and the means to attain that knowledge[1] *Pratyaksa* and *anumāna* are the two *pramānas* recognised Other instruments of knowledge are also mentioned · paksa, hetu, drstānta, upanaya, and nigamana , each being illustrated by examples These correspond to the five *avayava* (limbs) of a syllogism recognised by the Nyāya school of philosophy

In the last chapter we have a clear exposition of the phenomenon of Karma, the essential feature of the Buddhist religion as was understood in the days of Śittalai Śāttanār Practice of *dāna* or gifts and *śila* or good conduct is the first requisite to one desiring a place in the Sangha After referring to the three jewels, Buddha, Dharma and Sangha, the 'four truths' regarding suffering, its origin and cessation, are expounded To understand and realise these truths, one should overcome 'the chain of causes and conditions incorporated in the twelve *nidānas* of which again there is a detailed exposition To overcome this is to overcome ignorance which is attributed as the root cause for all ills Apart from giving this bare outline of the teachings of Buddhism as contained in these last chapters of the *Manmēkalai* we do not propose to enter into the controversy ranging about the indebtedness of the *Manmēkalai* to Dinnāga or *vice versa* According to Dr Aiyangar "the

[1] Ch xxix

Maṇimēkalai represents a school of logic from which Dinnāga sprang, not a school of logic which expounded Dinnāga's teaching."[1] The final solution of this indebtedness to Dinnāga or of Dinnāga to this would serve as a sure basis to fix the age of the *Maṇimēkalai*, and it is left for future research to determine this open question conclusively and once for all.

Before we close this section we shall mention two more points connected with this epic-Buddhism. The first is the mention of the island Śāvakam identified, as was already said, with the present Sumatra. At this time the king of the island is said to be one Puṇṇyarāja otherwise known as Āputra. The story goes that Maṇimēkalai took him to the islet of Maṇipallavam and imparted to him the greatness of the Buddhist creed. The story is legendary in character, as it refers to the miraculous power of Maṇimēkalai flying through the air to and from this place, of which Nāgapuram is said to be the capital.[2] If this Śāvaka nāḍu is then Sumatra, we have the evidence of two Chinese travellers who visited this island about A. D. 400 and 600 respectively. The first visitor, Fā-hien, did not notice much of Buddhism while I-tsing saw Buddhism flourishing in Sumatra

This leads us to three possibilities. First the record of Fā-hien does not give us a correct picture of the state of affairs. Perhaps that part of the island he visited, continued to be Brahmanical in faith. Secondly once in a flourishing condition when Āputra was ruling it, that is, the early centuries of the Christian era, it was in decline when the Chinese

[1] *Maṇimēkalai*, p. 80, contra Jacobi's article in the *Z I I* Vol V, 3 Leipzig; Prof. S Kuppusvāmi Śāstrigal's article in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. I, pp 191–201.

[2] See *Maṇimēkalai*, canto XIV, sep 11, 34 ff XXVIII, 11 75–80

traveller visited it about 400 A D Another religious wave came over the land and the decaying Buddhism was revived when the other Chinese pilgrim visited it about 620 A D Thirdly the age of the *Manmēkalai* must be sought for in the fifth or sixth century A D To us the third possibility is unconvincing and is against all circumstantial evidence The inference is that it must be either of the first two possibilities

The other point we wish to draw attention to is the fact mentioned in the Menimēkalai that when Kulvinavan was reigning as king at the capital, his brother Junai Lamkili was viceroy at the city of Kāñci, and that this prince caused a number of buildings to be erected in that provincial town, all sacred to the memory of the Buddha Among such buildings the mention of a stūpa in the south west direction of the city near a great garden is significant in more than one respect [1] Among the topes ascribed to the Maurya emperor Aśoka by Hiuen Tsang, one is that of Kāñci, Kanchih pu lo[2] and what is really interesting is that the Chinese traveller mentions it along with a stūpa located in the south direction thus pointing out almost to a coincidence with that mentioned in the *Manmēkalai* [3] In regard to the attribution to Asoka of a tope in the city of Kāñci, there is no evidence except the mere mention of it by Hiuen Tsang who, it may be remembered, visited India after a lapse of eight centuries from Aśoka There is remote possibility of Asoka's building a stūpa or a tope in the southern-

[1] *Mani*, 28, 11 170 177
[2] The reference in the Manimekalai is against identifying the city with Negapatam
[3] Watters; *On Yuan Chwang* Vol II p 226

most part of the peninsula, which according to his own words in the Edicts, was outside the pale of his empire. The fact seems to be that when Kāñci was a flourishing Buddhist centre during the age of the Cōḷa king Kiḷḷivaḷavan, his brother a votary of that religion caused a stūpa to be built in the midst of a great tope and a comparison of the two descriptions of the *Maṇimēkalai* and the Records of the Chinese traveller demonstrates that the tope which Hiuen Tsang saw at Kāñci was the same attributed to Iḷamkiḷḷi. It may be that by the time of the visit of this Chinese traveller a new tradition has grown round the stūpa and the tope and as many other buildings are ascribed to Aśoka by the Buddhist writers, for which there is not much warrant as modern archæological excavations would have it, there is reason to suppose that this tope and the stūpa of Iamkiḷḷi were also attributed in that usual style to the Mauryan emperor.

The age of Nāyanmārs and Āḻvārs

Proceeding from the Saṅgam literature we go to the religious literature of the Tamils. Among the accredited authors of this vast and wealthy literature, four names of the Śaiva saints and twelve names of the Vaiṣṇava saints figure prominently. The Śaiva saints are Tirugñana Sambandar, Tirunavukkaraśuswāmigaḷ, Sundaramūrtisvāmigaḷ and Mānikkavāsagar. The twelve Vaiṣṇava saints are Poihayār, Pūtattār, Pēyar, Tiruppanā vār, Tirumalicaiyar, Toṇḍaraṭippoḍigaḷ, Kulaśēkarapperumā, Periyāḻvār, Āṇḍāl, Tirumaṅgaimannan, Nammāḻvār, and Madurakkavigaḷ.[1] While the Śaiva saints go by the

[1] The order adopted in the Rāmanuja Nūṟṟantāti, st, 8-12.

name of Nāyanmars, the Vaisnava saints are known as Ālvārs The Śaiva religious literature of this time consists essentially of the *Tevaram* and the *Tiruvasagam* The Vaisnava religious literature constitutes the *Nalayira divyaprabandam* In spite of the efforts of scholars to alight on the safe shore of chronological sea of these religious preachers and teachers no conclusive decision has yet been arrived at The age of these spreads roughly from the sixth century to the tenth century A D

It would appear from a general study of the literature of the period that Buddhism had declined as an active religion but Jainism had still its stronghold The chief opponents of these saints were the *Samanas* or the Jainas The Buddhists are no doubt mentioned among the heretical sects who were endeavouring their best to propagate their faith But they are not to be found on a large scale For our purpose we take those Nayanmars and Ālvars who had something to do with the Buddhists Confining thus our attention we find Tirugñana Sambandar and Manikkavasagar holding disputations with the Buddhists and ultimately establishing the superiority of their faith During the age when Sambandar flourished roughly seventh century A D The village of Bodhimangai[1] was a Buddhist settlement and this belonged to the Coramandalam In the course of his religious tour from place to place in the Tamil nadu Sambandar happened to get to know of this Buddhist colony Hearing that Sambandar was on his way to their place the Buddhists led by their chief the Buddhanandi

[1] Probably Būdamangalam the native place of Buddhadatta who flourished in the fourth century A D

offered to hold a *vāda* or disputation on the superiority of religion. This enraged the saint so much that he sang a verse (*padikam*) and cursed that thunderfall on the Buddhist leader. The same happened and Nandi died. This did not discourage the other Buddhists from taking up the *vāda* with the Śaiva saint. In every point Sambandar scored victory with the consequence that many Buddhists of the place became converted to the Śaiva creed.[1] What is of greater interest is that the ninth stanza of every *padikam* attributed to this saint contains a contemptuous reference to the Buddhists and the Jainas.

The other Śaiva saint is Mānikkavāsagar who held disputations with the Buddhists. He belonged to a Brahman family, the members of which were hereditary ministers to the Pāṇḍyan king. The date of this saint is a bone of much contention among scholars ranging from the second century A.D. down to the ninth century. But the circumstantial evidence makes us assign him to the ninth century. This saint is better known as Tiruvādavūraḍigaḷ. It would appear that he relinquished the office of the chief minister and went out into the broad land in quest of truth. At this time Buddhism was flourishing in Ceylon. When Vādavūrar was spending his time in Cidambaram, a certain Śaiva devotee happened to go to Ceylon and mentioned Ponnambalam, literally golden hall of Cidambaram, whenever he met the Buddhists. The latter reported this to their king and the Śaiva was asked to present himself before His Majesty. This Śaiva spoke to him of Mānikkavāsagar having his camp in Cidambaram, who would meet him in every

[1] See *Periyapurānam, Tirugñana Sambandamūrti nāyānār purāṇam.*

point raised The Buddhist king of Ceylon with his chief priest set out for Cidambaram A great conference was held when the *Tillai* three thousand persons were also present Question after question was put but Vādavūrar did not get dismayed He was quite equal to the occasion. Enkindled by the lamp of burning faith the Buddhists would neither yield nor accept defeat Then the saint resorted to a miracle by which he struck dumb the chief Buddhists who took part in the disputation to the great wonderment of the Buddhist king *Finding what had* happened the king of Ceylon said to Vādavūrar that he would be the first to embrace Śaivism if the saint would make his dumb daughter speak It so happened When the dumb princess spoke, she spoke in defence of Śaivism No more proof was required to show the greatness of the Śaiva faith, and the Buddhist king of Ceylon became a devout Śaivaite from that day onward The Buddhist priests who were struck dumb were removed of their dumbness and they too became Śaivaites[1]

Coming to the Ālvārs we find from their writings four of them entering into active propaganda with the Buddhists These are Tirumaisai, Tondaradipodigai, Tirumangai Ālvār and Nammālvār Tirumaisai can be assigned to the end of the sixth century and the commencement of the seventh century A D and is one connected with the city of Madras, as he is said to have spent a considerable portion of his life at Triplicane According to tradition this saint is said to have embraced the Bauddha, Jaina, Śaiva and Vaisnava faiths respectively The last appealed to him most and he

[1] See *Tiruvadavurar Puranam*, also Sungaravelu Mudaliar's *Abhidanachintamani*

stood in it firm That *samayatādam* was extant in his time is evident from his own writings. He speaks of '*ariyār śamanar ayarttār Bavuttar*' which means ignorant Jains and the spiritless Buddhists[1] In the 14th stanza of the same work we find the term *pinaccamayar* meaning 'followers of the devil faith' Though there is no story pointing to a particular *vādam* or religious discussion in which he engaged himself, yet it would appear that he treated these heretical sects with contempt

Tondaradippadigal is another ālvār who led a crusade against the heretical sects and was engaged in regular missionary work There is evidence to show that he was a contemporary with Tirumangaiālvār who is generally assigned to the eighth century A.D[2] The works which are attributed to this saint are *Tirumalai* and *Tiruppalliyelucci*, and from *Tirumalai* can be gathered his relations with the Buddhists and the *Samanas*

'The learned well versed in sacred Vedic lore would neither see the contemptible Buddhists and Samanas nor listen to their heretical teachings'[3]

'Oh lord of Śrīranga, our ears have become diseased by listening to the series of unceasing and unbearable slander of the so called preachings of the Samana ignoramuses and the unprincipled Śākyas If you would only endow me with sufficient strength I shall deem it my duty to do nothing short of chopping off their heads'[4]

1 Nānmukan, 6
2 See M Raghava Ayyangar's *Alvarkal kalanilai* esp p 169
3 Pulaiyaṟa māṉi mnra puttoḍu samana mellaṅ
kalaiyaṟi kaṟṟa māntar kaṉṟaro kīṯparō taṉ
4 Veṟuppoḍu samana mundat vidiyul saṅk varkaḷ muṉpar
koṟuppaṉ yaṉakal pēṟṟi povade noyatakil

a number of caves, was also frequented by the Buddhists and the Jainas That these were residents of that hill much long anterior to our Ālvār is again clear as is evident from the Brāhmi inscriptions discovered therein. Nammālvār, as could be gathered from the lines quoted below,[1] regrets the waste of time and energy expended unnecessarily by people professing different creeds like the *samanas* and the Buddhists for nothing Whatever be the nature of the discussions and however learned be the disputants, Nammālvār says, there is only one supreme Being whom he calls Nārāyana who is the controller of the whole universe Nammālvār was a philosopher and did not believe in endless religious discussions where, after all, much might be said on both sides It would be good according to this ālvār that persons of different creeds sink their differences which are a mere nothing and aim at attaining the lotus feet of that one supreme Being Thus we see how some of the ālvārs and nāyanmārs endeavoured their best to curb the disintegrating influence of heretical religions as they viewed it and firmly plant the banner of their faith Needless to say that they gloriously succeeded in it.

Passing on to examine some of the habits and customs, peculiar to the Buddhists of this time roughly sixth to the tenth century A D , we find a study of the different terms and expressions found scattered here and there in the religious literature of this epoch which throws a welcome light on the subject The Buddhist monks were invariably upper

[1] "Ilinkattitta purāṇattirum samaṇarum Śākkiyarum mulintu vādu Śeyvirka lum marrunum deyvamumaki ninrān" *Tiruvaimoli*, 4 10 5

garments,[1] and their attire was generally of silk.[2] Another peculiarity of their dress was the wearing of five clothes at a time by every monk.[3] They were known as *tōra*, the *sthavira* of Sanskrit literature. They were highly proficient in the *Tarkavidyā* or the science of logic.[4] Proficiency in this *śāstra* made them skilled in debates so essential for advocates of religious faith. Their language is said to be prākrit tongue. It is noteworthy that the Buddhists did not refrain from eating of the flesh. At least meat was not a forbidden dish to them.[5] The method of taking food is also strange. While the Jains took their food standing[6] the Buddhists took their meals sitting.[7] It is not easy to guess what this eating of food, sitting or standing symbolises.

Other Buddhist works of the period

One of the five great epics (*Kāppyam*—Sans *Kāvya*) known to the Tamil world is *Kundalakesi*, belonging perhaps to the seventh century A.D. It is an accredited Buddhist work which provoked a reply from the followers of the Jaina cult in the form of a work entitled *Nilakeśi*. The author of the *Yāppeṇumkālavirutti* brings these two as also others of allied topics under the common category of *Tarukkam* or the *Tarkaśāstra*. The *Kundalakeśi* then is essentially a *Vādanūl* though clothed in the garb of an epic. The

[1] *Tevaram* Swaminatha Panditar edition p. 219, 10, p. 1026, 10.
[2] Ibid., p. 231, 10.
[3] Ibid. p. 239, 10.
[4] Ibid. p. 822, 10.
[5] Ibid. p. 206, 10.
[6] Ibid., p. 175, 9.
[7] Ibid. p. 203, 10.

Note—While the *Nilakesi* is available in ms. the *Kundalakesi* has been lost. Pandit M. Raghava Ayyangar informs me of a ms. of the Nilakeśi in possession of Vidvan R. Raghava Ayyangar of Ramnad. The peculiarity of the ms. is that it is in the form of a semi-circle the *purvapaksa* or half containing Kundalakeśi and the *apurvapaksa* or the latter half the *Nilakeśi*. The *Kundalakesi* portion has been removed from the extant ms. and what remains is the *Nilakesi*. The little we know of the *Kundalakeśi* is largely from the quotation of the *Nilakeśi*.

story may be briefly told. Kuṇḍalakeśī, the heroine of the story, after whose name the book goes, was the daughter of a rich merchant. While she was once spending some time in the top flat of her house, she saw one Kālan, a robber by profession and an attractive person, being arrested for theft and taken to the king for the awarding of punishment. She fell in love with him and expressed her desire to her sire who induced the king to let him free thus enabling him to become his son-in-law. So it happened. When the married pair were leading a happy life, she one day told in jest that he was a thief. This put him out so much that he resolved to deprive her of her jewels. Pretending to take her for a pleasure trip Kālan took her to a mountain top and unfolded to her his evil plan. She was too clever to be thus deceived. She requested him to permit her to circumambulate him three times which would give her soul the desired peace. Poor Kālan readily assented to it. On her third round finding Kālan unwary, she thrust him down and he fell dead. From that day forward she became disgusted with life and joined the Buddhist sect as a nun and went about the country preaching the superiority of Buddhism, and silencing the opponents by skilled debate and well-thought out arguments. One method of inviting the adversary was to fix up a post of the *Jambu* tree in some central place of the village or town, perhaps a symbolical representation of the Buddha's religion. In this way she spent the rest of her life.[1] That a similar story is current in the Buddhist legends is noted by Pandit M. Rāghava Ayyangar from the *Journal of the Mahābodhi Society*, (Sep.-

[1] See *Senāmil*, Vol. I, pp 91-93

Oct 1900) a Tamil translation of which has appeared in the *Sentamil*[1] The coincidence is indeed remarkable and at once arresting Her teacher was one Ankkiraṇdiraṉ of Uñjaimāṇagaṟam By the age of the composition of this epic it is safe to assume that a spirit of rivalry had come into being between Buddhism and Jainism in South India each trying to supplant the other Before we close a passing mention may be made of a grammatical composition, a Tamil Buddhistic work assigned to the eleventh century This is *Vīr śōliyam* the authorship of which is attributed to one Buddhamitra It treats of the *Pañca lakṣaṇam* or the five *lakṣaṇas* into which grammatical treatises are generally divided The work is written in honour of Vīracōḻaṉ, otherwise known as Vīrarājendra Cōḻa The examples and illustrations cited in the treatise are also taken from the authoritative Buddhist works

It would appear that there were other minor works which are ascribed to Buddhist authors Some of them are the *Bimbisarakkatai*, the *Siddhantatolkai* and the *Tiruppadikam* From the very title *Bimbisarakkatai* it can be gathered that it deals with the life history of Bimbisāra of Magadha a contemporary of the Buddha The *Siddhantatolkai* is a religious work, dealing with the essentials of the Buddhist religion *Tiruppadikam* is a compilation of *stotra* verses in praise of the Lord Buddha But these works have been lost and what all we get are a few passages from them here and there in the commentaries

Conclusion—The above survey of the Tamil literature from the point of view of Buddhistic studies bears out the

[1] Vol VII pp 603–[illegible]

influence which Buddhism wielded in the Tamil land for some centuries together before it finally decayed. We also find that the kings of the land patronised these different sects, heretical and religious, and sometimes took a leading part in the religious discussions and disputes which were a characteristic feature of the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries. The *Vaidika* sects, Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava, emerged out of these disputations with unqualified success so much so that we do not hear much of the (*a*)*vaidika*) sects practically after the twelfth century. To-day though there are some Jain centres in South India, rarely do we come across a Bauddha settlement.

CHAPTER XXVIII

ĀKĀŚAM PAKṢINĀM GATIḤ

1 Parivāra, viii, 2, at the end, ed Oldenberg, Vinaya, V, p 140.

gati migānam pavanam ākāśo pakhinam gati |
vibhavo gati dhammānam nibbānam arahato gati||

2 Mahāvastu, ii, p 212

vathoktam bhagavatā dharmapade |
gati mugānūm pavanam ākāśam pakṣinām gatih |
dharmo gatir vibhāgiyānūm nirvānam arhatām gatih||

Mahāvastu, iii, p 156

yathoktam bhagavato dharmapadesu |
gatir mṛgīnām plavanam ākāśam pakṣinām gatih |
dharmo gatir dvijātmūm nirvānam mahatī gatih||

3 Udānavarga, xxvi, 10, ed H Beckh 1911, tr Rockhill, 1883

nags tshal mchog tu ri dags bgro
mkhah la byo rnams bgro bar byed |
chos la rnam par bsgoms bgro ste
dgra bcom mya nan hdas par bgro||

4 Vibhāsā, 75, ed Tokyo, 2f, p 388, col 3, quote the gāthā

cheou	koei	lin	seou
nio	koei	hiu	long
cheng	koei	ni	pan
fa	koei	fen	pie

There is little doubt that the original of the chinese line is *vibha go gati dharmarām* But I cannot give the solution of the many problems involved in the variety of readings— The meaning must be that, as the sky is the refuge of birds, the *vibhanga* on *vihaga*, that is the "discrimination" or "distinction," on the Abhidharma, is the refuge of the dharmas This third pāda was easily written in pāli prākrit · *vibhango gati dharmānam*, but the sanskrit reading *gatir* made difficulty, hence the lecture *dharmo gatir vibhangā nām* —Parivāra "Destruction or disappearance is the goal of the Dhammas" gives a very good meaning, and leads to the conclusion that Nibbāna is the refuge of the Arhats

CHAPTER XXIX

ON "KARMA"*

The doctrines of Buddhism are not all peculiar to it, but many of them are common with Brahmanism, the older and orthodox religion of India. The doctrines of transmigration and Nirvāṇa, for instance, had been taught by Brahmanism, even long before the Buddha appeared in the world. It is the same with this doctrine of Karma. It was taught by Brahmanism and Jainism, the latter of which was founded or at least reformed by Vardhamāna, who is called Nigantha Nātaputta in the Buddhist scripture, and who was a contemporary with, or to be more exact, a little senior to the Buddha And besides these the Sāṁkhya and Vaiśesika, two of the six philosophical systems of India, also taught this doctrine We can say, therefore, that this was common to almost all philosophies and religions of India. But everybody who knows India, especially the spiritual matters of ancient India, will admit that the doctrine of Karma was perfected by the Buddha, or that it forms the essential part of his religion It is therefore not too much to say this doctrine particularly belongs to Buddhism

What is Karma? In its general sense, it means doing, or deed As a technical term of Buddhism, it signifies what we think or will, what we say and what we do, these being

* This lecture by Dr Shundo Tachibana was delivered under the auspices of the Japanese Language School as one of the Winter Term's series of nine studies in Japanese Religions, given at the Japan Industrial Club, from January 14 to March 20, 1928

called 'behaviours in mind, speech and body' Of these three, the first is distinguished from the other two, because action and speech originate in thought and will One important thing with regard to the morality of Karma is that Karma in speech and body cannot be considered to be moral unless they result from moral Karmas in mind I mean to say that if we act or say or do something in our body or speech, and if this is not a result of our thought or will in our moral nature, it is not a moral Karma Moral Karma must always result from our good or bad thought or will, or it will not bring any moral consequence upon us It cannot be called a Karma in its proper sense We think or will to do or say something good or bad, and then we do or say it In the first stanza of the Dhammapada, we read "All things are led, governed and made by the mind" Our acts or words are all consequences of what we think or will Not only that Our habits, our personalities, even our environments are results of what we think or will "We are what we think or will" The doctrine of Karma is true in its general sense too

Three sorts of deeds, mental, vocal and bodily, are classified according to the doors' through which Karmas manifest themselves and these three sorts of Karmas or deeds are morally classified into three, that is good, bad and indifferent Good and bad deeds each include ten sorts of actions Killing stealing and adultery are three evil actions belonging to the body, speaking falsely, slandering, abuse and foolish talking are four evil deeds belonging to speech, and covetousness, malice and being sceptical are three evil deeds belonging to the mind And the opposites

of these are ten good deeds of body, speech and mind. These are divided into two kinds of Karma—that which is manifest to others and that which is not. When we act in body, speech or mind, and these actions are manifest to others, they are called Vijñapti-Karma or Karma which manifest themselves. When actions performed are Karmas which leave some impressions upon our being, the consequences of which are taken by the performers in one of their coming existences, these are called Avijñapti Karma or Karma which do not manifest themselves to others. These classifications of Karma will be enough for us for the present.

The doctrine of Karma makes clear that Buddhist morality is of an autonomous nature. We act in accordance with morality, not because we desire that others would regard us as virtuous men. We avoid committing sinful actions, not because we desire to be justified before God. There is for the Buddhist no God to whom he may complain of his dissatisfaction and to whom he may pray for what he desires or needs. It is not necessary for the Buddhist to repent to God for his sinful actions. He does not believe that by so doing he can be released from his sins. He believes that he must be responsible for sins he has committed. "One reaps as one has sown." We must always be ready to take the consequences of our actions. No doubt this holds good in the case of good actions as well as evil ones. It is we that reward or punish ourselves. In this respect Buddhist morality has a little utilitarian tinge because it 'forces us to be moral' on the ground that if we act in accordance with morality, we should be rewarded with some profits.

"As a man sows, so he reaps." The fundamental idea underlying this is that of just requital. We recompense ourselves according to our deeds merits or demerits. Nothing more clearly and definitely proclaims this principle of just requital than the doctrine of Karma and the law of causation of Buddhism Recompense according to one's merits or demerits will be most precisely observed in this doctrine of Karma. We owe everything in our possession, existence, status, rank, physical and mental conditions character, even our environment to the Karma which we have performed in our previous and present existences. The process of causation is partly revealed to us, and we can judge from this how the cause brings about the effect. We commit bad actions and thereby we ought to inflict punishment upon ourselves. We perform good actions and we are thereby made to meet good recompense in this world or in the coming world. Nothing and nobody outside can help or favour us in obtaining rewards which we do not deserve or escaping from requitals which are due to us according to our deeds. The doctrine that "We reap as we sow" is perfectly in accordance with the Buddhist doctrine of retribution and the law of causation.

Some people suffer from poverty and physical weakness, or their social status is low. They are placed in these unhappy conditions—though it is true that poor, weak or lowly-conditioned people are not always unhappy—because they have committed sinful actions in their previous existences. If they understand this, they should be glad that by so doing they are recompensing for their sins. They should not merely complain of their humble positions, poverty or

physical weakness but they should realise that in going through these ordeals they are repaying the debts which they have heaped up in their repeated lives On the other hand, if they are dissatisfied with their present unhappy conditions, they ought to make efforts to improve themselves so that they may be happy in this and coming lives Resignation and exertion form the two sides of the morality of Karma And if we resign ourselves to what we think our own fate, believing that there is no possibility of improving our positions, we may be regarded as fatalists, but the doctrine of Karma is not fatalism If we make no efforts to change our positions we may be moved on as we were predestined by our previous Karmas, but we are free enough to improve our fate on one hand though we are governed by the laws of Karma on the other The doctrine of Karma therefore is not a sort of fatalism, though it seems to be so

To make clearer what we desire to assert in this connection, it will be better for us to quote the Buddha's own words He points out three erroneous ideas about the happiness and misery of this life in the following words There are, oh monks some Samanas and Brahmanas who maintain and believe that all the pleasure or pain or indifference to pleasure and pain that this person feels are results of his acts in previous births There are oh monks some Samanas and Brahmanas who maintain and believe that these are all results of creation by the lord of the universe And there are, O monks some who think that all these have neither reason nor cause' (Anguttara 1 173 ff) He continues to say that if, as the first group of Samanas and Brahmanas assert, these are all results of actions in previous existences,

"As a man sows, so he reaps" The fundemental idea underlying this is that of just requital We recompense ourselves according to our deeds merits or demerits for long more clearly and definitely proclaims this principle as they are destined by them as [illegible] their previous births They will simply have to do as they are forced to do by their actions Freedom of will is thus absolutely denied to them They will have no intention to do what ought to be done and not to do what is not to be done No moral improvement or intellectual culture can be expected from them He reproves in the same way the second and third groups of Samanas and Brāhmanas who maintain and believe that the happiness and misery of living beings are results of creation and that these have no reason and cause

Buddhism in opposition to Brahmanism asserts that there is no Ātman in the person as well as in the universe Non-Ātmanism is a doctrine essential to it and it declares the possibility of transmigration—the transmigration of Karma or deeds without their doer, or a soul which is absolutely denied in Buddhism How is this possible? According to the Buddha's teaching, our being consists of four elements earth, water, fire and wind or of five aggregates material elements, sensation, perception, predisposition and consciousness What we call a being, therefore, is a composite, a collection or a production brought forth through the law of causation It is of a temporary nature At the moment of our death, it begins to decompose and when its decomposition has been completed, it is said that the being has returned to the elements On the other hand, a new being begins to be composed in accordance with the

physical weakness, but they should realise that in going through these ordeals they are repaying the debts which they have heaped up in their repeated lives On the other hand, if they are dissatisfied with their present unhappy conditioning they should make efforts to gain another, and the doctrine of Karma, Buddhism teaches, is like a gun in which only powder is used, but no ball No ball, but only powder is discharged In like manner, it is not a soul or Ātman that passes from one existence to another of a being but is Karma It is said, therefore, that Buddhism teaches not 'transmigration' but 'rebirth' Transmigration without a soul would be impossible

As we have said above, our Karma, as Vijñapti Karma can be made visible or audible to others, but the other sort of Karma, that is, Avijñapti-Karma, cannot be made manifest to others It is accumulated or impressed upon our being Ethics teaches us that our actions, while repeated, become habits which when heaped, build character, and anybody who is endowed with good common sense, cannot fail to understand this The relation between our Vijñapti-karma and Avijñapti karma can be compared to this The former which can be made manifest to others, a Karma we perform through our body or in our speech, corresponds to actions, while the latter, the Karma which cannot be made manifest to others, the Karma which is impressed upon our being and which comes forth only when a proper time comes, can be said to correspond to character We perform some actions which, at the time, leave some impressions in our minds These impressions, when stably repeated, build character "Character" is a heap of actions and habits.

A remarkable difference between moral character and Avijñapti karma is that the latter is made manifest in the form of the effect of a good or bad deed while the former (character) manifests itself in good or bad actions Avijñapti karma is not a soul but a sort of strong power, an energy, serving as a link connecting old and new composites of elements and making their transmigration possible

Karma transmigrates without its doer A being dies and decomposes and at the next moment another being sets about composing itself to succeed the merit or demerit the previous one has performed Is this unimaginable and unbelievable? If it can be imagined but not believed it is a supposition or it may be called a postulate of reason Kant asserts that the *summum bonum* is possible only on the supposition of the immortality of the soul We can say therefore that transmigration or rebirths through the operation of Karma is possible in spite of the absence of its doer or soul

Is it possible to escape the clutches of Karma? (We say, so because strangely enough Karma is generally known as something dreadful It is especially so in Japan where it is therefore dreaded very much) Yes it is possible—possible for a person of high religious training Buddhist culture begins with moral training and ends so we may say with religious training You know there is a well known Pali stanza (Dhammapada 183) which may be translated as follows Not to commit any sin and to do good and to purify one's own mind this is the teaching of Buddha' The first half of the stanza Not to commit any sin and do good signifies the moral culture of the Buddhist while

the latter half 'to purify one s mind' may be said to signify his religious culture Morality comes first and religion follows it if we may draw a line between the two In the threefold Buddhist training *i e* Sila (morality) Samadhi (meditation) and Prajna (knowledge) morality is placed at the head meditation next and knowledge comes last We regulate our lives through moral training and we overcome depravities and attain enlightenment through knowledge which is developed through the exercise of Dhyana or meditation The regular process of Buddhist training therefore is—morality meditation knowledge and enlightenment or enlightenment may be included in knowledge On this attainment of enlightenment one is exempt from the power of Karma whether good or bad The power of Karma being absolutely refuted there is no more moral retribution for such a man

Through Upanisad literature there appears a typical person or the most worthy person from the Brahmanical point of view who is named Ya evam veda in Sanskrit or One who knows thus He is said to be exempt from all his sins There is no evil deed for him because the knowledge he has acquired as a result of his mental training will cancel all sins and crimes he commits Knowledge in the Upanisads has supreme power even over morality This idea is manifest also in the philosophy of Mahayana in which one who is enlightened through the exertion of meditation and knowledge is said to be exempt from moral retribution and this holds good also in Primitive Buddhism where it is asserted that Karma has power no longer over the Enlightened One Being perfectly freed from moral retribution he is

variously called one who is "above good and evil" one who is "above the bondage of both good and evil" one who 'does not cling to good and evil,' one who is neither "pleased nor displeased' one who has left behind "both what is agreeable and what is disagreeable' and so on Such attainment is a result of high mental culture prosecuted through the activity of perfect moral consciousness When one reaches this state of culture distinction will be absolutely abolished just as in the case of one who knows thus, that is one who has attained complete oneness with Brahma, or realised Brahma Nirvāna A moral man has become a supermoral man Distinctions between two different things, good and bad, right and wrong merit and demerit ignorance and enlightenment, transmigration and Nirvāna, are all annihilated for him He has got rid of all these relativity and created the mental condition of absoluteness in himself He has entered into a state of perfect Samādhi

CHAPTER XXX

A SHORT HISTORY OF CEYLON

(*From the 5th century B C to the 4th century A D*)

INTRODUCTION THE SOURCES

The chief sources from which we gather our knowledge of the history of ancient Ceylon are the two Pāli chronicles *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvaṃsa*.[1] They are supplemented in some details by the younger literature, chiefly by the Mahāvaṃsa Ṭīkā, and by the Sinhalese books, like Pūjāvalī, Nikāya-saṅgraha, Dhātuvaṃsa, Rājaratnākara, Rājāvalī. Among all these works the *Dīpavaṃsa*[2] is by far the oldest, and the time of its composition is fairly well to be determined. The last Sinhalese king mentioned in the Dv. is Mahāsena, who died in the first half of the fourth century A.D., in the introduction of Buddhaghosa's commentary on the Vinaya Piṭaka the chronicle has been quoted.[3] As Buddhaghosa lived in the first half of the fifth century A.D.,[4] we can say, with some confidence, that the Dv. was composed between the years 350 and 400 A.D. The Dv. can hardly be called a poem. It is rather a clumsy composition which often consists of mere enumeration of proper names or terms apparently to serve as a support for the memory. Very often the

[1] W. Geiger, *Dīpavaṃsa and Mahāvaṃsa and their historical development in Ceylon*, Leipzig 1905 (=*Dīp.* and *Mah.* by W. Geiger, transl. by Ethel M. Coomaraswamy, Colombo 1908). Winternitz, *Gesch. der Indischen Litteratur*, II, 166ff.

[2] *Dīpavaṃsa*, an ancient Buddhist Historical Record, ed. and transl. by H. Oldenberg (1879).

[3] *Samanta Pāsādikā*, ed. J. Takakusu, assisted by M. Nagai (P.T.S. 1924), pp. 74, 75. The quoted verses are Dv. xi. 15, 16, xii. 1, 4.

[4] B. C. Law, *Life and Work of Buddhaghosa*, p. 9.

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[3] *Samanta Pasadika*, ed J Takakusu, assisted by M Nagai (P T S 1924), pp. 74, 75 The quoted verses are Dv xi 15, 16, xii 1 4

[4] B C Law, *Life and Work of Buddhaghosa*, p. 9

same subject is narrated twice or even three times in a slightly different manner, as if two or three recensions of the chronicle were knit together. This all shows the compiler's want of literary fitness, but it does by no means touch the value of the Dv. as a source of historical information.

As to the contents of the Dv., it starts from the *abhisambodhi* of the Buddha, the legend of his visits to Ceylon, and the lineage of his family. In chs. iv to viii are related the story of the Buddhist councils and that of the missions sent in King Aśoka's time to the various countries to preach the Buddhist doctrine including that of the king's son Mahinda's mission to Ceylon. Now the history of Laṅkā is told from the first Aryan immigration under Vijaya up to Devānaṁpiyatissa, who was a contemporary and friend of King Aśoka (chs. ix-xi). Mahinda arrives in Ceylon and preaches the *dhamma*. He is joyfully received by the king and his subjects, and the Mahāmegha-vana garden, the later Mahāvihāra, is dedicated by the king to the fraternity, as well as the *ārāma* on the Cetiya mountain (chs. xii-xiv). The holy relic of the Buddha's right collar-bone is brought from India to Ceylon, and is deposited in a stūpa, erected on the Cetiya hill. In connection with this fact the legend of the three former Buddhas and of their relics is told (ch. xv. 1-73). Saṅghamittā, Mahinda's sister, comes to Lankā, to confer there the ordination on queen Anulā and other women who were converted to the Buddha's faith (ch. xv. 74-80). Ariṭṭha is sent to India to fetch a branch of the holy Bodhi-tree; the branch arrives and is planted in the Mahāvihāra. The story of the holy trees of the former Buddhas is related in this connection, and the Bhikkhuṇīs living in Ceylon are enumerated

(ch. xv. 81 ; xviii. 44). The rest of ch. xviii and the last four chapters are filled with a succint history of the Sinhalese kings from Devānaṁpiyatissa's successors up to Mahāsena.

The character of the Mahāvaṁsa[1] differs widely from that of the Dīpavaṁsa although the arrangement of the legendary and historical materials is almost the same in both chronicles and has become typical for all similar compilations of later date. But the Mahāvaṁsa is a real *kāvya*, and its author Mahānāma deserves the poet's title. In the introductory verses of his poem he explicitly refers, I believe, to the Dīpavaṁsa with the words that (Mahāvaṁsa) which was compiled by the ancient (sages) was here too long drawn and there too closely knit, and contained many repetitions "Attend ye now to this (Mahāvaṁsa) that is free from such faults, easy to understand and remember, arousing serene joy and emotion and handed down (to us) by tradition " Indeed, the author of the Mahāvaṁsa avoids the faults censured by him, in the older chronicle Legendary chapters are not wanting, of course, but they are reduced to the right proportion In the description of Mahinda's arrival in Ceylon and of Devānaṁpiyatissa's conversion to Buddhism, the Mahāvamsa generally agrees with the Dīpavamsa. The reign of King Duṭṭhagāmaṇī is described with great details Its history occupies in the Mahāvamsa altogether eleven chapters (xxii-xxxii), whilst in the Dīpavamsa only thiteeen verses

[1] The *Mahawanso* in Roman characters with the translation subjoined by G Turnour, 1837 (the translation has been revised and reprinted in the *Mahawaṁsa* by Wijesinha, 1889) —The *Mahawaṁsa* from first to thirty sixth chapter, revised and edited by H Sumangala and Dadis *Batuwantudawe*, 1883 —The *Mahāvaṁsa* edited by Wilh Geiger, Pali Text Society, 1908 —The *Mahāvaṁsa* or the Great Chronicle of Ceylon, transl by Wilh Geiger, assisted by M. H Bode, P T S , 1912

are devoted to it. We are entitled to speak of the Epic of Dutthagāmanī as forming the centre of Mahānāma's poem as the "Epic of Parākkamabāhu"[1] is that of the Cūḷavamsa, the later continuation of the Mahāvamsa

Concerning the source from which both the Dīpavamsa and the Mahāvamsa have taken their subject matter, we are well informed of by a later work the Mahā vamsatīkā,[2] which was probably composed in the 12th century A.D There existed in Ceylon an extensive commentary on the holy Buddhist scriptures, composed in old Sinhalese language and preserved in various recensions in the monasteries of the island It was called *Atthakathā* or *Sīhalatthakathā* or *Porānatthakatha* Buddha ghosa went to Ceylon, according to tradition, to study the *atthakathā* in the Mahāvihāra at Anurādhapura It seems that a historical introduction of great length belonged to that *atthakathā* or perhaps even a separate part of historical character, an old chronicle mixed of prose and verses, and it can be taken for certain that on the *atthakathā* or more accurately on the legendary and historical part of it, the Dīpavamsa[3] is based as well as Buddhaghosa's introduction to his Samantapāsādikā and the Mahāvamsa together with its tikā The Dīpavamsa is merely a dry summary of it or as we may gather from the numerous repetitions, of its various recensions, Buddhaghosa's introduction to the Samantapāsādikā is chiefly based on the Dīpavamsa with some details and supplementary additions taken from the

[1] R. S Copleston *JRAS*, Ceylon Br xiii. 44, 1893 pp 60 ff.

[2] *Mahāvaṃsa Ṭīkā* or Waṃsatthappakāsinī revised and edited by Paṇḍit Batu wantuḍawe and M Ñāṇissara Bhikṣu. Colombo 1895 Cf W Geiger, Zeitschr d D. Morgenl. Gesellsch., 63, 1909 pp 540 ff & 548 ff.

[3] Cf. also Oldenberg's Dv., Introduction, pp 1-9

aṭṭhakathā. The Mahāvaṁsa contains plenty of new materials, taken also directly from the aṭṭhakathā and sometimes also, I believe, from popular tradition. The same holds good with regard to the Mahāvaṁsa-ṭīkā. In the younger Sinhalese literature chiefly the account of the Mahāvaṁsa is repeated and supplied by a few additions of no great significance.

As to the trustworthiness of the Sinhalese chronicles, I think that now the majority of experts will agree, in the main at least, with what I said on this subject in my Mahāvaṁsa translation (pp. xii ff.). Dīpavaṁsa and Mahāvaṁsa are a mixture of legends and of historical truth, and they must be used, of course, with caution and with criticism. They are by no means infallible. In the account of the oldest period the legends prevail, but it is not very difficult to isolate them, and the more we approach to the last centuries, B.C., the greater is the trustworthiness of the chronicles Their authors tried at least to tell the truth, and they did never consciously fabricate, I believe, the historical facts. It must be borne in mind that they were no doubt Buddhist monks, and that they wished to write an ecclesiastical rather than a secular history of Ceylon but they were impartial enough to acknowledge even the virtues of a Damila ruler like Elāra. Moreover the Ceylonese tradition is supported to a considerable extent by external testimonies. I have collected some of them (l. l. p. xv ff.) and I may add here that the names of several kings of Ceylon also occur in ancient Sinhalese inscriptions in the same or a very similar form and in the same sequence

as in Dīpavaṁsa and Mahāvaṁsa.[1] Professor S. Lévi by comparison with the Chinese annals attains to the result that from the 4th century B.C. the Sinhalese chronicles may be called a solid source of historical information.[2]

FIRST PERIOD: FROM VIJAYA TO MUTASIVA

The history of Ceylon begins with the first Aryan immigration into the island. The name of the leader of the immigrants, Vijaya, is certainly historical, but the details of the event are veiled in legendary darkness We do not know the exact time when it took place, nor the part of India where Vijaya came from. Tradition tells us[3] that Vijaya arrived just on the day, or at least, as it is said in the Dīpavaṁsa (ix. 21 f.) at the time, of the Buddha's death, that would mean in or about the year 455 B C. according to the Ceylonese chronology, or 483 B.C. according to the results of modern calculation. But this coincidence of the two events is, no doubt, a later combination, and we must confine ourselves to the statement that the arrival of Vijaya and his companions in Ceylon may probably have taken place in the fifth century B.C. It would be of interest to know exactly from which part of India the first Aryan immigrants came. But this question is still open to controversy. According to the Mahāvaṁsa (vii. 1 ff), Vijaya's great-grandmother was a Kaliṅga-princess and was married to the king of Vaṅga (Bengal). Her daughter was carried away by a lion when

[1] See below towards the end of this chapter.
[2] Journal des savants, 1905, p 539
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wandering in Lāḷa on the road from Vanga to Magadha, and the lion begot on her a son Sīhabāhu, the father of Vijaya Afterwards Vijaya, banished for his lawless behaviour, came to Suppāraka and from here to Ceylon In the Dīpavamsa (ix 1 ff) Vanga is mentioned as the home of Susīmā, Vijaya's great grandmother, but in the story of Vijaya himself only the names Lāḷa, Suppāra and Bhārukaccha occur

It is clear that the author of the Mahāvamsa believed Lāḷa to be situated in the N E of India, although the name is ordinarily used as the designation of a country corresponding approximately to the modern Gujarat Moreover all the other names point towards the N W of India as the country from which Vijaya started for Lankā Suppāra is the modern Sopāra, and Bhārukaccha, the Barygaza of the Greek geographers, the modern Broach Both these towns are situated in the Bombay Presidency

It is not impossible as Dr L D Barnett[1] assumes that the tradition of two different streams of immigration was knit together in the story of Vijaya One of these streams may have started from Orissa and the southern Bengal, the other from Gujarat Still more probable seems to be the hypothesis that the tale in the Dīpavamsa represents the older form of the tradition, that in the Mahāvamsa the later one which shows the tendency of establishing a connection of Vijaya's story with the home of the Buddhist creed The members of the clan, to which Vijaya belonged, appear to have been called Sihalā, the "Lion-men" Hence comes the name of the new inhabitants of the island To explain

[1] Cambridge History of India, I, p 606

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to have been Nāga It occurs in the story of the Buddha's three legendary visits to the island Whilst the purpose of his first visit was to frighten the Yakkhas and to transport them to Giridipa, he arrived in Lankā the second time in order to settle a dispute between two Nāga kings, and he had to do with the Nāgas also at his third visit There can be no doubt that, according to the tradition preserved in Dīpavamsa and Mahāvamsa, the Nāgas were of higher civilization than the Yakkhas It would, however, be too hazardous to draw from those legendary tales any conclusion as to the ethnic relation between the two groups The Nāgas never recur in the history of Ceylon as the Yakkhas do But it is remarkable that even as late as the third century A D Nāgadīpa is used as the name of a district or province in Northern Ceylon [1]

According to the Mahāvamsa (vii 39 ff) Vijaya founded in Ceylon the city of Tambapannī, and by his followers here and there villages were built, called Anurādhagāma, Upatissagāma, Ujjeni, Uruvelā and Vijitapura All these settlements were situated, I think, in the north-western parts of Ceylon, although we do not exactly know the spot except that of Anurādhagama which is, no doubt, the later Anurādhapura built near the Kadamba river the modern Malwatu oya

Vijaya died having reigned in the city of Tambapanni thirty eight years His successor was, after a short interregnum, his nephew Panduvāsudeva, the youngest son of his brother Sumitta In order to obtain the solemn abhiseka which is said to be impossible without a queen, he afterwards

[1] See Mv , xxxvi 9 and 36

this name the popular fantasy invented the story of Vijaya's father having been begotten by a lion on a human wife. Similar tales which are, of course, of totemistic origin are spread all over the world.

When the immigrants arrived in Laṅkā, they met in the island inhabitants of a different race and called them *yakkhā* (sk. *yakṣāḥ*), i.e., demons because they ascribed to them the supernatural faculty of witchcraft. The Mahāvaṃsa (vii. 9 ff) tells a legend, according to which Vijaya married a Yakkhiṇī named Kuvaṇṇā, with whose help he overcame the Yakkhas But afterwards he divorced her in order to marry a princess of equal birth, the daughter of the Paṇḍu king in Madhurā. The historical nucleus of this tale may be the fact that from the first times an intense mixture of blood took place between the Aryan immigrants on one side and the aborigines as well as the inhabitants of Southern India on the other.

Ethnologists generally assume that the Vaḍḍas are the remnants of the original inhabitants of Ceylon called *yakkhā* by the Aryan conquerors, and that they are of the same race as the pre-Dravidian population of the Indian continent or as the aborigines of the islands of Farther India. Some hundreds of Vaḍḍas are, indeed, still living as hunters in the primeval forests of Eastern Ceylon on a very low stage of civilization.[1]

Another name of pre-historic inhabitants of Ceylon seems

[1] I must, however, point out that the derivation of the name from Skr *vyadha*, "hunter," offers serious phonological difficulties The stem form (and plural also) is *vaḍa* This seems to point to a Pali *vajjita*=Skr *varjita* meaning 'excluded, isolated," as Sinh *sīdā* is derived from *sajjita* Dr Barnett. I (I p 604) spells the name Vaḍḍa, but this is, I believe, not in concordance with the Sinhalese pronunciation.

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[1] See Mv xxxvi 9 and 36

this name the popular fantasy invented the story of Vijaya's father having been begotten by a lion on a human wife. Similar tales which are, of course, of totemistic origin are spread all over the world.

When the immigrants arrived in Laṅkā, they met in the island inhabitants of a different race and called them *yakkhā* (sk. *yakṣāḥ*), i.e., demons because they ascribed to them the supernatural faculty of witchcraft. The Mahāvaṃsa (vii. 9 ff) tells a legend, according to which Vijaya married a Yakkhiṇī named Kuvaṇṇā, with whose help he overcame the Yakkhas. But afterwards he divorced her in order to marry a princess of equal birth, the daughter of the Paṇḍu king in Madhurā. The historical nucleus of this tale may be the fact that from the first times an intense mixture of blood took place between the Aryan immigrants on one side and the aborigines as well as the inhabitants of Southern India on the other.

Ethnologists generally assume that the Vaḍḍas are the remnants of the original inhabitants of Ceylon called *yakkhā* by the Aryan conquerors, and that they are of the same race as the pre-Dravidian population of the Indian continent or as the aborigines of the islands of Farther India. Some hundreds of Vaḍḍas are, indeed, still living as hunters in the primeval forests of Eastern Ceylon on a very low stage of civilization.[1]

Another name of pre-historic inhabitants of Ceylon seems

[1] I must, however, point out that the derivation of the name from Skr *vyādha*, "hunter," offers serious phonological difficulties. The stem form (and plural also) is *tadi*. This seems to point to a Pali *vajjita*=Skr *varjita* meaning "excluded, isolated," as Sinh *eadi* is derived from *sajjita*. Dr Barnett, I (I p 604) spells the name Vaḍḍa, but this is, I believe, not in concordance with the Sinhalese pronunciation.

aboriginal tribes of Ceylon, for he seems to have regarded them as his friends and allies

According to Mahāvamsa and Dīpavamsa there was an interregnum of seventeen years between the dethronement of Abhaya and the succession of Pandukābhaya During this time a brother of Abhaya, Tissa was regent, called Ganatissa in the later books [1] A reign of seventy years is ascribed to Pandukābhaya, and a reign of sixty years to his son and successor Mutasiva This chronology is, of course, pure fiction Pandukābhaya was born just when Abhaya ascended the throne He was therefore thirty seven years old, when he himself became king, and would have reached an age of 107 years Moreover it is impossible that Mutasiva reigned sixty years, for he was the son of Suvannapālī whom his father had married before he won the royalty I still adhere to the opinion that the names of the kings from Vijaya up to Mutasiva may be taken as historical, but that the reigns of the last two kings were lengthened by the chronologists in order to make Vijaya and the Buddha contemporaries

SECOND PERIOD DEVANAMPIYATISSA AND HIS SUCCESSORS

When dealing with the history of Mutasiva's son and successor Tissa called Devānampiyatissa we are standing on firmer ground He was the contemporary of King Aśoka and he assumed his surname Devānampiya, or it was afterwards attributed to him, in imitation of Aśoka In our chronicles great stress is laid upon the fact that the two kings were intimate friends, though they had never seen each

[1] The *Pājāvali* makes Ganatissa Pandukābhaya's successor and ascribes to him a reign of 40 years

married Ehaddakaccānā, a princess born in the Śākya clan Her brothers followed her to Ceylon and lived in the court of her husband By all these tales which in their details bear a legendary character at least a constant intercourse is proved to have existed between Ceylon and India even in those earliest times

The history of the next kings is also a mixture of truth and legendary fiction Pandu vāsudeva died after a reign of thirty years and was followed by his eldest son Abhaya who himself reigned twenty years[1] Their capital was Upatissagāma Abhaya's successor was his nephew Pandukābhaya[2] His father was Dīghagāmanī, the son of one of Ehaddakaccānā's brothers, and his mother the sister of Abhaya named Citrā The story of Dighagāmani's and Citrā's secret love and of the birth of their son is a romantic one and tales of similar kind occur also elsewhere in popular poetry With Pandu kābhaya's accession to the throne the royal dignity passed over to the maternal line, and this was preceded, it seems, by serious combats Abhaya was dethroned by his brothers after a reign of twenty years, because he was inclined to come to an arrangement with his nephew But in the war Pandukābhaya defeated and killed all his uncles sparing only the life of Abhaya, to whom he left a fictitious royalty The new king made Anurādhapura his capital and adorned it with various buildings From the account of the Mahāvamsa (x 84 ff) we may perhaps conclude that he had been supported in the war with his uncles by the

[1] According to *Pūjāvali* 30 and 2 years The round numbers given in Mv (and Dv) have in themselves the appearance of a set scheme (Mv transl p xxi)
[2] In the Dv he is called Panḍuka (x 9) or Pakuṇḍaka (xi 1 ° 4).

The next two kings Mahāsiva and Sūratissa were younger brothers of Uttiya. But now serious troubles arose in Ceylon caused by the invasions of the Damilas. The first two Damila usurpers, Sena and Guttika, reigned twenty-two years. They were followed by a Sinhalese king, Asela,[1] but Asela himself was overpowered by Ellāra who came from the Cola country to seize the kingdom of Lankā (145-101 B.C.). It is a remarkable proof of the impartiality and trustworthiness of the older chronologists that they acknowledge without restraint the even justice shown by Ellāra to friend and foe on occasions of disputes at law (Mv. xxi. 14; cf. Dv. xviii. 49-50). In the younger Sinhalese chronicles, however, this fact, as far as I know, is suppressed, and the author of the *Rājāvali* even explicitly says that he ruled badly for forty-four years.[2]

THIRD PERIOD. FROM DUṬṬHAGĀMAṆI TO VAṬṬAGĀMAṆI

The national restoration started from the South-eastern province of Ceylon called Rohaṇa—a fact that repeatedly occurs in Sinhalese history. Rohana was always the refuge of princes who were at enmity with the ruling king, or of Sinhalese kings who were conquered and dispossessed by external foes. In this province Mahānāga, a brother of Devānaṁpiyatissa who was banished, it seems, from court on account of some offence had founded an independent dynasty which was never overcome by the Damilas. His grandson was Kākavaṇṇatissa, the famous founder of the Tissamahāvihāra

[1] Asela is called in Mv. a son of Muṭasiva and the youngest brother of Devānaṁpiyatissa born of the same mother (Mv. xxi. 12). See also Dv. xvii., 48.

[2] *Rajavaliya*, ed. B. Gunasekara, p. 219: *adharmmayen sūsalis avuruddak rajyaya kaleya*. See *Rajaratnakaraya*, ed. Saddhananda, p. 11., A Contribution to the History of Ceylon, transl. from "*Pujāvaliya*" by B. Gunasekara, p. 15.

other (Dv. xi. 25; Mv. xi 19). This seems to prove again that there was always some intercourse between India and Lankā, and the most important event during Devānampiyatissa's reign, the conversion to Buddhism of the king and his people is well prepared and motivated by that tradition The fact of this conversion as well as the personality of the bhikkhu who converted King Aśoka's son, Mahinda, are, no doubt, historical. I even believe that the Missaka-mountain, now called Mihintale,[1] which is situated about ten miles east of Anurādhapura, really was the locality, where the extension of the Buddhist faith over the island started from. The whole story is confirmed by the local tradition which seems to be very old, as well as by the account of Hiuen Tsang[2].

The chronicles fully describe the further progress which the young Buddhist community made in Lankā under the patronage of Devānampiyatissa. The first monastery, the Mahāvihāra, was dedicated by the king to Mahinda and his followers in Anurādhapura. Here a branch of the Buddha's holy Bodhi-tree was afterwards planted which was brought from India to Ceylon by Mahinda's sister Saṅghamittā Other vihāras were built and thūpas erected at various places and when Mahinda entered Nirvāṇa, in the eighth year of King Uttiya, the Buddhist church was well established in the island.

Devānampiyatissa died after a reign of forty years about 207 B.C. and was succeeded by his son Uttiya who himself reigned *for ten years*.

[1] According to A Gunasekara the name is derived from *Mahindatala* and contains therefore, the name of Aśoka's son

[2] St Julien. *Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales par Hiouen thsang* II. p 140; Beal *Si yu ki Buddhist Records of the Western World* II pp 246-247 Hiuen thsang, however, calls Mahinda the younger brother, not the son, of Aśoka.

the prince Thūlaṭhana as king "with the consent of the brotherhood."[1] Thūlathana, however, was soon supplanted by Lañjatissa who himself after a reign of nine years (59-50 B.C.) was succeeded by his brothers Khallātanāga (50-44 B.C.) and Vaṭṭagāmaṇī.

During Vaṭṭagāmaṇī's reign the Damiḷas renewed their efforts to take possession of Laṅkā. The king was defeated in a battle which seems to have taken place near the northern gate of his capital, and was compelled to hide himself fourteen years in the house of one of his faithful subjects. Afterwards he resumed the war with the invaders. He conquered the Damiḷa usurper Dāṭhika and himself reigned twelve years more. Vaṭṭagāmaṇī was the founder of the Abhayagirivihāra in the north of Anurādhapura.[2] The fraternity of this monastery afterwards seceded from that of the Mahāvihāra, and from it the monks of the Dakkhiṇavihāra separated so that the Theravāda split up into several groups. The Abhayagiri monks afterwards accepted the doctrine of a teacher of the Mahāsaṅghika school and were called Dhammarucikā after his name.[3] It was at Vaṭṭagāmaṇī's time that the Tipiṭaka and its Aṭṭhakathā, orally handed down in former times, were written down in books (Dv. xx. 20-21; Mv. xxxiii. 100-101).

Vaṭṭagāmaṇī died in the year 17 B.C. The chronology of his reign is fairly well established. According to Mahāvaṁsa, xxxiii. 80-81, an interval of 217 years 10 months and 10 days

[1] Mv. xxxiii. 18. *Saṅghanuññāya*.

[2] As the names of Jetavana and of the Abhayagiritūpa have no doubt been interchanged in modern times I fully agree with Mr Hocart that it will be advisable to speak of a Northern Stupa and of an Eastern Stūpa. The former is the Abhayagiri, the latter the Jetavana.

[3] *Nikaya Saṅgrahawa* ed. Wickramasinghe, p. 11; A. M. Hocart Mem. Arch. Surv. of Ceylon, I, pp. 15 ff.

and many other monasteries in Rohaṇa, and his great-grandson was Duṭṭhagāmaṇī. the national hero of Sinhalese people in the ancient period of their history just as Parākkamabāhu is in medieval times. Marvellous stories are told about his mother and about his birth and his youth which clearly bear the character of popular tradition. He became ruler of Rohaṇa after a war with his own brother Tissa and when he had collected a sufficient quantity of well equipped troops, he opened the campaign against the Damiḷas. This campaign is lucidly described in the Mahāvaṁsa. It ended with the complete defeat of the Damiḷas, and with the death of Eḷāra who was killed by Duṭṭhagāmaṇī in single combat near the southern gate of Anurādhapura.[1]

Duṭṭhagāmaṇī was clever enough in politics to appreciate the importance and the influence on people's mind of the Buddhist doctrine. Thus after having established his kingdom in Anurādhapura he became a zealous protector of the church. He built in his capital the Maricavaṭṭivihāra and the Lohapāsāda, and the most celebrated monument of Ceylon, the Mahāthūpa, now called Ruwanwali-Dagoba, was his work. His numerous meritorious acts are highly praised in the historical books. He died in the year 77 B.C. after a reign of twenty-four years.

The influence on politics of the Buddhist church seems to have increased since Duṭṭhagāmaṇī's times, for when after the decease of his immediate successor Saddhātissa (77-59 B.C.) a new king was to be elected, the councellors consecrated

[1] A cluster of ruins not far from the Mahāvihāra are called in popular tradition the tomb of Eḷāra. Excavations, however, have shown that these ruins never were a tomb, but rather a vihāra, probably the Dakkhiṇavihāra of Mr. See A. M. Hocart, Memoirs of Arch. Surv. of Ceylon, I, 1924, p. 54. Parker, Ancient Ceylon, p. 312.

the prince Thūlaṭhana as king "with the consent of the brotherhood."[1] Thūlathana, however, was soon supplanted by Lañjatissa who himself after a reign of nine years (59-50 B.C.) was succeeded by his brothers Khallāṭanāga (50-44 B.C.) and Vaṭṭagāmaṇī.

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[1] Mv xxxiii 18 *Saṃghānuññaya*

[2] As the names of Jetavana and of the Abhayagiritthūpa have no doubt been interchanged in modern times I fully agree with Mr Hocart that it will be advisable to speak of a Northern Stūpa and of an Eastern Stūpa The former is the Abhayagiri, the latter the Jetavana

[3] *Nikāya Saṅgrahawa*, ed Wickramasinghe, p 11; A. M. Hocart, Mem. Arch. Surv of Ceylon, I, pp 15 ff

lies between the foundation of the Mahāvihāra and that of the Abhayagiri. As the former event can be fixed on May 18, 246 B.C.,[1] we are brought to the end of March, 28 B.C. for the founding of the latter monastery.

FOURTH PERIOD: FROM MAHĀCŪḶĪ MAHĀTISSA TO MAHĀSENA

Vaṭṭagāmaṇī's successor was Mahācū ī Mahātissa, son of his elder brother Khallātanāga. He was followed by Vaṭṭagāmaṇī's son Coranāga who was killed by his own consort Anulā. This wicked woman murdered also Coranāga's successor Tissa and her four paramours, when she became weary of them She was herself killed by Mahācūḷī's son Kuṭakaṇṇatissa—a bloody picture, indeed of the Siṇhalese court at that period But it is hardly necessary to mention the names of all the kings reigning in Ceylon during the first three centuries A.D. Some of them are highly praised in the chronicles as being devoted patrons of the Buddhist church, thus, e g., Bhātikābhaya (38-66 A.D.), Mahādāthikamahānāga (66-78 A.D.), and Vasabha (124-168 A D.). They founded many monasteries and restored or embellished the ancient buildings Great internal troubles appear to have been caused by the rebellion against King Ilanāga (95-101 A D.) of the Lambakannas (Mv. xxxv. 16 ff.) but the rebellion was suppressed with cruelty. The Lambakaṇṇas were one of the most distinguished Sinhalese clans, from which also sprang several kings of Ceylon, as Vasabha, Samghatissa, Samghabodhi and Gothakābhaya. The last three kings reigned from 296 to 315 A D. Even Lañjatissa was a Lambakaṇṇa. for he is called Lāmāni Tissa in later

[1] Fleet, J R A.S, 1909, p. 25, Geiger, Mv transl, pp xxxiv xl

books and his brother Vattegāmanī therefore was also a descendant of the same clan The kings mentioned as I said above, in ancient Sinhalese inscriptions are Vasabha, Vaṅkanāsika Tissa (168 171 A D), Gajabāhukagamani (171 193 A D), Mahallanāga (193 199 A D), and Kanittha Tissa (223 241 A D) They are called in the inscriptions successively Vasaba or Vehaba, Devānampiya Tissa Gajabāhu Gāmani Abaya Devānampiya Naka, Mahā Tissa [1]

The last king of the so called "Greater Dynasty" was Mahāsena who might have reigned in the first half of the fourth century A D Misled by the wicked thera Saṃghamitta and by the minister Sona, the king vexed the monks of the Mahāvihāra and compelled them to abandon it so that it was desolate for nine years Though he afterwards caused it to be restored, he built within its boundaries the Jetavanavihāra, thus again encroaching upon the rights of the older monastery There was always a rivalry between the two fraternities just as even now the Jetavana Thupa rivals in grandeur and beauty with the Mahāthūpa and with the Abhayagiri

[1] Edw Müller *Ancient Inscripti ons in Ceylon* pp 25ff Bell *Arch Survey of C*, xnl 1900 pp 47 48 Wickramasinghe *Epigraphia Zeylanica* I pp 58 ff 67 140ff 148ff 208ff 252ff.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE HOME OF PĀLI

If we follow the guidance of a great pioneer in the study of Pāli,[1] we must believe that the Buddha's mother tongue was Kosalan, the vernacular of a powerful kingdom of the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. The Pāli Canon as regards the Vinaya and the four Nikāyas, with the possible exception of the supplements, falls within a century of the Buddha's death, and the rest belongs to the following century. The language of these texts is based on this standard Kosalan. It is true that in Ceylon the tradition attested by Buddhaghosa held that the language of the Canon was *Māgadhī*, but this must not mislead us It is clear that the reference is not to the Māgadhī of the Prākrit grammarians, since these wrote centuries later, nor to the contemporary dialect of Magadha. What is meant is that the language was that used by Aśoka, the king of Magadha, seeing that the Canon was brought by his son Mahinda, by oral tradition, not in writing. Now the edicts of Aśoka reveal the existence of a standard language, and this Māgadhī is devoid of the peculiarities which are normally associated with the idea of that dialect, being in fact a younger form of the standard Kosalan *lingua franca* already mentioned. The fact that Kosalan should have thus retained its supremacy despite the fact that the king of Magadha became king of Kosala may be explained by a peaceful succession of the former to the

[1] *Buddhist India*, pp 153ff . *Cambridge History of India*, i. 187; *Pāli Dictionary*, p. V.

Kosalan throne. There is a parallel available in the case of the Scottish dynasty ascending the English throne; the dialects remained apart, but the English spread at the expense of the Scottish. Thus we may conceive of Kosalan as spreading over an area from Delhi in the *west*, to Patna in the *east* and from Sāvatthī in the north to Avanti in the south. Pāli may thus be held to be a literary dialect, based on the spoken language of Kośala, probably in the form which it assumed at Avanti.

Windisch[1] and Geiger[2] also agree in defending the authenticity of the traditional view of Pāli as Māgadhī. The speech of the Buddha, which is assumed to be reproduced in the Canon, was doubtless the educated *lingua franca* which had been devised for the needs of the intercourse of learned men in India. Such a speech naturally would not be marked by strong dialectical characteristics, but it would vary from place to place, for it would assume a local tinge. The Buddha was not a Magadhan, but his activities there would result in his preaching assuming a definite tinge of Māgadhī, which would therefore naturally be regarded as his form of speech. But this Māgadhī would be without the extreme characteristics of that speech, and would rather be the Ardha-Māgadhī or Ārsa, the language of the Jain Canon. Mahāvīra and the Buddha preached in a similar form of language. Nor can it be admitted, on this theory, that the Canon was redacted in any speech other than that of the Buddha himself. Geiger adduces in proof of the fidelity with which it was sought to preserve the speech

[1] *Actes du xiv congrès international des orientalistes* (Paris, 1906), i. 252ff.
[2] *Pāli Literatur und Sprache* (1916), pp. 3, 4.

of the Master the account in the *Cullavagga*, v 33 1, of the instruction given by the Buddha, when it was represented to him that it might be desirable that his teaching should be handed down *chandaso*, that is doubtless in the literary Brahmanical language The Buddha replied *anujānāmi bhikkhave sakāya niruttiyā buddhavacanam pariyāpuntum*, meaning thereby, according to Buddhaghosa, to command the monks to learn the precepts of the Buddha in his own speech, that is Māgadhī Despite, however, the stress laid on this interpretation by Geiger, it is impossible in the context to accept his rendering Doubtless, if the phrase cited stood alone it is capable of bearing the sense given, but it follows on the express statement that the monks, as of different families and origin, were corrupting the sayings of the Buddha in repeating them *sakāya niruttiyā*, which in that context can only mean "each in his own speech" The passage, therefore, is decisive, even in the early school there was a definite tradition ascribing to the Master himself the grant of authority to depart from the tradition of his speech That Pāli is Māgadhī or Ardha Māgadhī in any sense, therefore, is not favoured by the *Cullavagga*

It has, however, been suggested by Max Walleser[1] that the name Pāli itself goes back to Pāṭalī and that to Pāṭalī bhāsā, while Pāṭali, of course, is present in Pāṭaliputra, the name of the Magadhan capital That term again must be deemed as equivalent to Pāṭalipura, the change being due to contamination with Vajjiputta The theory is not without difficulties, for so far as the evidence goes it seems dubious whether Pāli was really used as the name of a

[1] *Sprache und Heimat des Pāli Canons* (1904) *Was bedeutet Pāli?* (1906)

and *ayira*, which can be explained by metathesis from the preceding form, or by epenthesis after metathesis of *y* and *r*. Yet again the *y* passes before the *r* by metathesis, and then merges with the preceding vowel: thus for Sanskrit *āścarya* and *aiśvarya* we find *acchera* and *issera*. For Sanskrit *-kṣ-* we have variant treatments, *ikkha* (*rkṣa*) beside *pakkha* (*pakṣa*), *akkhi* and *acchi* for *akṣi*, *culla* and *chuddha* for *kṣulla* and *kṣudra*. Or again *hraśva* gives *rassa*, but *hradas rahada*, *rātri* gives *ratti*, but *śatru satthu*, we have *addhā* for *addhvā* but *idhe* for *-dhve*, *rasmi* for *raśmi* but *amhi* for *asmi*, *leyya* for *lehya* but *mayham* for *mahyam*, *gabbhara* for *gahvara* but *jihā* for *jihvā*, and so on. For *-r-* we have extreme variations, *accha* and *ikka* (*rkṣa*) *uju* (*ṛju*), *brahant* (*bṛhant*), and *iruveda* (*ṛgveda*). Very significant is the fact that in no small number of cases we find two different forms with specific senses, thus *vaddhi*, success, but *vuddhi*, growth, *maga*, wild beast, *miga*, gazelle, *khana*, moment *chana*, festival, *khamā*, mercy, *chamā*, earth[1], *attha*, thing, *atta*, lawsuit, *vattati*, he becomes, *vattati*, it is proper, *vatta*, duty, and *vatta*, round. For the common *pṛthvī* we have *pathavī*, *pathavi*, *puthvī*, *puthavi*, and *puthavī*, and it is easy to multiply cases of variation. No doubt these need not all be explained by dialectical mixture. It is true that Pischel's[2] proposal to distinguish between *-kkh* and *cch* as representing Aryan *-kṣ* and *-śṣ-* respectively has been by no means successful,[3] but allowance must be made for the operation of analogy and for the fact that sound changes do not set in suddenly affecting every word,

[1] This derivation is not unquestioned.
[2] *Grammatik der Prâkrit-Sprachen*, pp. 219ff.
[3] Geiger, op. cit., I. 56; Michelson, JAOS. xxx. 58, n. 3.

but operate gradually, so that we may come upon a stage of language in which the operation of the change is still incomplete. But it is not possible to ignore that there must be dialect mixture to explain so much irregularity, just as in the case of Latin the necessity of admitting the existence of loan words is now freely conceded, as the only means of explaining the presence therein of abnormal forms.[1] Moreover, we must, as also in the case of Latin, remember that dialectical distinctions need not be local only; in a society with sharp divisions as in ancient India, the speech of the educated classes may borrow isolated words from the speech of their inferiors, and among the latter processes of phonetic decay may well have progressed far more rapidly than among the superior classes, whose speech was deeply affected by education, and by the influence of Sanskrit. It is in this way that we can explain the occurrence of the Greek form Palibothra for Pāṭaliputra, or Peṭenika as a derivative from Pratiṣṭhāna, or Kusināra for Kuśinagara, at a time when normally phonetic change had not proceeded so far in cultivated speech; as Walleser points out Stuttgart locally has lost its -tt-, and London preserves its -d- only in careful diction.

Accepting, however, the fact of dialect mixture, the view of Rhys Davids, Windisch and Geiger demands that the basis should be Māgadhī or Ardha-Māgadhī. Needless to say the Old Ardha-Māgadhī which they contemplate is something much more primitive than the Ardha-Māgadhī which has been handed down in the Jaina Canon, which was

[1] Meillet, *Histoire de la langue latine*, ch. V, Ernout, *Les éléments dialectaux du vocabulaire latin* (1909).

redacted late and in which the language has unquestionably undergone much change. That we must recognise a considerable influence of Old Ardha-Māgadhī is asserted by Lüders,[1] whose view, however, differs essentially from that of the scholars just mentioned. He holds that Pāli is essentially as preserved in the Canon a dialect based on a western speech, not a Koine based on Ardha-Māgadhī, and that the Magadhisms found in it are due to retention of these forms when the Canon was being rendered from Ardha-Māgadhī into Pāli. The discussion of the issue is difficult, because we have to reconstruct what we may believe Old Ardha-Māgadhī[2] to have been from the Pillar inscriptions of Aśoka, and the evidence later given by the fragments of the dramas of Aśvaghoṣa. The Māgadhī of the grammarians definitely represents a different dialect than that of the Pillar inscriptions, and has an analogue in the language of the Yogīmārā cave on the Rāmgarh hill.

When we pass over phenomena shared by Ardha-Māgadhī with other dialects, the number of Ardhamāgadhisms in the early Pāli texts is not imposing. The characteristic-*e* for *-as* or *-ar* in Sanskrit appears in some adverbs, *pure*, *sve* or *sue*; in the formal address to the disciples, *bhikkhave*, and the curious *bhante*; in the nominative singular masculine, as in *purisakāre*, and rarely the neuter, as in *dukkhe* while vocatives such as *Bhesike* are best explained as nominatives transferred to vocative use. The Vedic *dharmāsas* gives *dhammāse*. The form *se* for *tad* has parallels in Māgadhī

[1] *Bruchstucke buddhistischer Dramen*, pp. 401 ; *Sit. Berl. Akad.*, 1913, p. 1063.
[2] Strictly speaking we cannot prove that this old Ardha Māgadhī is historically continued by Ardha Māgadhī, which we must assume to have been subjected to strong influence from other dialects.

śe and Ardha-Māgadhī *se*, and it is significant that it is stereotyped in *seyyathā*, *tad yathā* So again we find *ye* for Sanskrit *yad* The *l* found in some cases in Pāli may well be traced to Ardha Māgadhī influence A number of more or less distinctive forms may be noted, *sakkhim* (*sākṣam*) has a parallel in Ardha Māgadhi *sakkham*, both have *tharu* for *tsaru*, *velu* for *venu*, and *nangala* for *lāngala*, both linguals use the *d* in *dams* and *dak*, both have *khila* for *kila*, *phusita* and *phusiya* stand for *prsata*, *chāpa* and *chāva* for *sāva*, *cheppā* and *cheppa* for *śepas*, *hata* and *hada* for *hrta*, and for *trayastrimśat* they have *tāvattimsa* and *tāvatīsa* respectively Again after vowels and nasalised vowels the Ardha Māgadhī of Asoka and Asvaghosa uses *yeva* for the normal Pāli *eva*, and this variant is found here and there in Pāli Very interesting is the argument of Luders based on metre In Pāli verses we find here and there accusatives *plural masculine and rarely nominatives in āni* in lieu of the normal *e* where that would ruin the metre if simply substituted for the Ardha Māgadhi form Traces of this termination can be found in the Ardha Māgadhi of the Jain Canon despite the fact that it has been influenced by western dialects As Magadhan Muller[1] reckons the gerunds *abhihatthum* and *datthu*

It is clear that these examples do not go far to prove that Ardha Māgadhi was the basis of Pāli and there are excellent reasons for refusing to accept such a basis Luders' researches suggest that Ardha Māgadhi had as characteristic signs in addition to the use of *yeva* above mentioned, the regular appearance of *e* where Sanskrit has *as* the use

[1] *Grammar of the Pali Language* p 198

of *l* to the exclusion of *r*, the use of a dental nasal only to the exclusion of the palatal or lingual between vowels and the lengthening of the vowel before the suffix *la* None of these nor of certain other minor phenomena can be found regularly observed in Pāli and it seems unreasonable to admit that Ardha Māgadhi can be held to form the base

Levi[1] again has carried out important researches which negative the view that the language of the Canon as we have it in Pāli, is approximately that of the Buddha But while the Old Ardha Māgadhi reconstructed by Luders is a dialect which neither softens hard consonants between vowels nor sacrifices medial consonants the dialect of which Lévi discovers traces is one far further advanced in phonetic change The Buddha and Mahāvira alike he holds used a Magadhan dialect in which degradation of consonants had proceeded a long way, when, however the scriptures came to be redacted, there was a parting of the ways The Jains rigorously carried out the reduction of intervocalic consonants to the *ya śruti*, but the Buddhists acted in an opposite sense under the influence of the western elements who had gained control of the Saṅgha The language consecrates the triumph of the Pātheyakas of the west as against the Prācinakas the heroes of the Council of Vaiśali But this prevalence of Sanskrit influence was not accomplished by the time of Aśoka or even of the later Mauryas, as the evidence of the inscriptions shows

The evidence adduced for Levi's theme rests on a number of curious forms found in Pali and in Buddhist Sanskrit,

[1] *Journal Asiatique* sér 10, xx 401 ff cf J de la Vallée Poussin *Indo Europeens et Indo-Iraniens* pp 201ff

and supported by terms used in the inscriptions It certainly is striking that in the Bhabra inscription we should find *Lāghulovāda* for *Rahulavāda* and *adhigicya* for *adhikṛtya* of Sanskrit where the softening of the *l* is rare in Pāli and the retention of *cy* is alien to it At Bhārhut we have *Anādhapedika* for *Anāthapiṇḍika Maghādevīya Jātaka* for *Makhādeva Jātaka*, and very remarkably *avayesi* for *avadesi* Pāli and the Jain Canon have *Māgandiya* for Sanskrit *Makaṇḍika* while *Kauśika* is represented by *Kosiya* Pāli represents by *Kajangala* the village which Sanskrit calls *Kacangala* Buddhist Sanskrit has the form *Ṛṣivadana* where Pāli has *Isipatana* compelling us to assume the existence of an older dialectical form obliterated by Pāli Pāli has preserved *Āḷavī* as a place name but has restored *aṭavi* forest By misunderstanding it has replaced *Aciravatī* as a river name by *Acīravatī* and *Pokkharasāti* really stands for *Puṣkarasādin* of Sanskrit Similarly we may explain *uposatha* as opposed to Buddhist Sanskrit *posadha* and *opapātika* is a replacement of the original derivative from what in Sanskrit appears as *aupapāduka* Very significant are three certainly obscure terms in the *Patimokkha pārājika sanghādisesa*, and *pācittiya* which are to be regarded as derivatives of Sanskrit *pārācika saṅghatiśesa*, and *prakīrṇika* respectively So *elodi* is really the *ekoṭi* of the *Śatapatha Brahmana* and the crux *jalogi patum* of the record of Vaisāli is explained by *jalauka* The inscriptions of Asoka offer additional evidence of the weakening of intervocalic consonants thus Delhi has *libi* for *lipi*, Jaugada *laheyu* and *hidaloga*, Dhauli *lahevu* and *ajala* (Jaugada *acala*), while Palibothra and Kusinārā are only explicable by weakening

Geiger[1] objects to the arguments of Lévi as insufficient to prove the existence of this pre-Canonic language, but his contentions are not wholly adequate. It is true that not all of Lévi's etymologies are sound, but many comparisons are satisfactory. It is also true that the weakening is found not merely in technical terms which may naturally be deemed to be taken over, but in more common words. But this contention may be met by interpreting the facts as pointing to a more considerable influence of pre-Canonic speech on Pāli than Lévi contended for. Moreover, the fact that hardening is also found in Pāli is in some degree at least explained most naturally as by Lévi to be due to the errors of the redactors who in restoring the original forms now and then went too far and created false forms. After making all allowances, it seems clear that Lévi has proved that Pāli as we have it has been influenced by a dialect of Magadha in which weakening of consonants had gone to considerable lengths. But such a dialect cannot possibly be trusted as lying at the base of Pāli any more than the Old Ardha-Māgadhī whence borrowings are traced by Lüders. Both these dialects, it seems clear, have influenced Pāli, a view which accords well with the opinion of those who hold that the Pāli Canon is comparatively late and post-Aśokan, representing the presentation in a western dialect of traditions current in more than one Magadhan dialect.

It is significant that the evidence that Pāli is far from purely Magadhan has induced Sir George Grierson[2] to modify essentially the theory of Windisch that Māgadhī is at the

[1] Op. cit., p. 4.

[2] *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, pp. 117-23.

basis of Pāli His view is that "Literary Pāli is the literary form of the Māgadhī language the then Koine of India, as it was spoken and as it was used as a medium of literary instruction in the Takṣaśilā University" The point of the change of view is that it enables Sir G Grierson to explain satisfactorily the coincidences between Pāli and Paiśācī Prākrit insisted on by Konow,[1] who on the strength of them claimed Pāli as a dialect of the Vindhyas and perhaps of the regions to the south and east It must, however, be pointed out that it is difficult to accept the view that the Pāli Canon was redacted at Takṣasila, and the antiquity and importance of the study of the Pāli Canon at that university certainly cannot be established satisfactorily on the strength of the evidence of the *Jataka* book But the more important fact is that there is little cogency in the comparisons of Paisāci and Pāli drawn by Konow and Grierson (1) The hardening of sonant mutes is ascribed to both In fact, however, the process is purely sporadic in Pāli, in the principal Paisācī it is compulsory only for *d* and the weak cases of *rājan*, and even in Cūlikā Paiśācī only one variety demands the hardening of all sonant medials In fact the phenomenon is sporadic throughout Prākrit and no identification is possible between Pali and Paisācī on the strength of it (2) The retention of intervocalic consonants is common to all three types of Prākrit found in Aśvaghosa and is a sign of early date, not of special connection between Pali and Paisācī (3) The use of epenthesis in *bhariya*, *sinana* and *lasata* is an ordinary Prākrit feature as regards the first two terms, while, if *lasata* is not

[1] ZDMG lxiv 9ff JRAS 1921 pp 244f., 424f

a metathesis of *sakata* as often held, Konow justly adduces comparison with Māgadhī *lasta* (4) The change of *jñ*, *ny*, and *ny* to *ññ* is shared by Māgadhī, and probably is characteristic of all early Prākrits as indicated by those of Aśvaghosa (5) The preservation of *y* in lieu of change to *j* is found in Māgadhī, and is probably common to all early Prākrits (6) The termination *o* in nominal bases is not merely found in Paiśācī but also in western dialects and is Sanskritic in origin (7) The inflexional system of Pāli is generally similar not merely to that of Paiśācī but also to those of other western dialects (8) The use of *r* in Pāli can as easily be traced to the western dialects and to Sanskrit as to Paisācī, and in fact only standard Paisāci retains *l* These arguments for the close association in space of Pāli and Paisācī thus do not prove what is claimed, and it becomes therefore a matter of no importance in this connection whether Grierson[1] is right in claiming Paiśācī for the north-west or Konow in asserting the claims of the Vindhya The latter view has the support of what is the more probable view[2] of the dialect and place of origin of the *Brhatkathā* of Gunāḍhya, though the points involved are far from being certain But it is noteworthy in this connection that Grierson admits that Piśācas may have advanced into Rājputānā and the Konkan One point also, it may be noted, tells against the view of Grierson, namely the fact[3] that Paisācī has only the sibilant *s*, which would be strange if it were really a dialect of the north west

Grierson's view, however, coming as it does, from a

[1] *JRAS* 1911 pp 679 ff
[2] Keith *Sanskrit Literature* pp 36 ff
[3] Pischel *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen* § 43

believer in the Māgadhī basis of Pāli, is a significant admission of the strength of western influences, and, as has been pointed out, while it is not proved that Paiśācī is essentially involved, there is evidence for western affinities in some of the points and all of them are consistent with such affinities This brings us back to the suggestion early made by Westergaard[1] and adopted by E Kuhn[2], which sees in Pāli the dialect of Ujjayinī, arguing partly from the fact that Pāli has closest affinity with the Girnār form of the Aśokan language, and partly from the legend that this was the mother tongue of Mahinda, who brought Buddhism to Ceylon It is now possible to support this connection on broader lines, and to argue that at the base of Pāli there unquestionably lies a western dialect as opposed to an eastern Luders[3] stresses *inter alia* the striking similarity between the Girnār dialect and Pāli in the formation of the locative singular of *-a* stems, and in the accusative plural masculine in *-e* In his work on *Pali und Sanskrit* R Otto Franke establishes a long list of points in which Pāli differs from the eastern Prākrit of Aśoka, and he equally demonstrates that it departs in important matters from the north-western Prākrit. He shows at the same time that in the north western and the western dialects there are important coincidences with Pāli Thus we find parallels for the assimilation of *ly* to *ll*, for the retention of *r* in *brahmana*, *u* represents *r* in the declension of nouns of relationship in place of *i* in the eastern dialect, *aham* is employed instead of *hakam*, and *ayam* serves as nominative masculine and feminine of the demons-

[1] *Ueber den ältesten Zeitraum der indischen Geschichte*, p 47
[2] *Beiträge zur Pali Grammatik* p 0
[3] *Sit. ber. Akad.*, 1913 pp 990 1006

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Grierson's view, however, coming as it does, from a

[1] ZDMG lxvi 49ff
[2] Keith *Sanskrit Literature* pp 26ff
[3] Peichelt *Stand und Aufgaben der Sprachwissenschaft* i 245

suffix *-tra* by *-tpa* (*-pta*), and it omits frequently the aspiration in the equivalents of Sanskrit *sth* and *ṣṭh*.

From these and similar observations Franke deduces a location for the dialect at the basis of Pāli south or south-east of the Kharoṣṭhī country, the home of the north-western Prākrit; south of Mathurā, and perhaps also of Sāñchī and Bhārhut or at least not in the vicinity of these places; west or south-west of the region of the north-eastern Prākrit; north of Nāsik and east of Girnār. This suggests the area between the west and the middle Vindhya as the probable location, and Franke conjectures that Ujjayinī might be deemed the headquarters of the language, since Aśoka was governor there before he became Emperor, his wife, the mother of Mahinda, was a native of Cetiyagiri, near Sāñchī, and Mahinda himself lived there in his boyhood before he carried Pāli literature to Ceylon. To these latter details we need not attach much value. It may be noted that, if Konow's location of Paiśācī in the Vindhya region is correct, the parallels between Paiśācī and Pāli agree with the results of Franke, and this agreement strengthens the value of Konow's suggestion, though in fact our knowledge of Paiśācī rests on too unsatisfactory a basis to render discussion of this issue of much real value. From the point of view of the history of the development of the Buddhist Canon Przyluski[1] has suggested that the claim of Kauśāmbī as a centre is strong, and we may readily admit that in Pāli as we have it the dialect of that place played a part. It would in fact be unwise to seek to define closely the area of the base dialect of Pāli on the strength of the miserably

[1] *Légende de l'Empereur Açoka*, pp. 71, 89.

trative In other cases the parallels are confined to the Prākrits of Madhyadeśa and the south west Thus we have *ɨ* in the equivalents of Sanskrit *lṛta*, *laṭhi* for *yaṣṭi*; *l*, *ḷ*, and *ḷh* for intervocalic *d* and *dh*, *-mhā* for the ablative masculine and neuter of *-a* stems, *ā* for the dative of such stems, oblique cases of *-u* and *-ū* stems in *-uyā*, *-arā* in the instrumental singular of *-ṛ* stems, and *cha* for *ṣaṭ* A more precise location for Pāli is deduced from the fact that to its *dhītā* (*duhitṛ*) base forms, there are parallels from Mathurā, Sāñchī and Bhārhut, while south of Nāsik, which has both *dhitu* and *duhitu*, forms in *duhu-* or *dhu-* prevail But a location south of Mathurā, Sāñchī and Bhārhut is indicated by such facts as the frequent use of *ri* for *r* in Mathurā, by the appearance there of *ksuna* for *kṣaṇa*, by *-ye* forms from feminines in *-a*, *i* and *ī*, *-u* and *-ū*, and by *are* in the instrumental of *-ṛ* stems Special connection with the south is indicated by the occurrence there of forms with Pāli parallels such as *pannarsa* at Junnar, *sattari* at Nāsik, *r* for *d* in the equivalent of *daśa*, and for *dṛ* in those for *-dṛś* and *-dṛśa*, and *ch* in *chikicha* in Girnār, where also are found the potentials *asa* and *asu*, feminine plurals in *ayo*, and third plural Ātmanepada endings in *r* The parallelism with the south, however, is not invariable Thus we have seen that south of Nāsik forms in *duhu* or *dhu* prevail, in Nāsik we find *varisa* in place of *vassa*, *p* or *pp*, in Girnār[1] *tp* (*pt*), are found in the equivalents of *atman*, where Pāli has *tt*, *bi* and *be* represent Sanskrit *dvi* and *dve*, while Pāli has *dvi*, *di*, or *du*, though it shares with these dialects *bā* for *dva-* in *dvadasa* Girnār again represents the abstract

[1] On this combination see Franke, op cit. p 118 Michelson JAOS xxxi 235f

shows *du-* for *dvi-*, later *di-* alone is allowed, while Pāli has both forms; Aśvaghoṣa again uses *tuvaṁ*, as in Pāli, for the later *tumaṁ*, and has *tava* for *tuha*; he has also *karotha*, common in Pāli, in later Prākrit unknown, and for gerund *kariya*, found in Pāli. Moreover we find *pekkh-* (Sanskrit *prekṣ-*) as in Pāli, and *gamissiti* may be compared with such Pāli forms as *sakkiti*, *dakkhiti*.

As against this evidence no stress can now be laid on the argument of Oldenberg[1] who did not accept as historical the mission of Mahinda, and held instead that Pāli came to Ceylon from Kaliṅga, a view accepted also by E. Müller,[2] who pointed out that the oldest settlements in Ceylon were founded from the mainland opposite and not—as the Magadhan theory of Pāli suggested—from Bengal. Oldenberg supported his view by comparing Pāli with the dialect of the Khaṇḍagiri inscription. But the comparison yields nothing decisive, and there is now a substantial body of evidence which points to western India as the prime source of the Aryan element in Ceylon.[3] Lāṭa, Gujarat, is associated with the legend of Vijaya, and, however slight is the value of that legend in other respects, there is no reason to dispute the importance of the place name, when it is found that the affinities of Sinhalese lie with the western dialects.

We must, therefore, conclude that the basis of Pāli is a western dialect: but in its literary form, in which alone we have it, it is a very mixed language of the literary type, far removed from a vernacular, and under a strong Sanskritic influence. The date of the development of this

[1] *Vinaya Piṭaka*, i., pp. L ff. [2] *Pāli Grammar*, p. iii.
[3] Sunīti Kumar Chatterji, *Bengali Language*, i. 15, 72, 73; Geiger, *Literatur und Sprache der Singhalesen*, pp. 90f.

inadequate and unreliable information presented by the scanty inscriptions What we can reasonably say is that the basis was a western not an eastern dialect, and that neither Māgadhī nor Ardha-Māgadhī should be deemed to furnish the foundation On the other hand, there is every reason to admit that both earlier and later Magadhan dialects have left traces of their forms, probably as the result of the retention of forms from the Buddhist texts current in Magadhan dialects The results of Lévi are specially important, for they render it extremely difficult to believe in the theory of the existence of an early Buddhist Canon in a Magadhan of the type envisaged in the theories of Rhys Davids and Geiger, and they confirm the doubts on this score which have been adduced on grounds wholly independent of language [1]

Pāli as resting on a western dialect should naturally be found to be strongly under Sanskritic influence and closely related to the early forms of Śaurasenī Prākrit It is, therefore, very significant that the conclusions of Luders[2] as to the character of Old Śaurasenī, based on the fragments of Aśvaghoṣa, show that that dialect had many affinities with Pāli as recorded Thus there is no elision in Old Śaurasenī of consonants, and one instance only of softening of *t* to *d*, normally intervocalic *n* remains unaltered, an initial *y* is never altered to *j*, as in Pāli *dy* in *udyāna* gives *yy*, not as later *jj*, *ñ* and *ny* result in *ñ̃*, not as later in *nn*, *dam* and *adām* occur as in Pali, in *adandāraho* we have *a* as the epenthetic vowel, not *i* as later, *duguna*

[1] Keith *Buddhist Philosophy* Ch I
[2] *Bruchst cke buddhistischer Dramen* pp 47ff

To sum up the conclusions suggested by our deplorably scanty evidence, we may say (1) that the Buddha's language cannot be definitely ascertained from the records, and it is only by conjecture that we can assert that it was of Kosalan rather than Magadhan type Similarly it is purely a matter of speculation how far the Kosalan or Old Ardha-Māgadhī (if for convenience we so style it) and the Magadhan or Māgadhī corresponded with the Ardha-Māgadhī of the Jain texts as we have them and the Māgadhī of the grammarians In the former case certainly, and in the latter probably, we should allow for much dialect mixture in the later forms (2) The teachings, or the supposed teachings, of the Buddha were handed down in various dialects, and in one at least of these the process of phonetic change had advanced further than is normal in our Pāli texts. (3) The Pāli texts represent the doctrines accepted by a special school which used as the language of their Canon the dialect of the educated classes of some western area, whether Kauśāmbī or Ujjayinī or some other place cannot be determined with any certainty (4) The date of this Pāli Canon cannot be defined with any exactitude The one source of tradition on which we have to rely insists that a Council under Aśoka determined the Canon including as an essential element the *Kathāvatthu* The Aśokan inscriptions ignore entirely the Council, and, when Aśoka in his Bhabra edict mentions passages of special importance in the teaching of the Buddha, grave difficulties[1] arise when supporters of the existence of the Pali Canon in Asoka's time seek to identify

[1] L de la Vallée Poussin, *L Inde au x temps des Mauryas* (1930) pp 126ff For a revolutionary view, see M Walleser *Das Edikt von Bhabra* (1923) *Nochmals das Edikt von Bhabra* (1925)

literary speech and the evolution of the Pāli Canon, doubtless on the base of older tradition largely in Magadhan dialects, cannot be ascertained with any certainty; probability points to a date posterior to Aśoka, the silence of whose inscriptions on the existence of the Pāli Canon is most naturally explained by the assumption that it did not then exist. The ascription of a comparatively late date is greatly supported by the fact, which must be stressed as against Rhys Davids,[1] that the forms of Pāli are not historically the oldest of those Prākrit forms known to us.[2] These are to be found in the north-western dialect of the Aśokan inscriptions where the maintenance in some measure of the three sibilants, the transformation of *r* into *ir* or *ur*, the maintenance of *r* in conjunction with other consonants, and the retention of *tm* are, among other points, indications of a state of affairs linguistically older than the facts of Pāli. Even in the case of the Girnār dialect of the Aśokan inscriptions, it would be impossible to establish the priority of Pāli. Girnār[3] manifests such phenomena as the retention of long vowels before double consonants, and traces of the retention of *r* in certain consonantal combinations, as well as the use of *st* which Pāli assimilates. Moreover, it appears that it preserved for a time the distinction between the palatal and the lingual sibilants. There is accordingly nothing in the linguistic facts to throw doubt on the view that the dialect on which Pāli is based was one current some time after the Aśokan period.

[1] *Buddhist India*, pp 153f.

[2] Reichelt, *Stand und Aufgaben der Sprachwissenschaft*, pp 243, 247. The more archaic character of the north western dialect is now easily seen from the grammar given by Konow, *Kharoshthi Inscriptions* pp xcv-cxv. Cf. Michelson, JAOS, xxx, 87, 88.

[3] Michelson, JAOS, xxxi 234ff.

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the passages, suggesting the obvious conclusion that Aśoka knew nothing of the Canon Further, it is certain that the language of the texts known to Aśoka was not the Pāli of the Canon Again, it is significant that even those who are inclined to greater faith in the tradition than it is easy to feel have much difficulty in believing that the *Kathāvatthu* is of Asokan date,[1] but what is clear is that this is an essential element in the tradition of the Council, and that if it is not accepted as true, it becomes extremely difficult to attach any value to the legend of the Council We may well believe that the views embodied in the Pāli Canon were current in certain circles in Aśoka's time—it is clear that they were not the points which appealed to Aśoka himself whose Dhamma is far more popular—, and we can, if we like, suppose that in Aśoka's reign some steps were taken towards formulating these views in definite form and commencing the preparation of the Canon in the language we now know as Pāli But there is no reason to accept the alleged patronage of Asoka, and we cannot be absolutely certain that even so much respect should be paid to the traditions current in Ceylon

[1] Poussin, op cit, p 130

CHAPTER XXXII

OUTLINES OF THE HISTORY OF BUDDHISM IN INDO CHINA

To many people, especially those who have access only to English books,[1] the expression, "Indo-Chinese Buddhism," means the religion actually professed by the two countries, Siam and Burma, which, together with Ceylon, form the geographical area of the Southern Buddhism This view is deficient on two points first it neglects all the eastern part of the Peninsula, secondly, it does not make any allowance for the long period during which a great part of Indo-China knew no other form of Buddhism than the Mahāyāna Therefore, it will not be useless to trace, with more precision, the main lines of the history of Buddhism in these far-off countries This history has grown in two different regions independent of each other and of unequal importance the eastern coast (Annam) and the western part of the country (British Malaya, Siam Cambodia, Laos, Burma)

The most ancient Hindu settlement on the eastern coast of the Indo Chinese peninsula seems to lie in the south of modern Annam between Cochin-China and the mountain range which terminates with Cape Varella near the modern town of Nhatrang, There is a temple of Bhagavatī, which, though does not date back to a very remote epoch (the

[1] The exact and well informed work of Sir Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism* London 1921 ought to be set apart

the passages, suggesting the obvious conclusion that Aśoka knew nothing of the Canon Further, it is certain that the language of the texts known to Aśoka was not the Pāli of the Canon Again, it is significant that even those who are inclined to greater faith in the tradition than it is easy to feel have much difficulty in believing that the *Kathāvatthu* is of Asokan date[1] but what is clear is that this is an essential element in the tradition of the Council, and that if it is not accepted as true, it becomes extremely difficult to attach any value to the legend of the Council We may well believe that the views embodied in the Pāli Canon were current in certain circles in Asoka's time—it is clear that they were not the points which appealed to Aśoka himself whose Dhamma is far more popular—, and we can if we like, suppose that in Aśoka s reign some steps were taken towards formulating these views in definite form and commencing the preparation of the Canon in the language we now know as Pāli But there is no reason to accept the alleged patronage of Asoka, and we cannot be absolutely certain that even so much respect should be paid to the traditions current in Ceylon

[1] Louis in, op cit , p 139

up to the frontier of Tongking.[1] It might also stand for the kingdom of Pāndurańga, which later on became a vassal principality of Campā

The epigraphy of Campā (leaving aside the inscription of Vo-canh) is, at first, clearly Śaiva. It is in the 9th century only that Buddhism makes its appearance there. In the second quarter of that century, a Buddhist of Pāṇḍurańga, Samanta by name, dedicates two monasteries (vihāra) and two temples to the Jina and Śiva (Jīnaśaṅkarayo), the *praśasti* being written by his son, Sthavira Buddhanirvāṇa.[2] From that time is noticed the close association of Buddhism with Śaivism which will remain up to the end as one of the salient features of religion in Campā, as in the other Hindu states of Indo-China.

Some twenty years later, the growing importance of Buddhism is affirmed by the foundation of the great monastery of Lakṣmīndra Lokeśvara,[3] a pious work of king Indravarman II who had assumed before his coronation the name of Lakṣmīndra Bhūmiśvara Grāmasvāmī[4] and after his death that of Paramabuddhaloka. In the foundation charter, the king glorifies simultaneously Lokeśvara and the Liṅga Bhadreśvara.

It is peculiar that in this monument dedicated to Lokeśvara not a single image of this Bodhisattva has been dis-

[1] L Aurousseau in *BEFEO*, XIV, 9, p 26

[2] *ISCC*, p 237, no XXV

[3] The ruins of this monastery are situated near the village of Dong-dương in the province of Quang nam (Annam) They have been described by H Parmentier in: *Inventaire descriptif des monuments chams de l' Annam*, vol I, pp 439 ff The inscriptions have been published in *BEFEO*, IV 84 ff.

[4] It was a custom in religious foundations to place the name of the founder before that of the devatā Lakṣmīndra Lokeśvara=Lokeśvara founded by Lakṣmīndra; Mahīndra-Lokeśvara=Lokeśvara founded by Mahīndrādhipati, etc.

existing buildings are of the 9th century A D), occupies the seat of a much more ancient sanctuary According to a tradition preserved in an inscription of the 8th century, a Mukhalinga had been erected there by a king, Vicitrasagara by name, in the year of 5911 of the Dvāpara[1] age This fabulous date proves, at least, that the sanctuary of Nhatrang was considered in the 8th century as being of an immemorial antiquity

Not far from this place was found a Sanskrit inscription of great historical importance It does not contain any date but its writing points, with a quasi-certitude, to the third or the second century of our era [2] It owes its origin to a king who claims to be a descendant of Śri Mārarāja The wear and tear of the stone does not permit of any precise conclusion as to the religion which the author of that work professed, but some expressions such as "*prajānām karunā* ' "compassion for creatures," "*lokasyāsya gatāgati,*" ' coming and going of this world," "*(praja)nām priyahite sarvam utsṛstam mayā,* ' "all is given up by me for the satisfaction and good of creatures," might give out a Buddhistic inspiration

It is possible that this Hindu colony was the nucleus of the kingdom of Campā which, according to the Chinese historians was founded in the year 192 A D by an adventurer, in revolt against the imperial authorities of the province of Je nan and extended rapidly towards the north

[1] Panca-sahasra nava sataikadase 'gatā kal kalau ka-drupara varṣe Śri Vicitra sagara-samathap tah Śri Mukhal ga-devah *Inscriptions Sanscrites de Champā et du Cambodje publiées par* A Barth et A Bergaigne Paris 1885 1893 p 204 (This collection will be referred to henceforth under the form *ISCC*)

[2] Inscription of Võ-canh published in *ISCC* p 191 and re-edited in the *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient* V 2 p 3 (This Bulletin will be referred to hereafter under the form *BEFEO*)

covered but only some big statues of the Buddha represented as sitting in the European fashion with hands resting on his knees [1]

In 902 A D in the same province Sthavira Nāgapuspa sets up a Lokanātha in the monastery of Pramudita Lokeśvara which he held as a royal gift [2] On that occasion he was pleased to give a resume of the Mahāvānist theogony under the rather peculiar form it had taken in his own time

Vajradhātur asau pūrvam Śrī Śākyamunisasanāt
Śūnyo pi Vajradhrddhetuh buddhanām ālayo bhavat ||
Padmadhātur ato Lokeśvarahetur jnalayah
Amitābhavacoyul tya mahāśūnyo babhūva ha ||
Cakradhātur asau śūnyātito Vairocanājñayā
Vajrasattvasya hetuh syāt trtīyo bhūj jnālayah ||

"In the beginning Vajradhātu (who, though void, is the cause of Vajradhara) became, by the order of Śākyamuni, the receptacle of the Buddhas Then Padmadhātu, the great void, cause of Lokesvara, in compliance with the word of Amitābha—became the (second) receptacle of the Buddhas Cakradhātu, the ultra void cause of Vajrasattva became, by the order of Vairocana, the third receptacle of the Buddhas"

As is seen, we are completely here in Mahayānism though the name has not been yet pronounced This gap is going to be filled up At the end of the twelfth century a petty king reigning in Pāndurānga, boasts of practising the dharma of Mahāyāna and in testimony of his faith erects a Buddha Lokeśvara in the district of Buddhaloka [3]

[1] Is it to be surmised that these images represent Lokeśvara under the aspect of Bodhisattva a form which is met with in China (A Foucher *Iconographie bouddhique* p 193 no 31 Mahacine Bodhisattvarūpaka—Lokanāthah) ? *Cf* infra the erection of a Buddha Lokeśvara

[2] *BEFEO* XI 277

[3] *BEFEO* IV 971 972

Afterwards we have no more document. Nevertheless, a fragment which seems to date from the second half of the thirteenth century begins with the invocation *Oṃ namo buddhāya,* which at least proves that Buddhism was not yet extinct in that time.[1]

Iconography confirms the data of epigraphy: the[illegible]und of Campā has given in abundance bronze and stone[illegible]xisting of Buddha, Lokeśvara and Prajñāpāramitā. [illegible]ar from the clay medallions bearing images of Buddha [illegible]twards (from were picked up in the caves of northern Anoh-nan, formerly

The conclusion of this review of our [illegible], the inhabitants of written and iconographic is that fromostly worshippers of up to at least the 13th century thlourished there, but a Campā were, in the first place, exterminated them all, and [illegible]are no the cult of the Buddhist Brotherhood at all."

Concerning the preponderance of Śaivism in Funan, it may be noticed that although the head of the mission sent to the court of China in 484 A.D., Śākya Nāgasena was a Buddhist monk, still in his description of Funan he exalts especially the god Maheśvara (BEFEO, IV, 270). Nevertheless, Buddhism enjoyed a place of honour in this country. Some illustrious relics were preserved there, notably a hair of the Buddha, 12 feet long which the king presented to the Emperor in 539 A.D. (*ibid*, p 281) Several bhikṣus of Funan went to China for the translation work of the holy books, among them were Saṅghapāla and Mandrasena

precision[illegible]stence of the kingdom of Dvāravatī is attested for the 7th century by [illegible]es of the T'ang Dynasty and by the pilgrims Hiuen tsang and I tsing, between Śrikṣetra (Prome) and Cambodia, but it may be much older

[1] A Ber[illegible]

[2] Mainly [illegible]cter of its population has been brought to light by G Coedès, *Docu-*
33; H Parmer[illegible] *du Laos occidental*, *BEFEO*, xxv, pp 113 ff, cf ibid iv, 223, note 3.
vols; Id. *Les sc*[illegible]

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of Campā. In *dhṛddhetuḥ buddhānām ālayo bhavat ||*
burnt down the ca *Lokeśvarahetur jinālayaḥ*
kingdom where they i *mahāśūnyo babhūva ha ||*
Taoism and Confuciani *ātīto Vairocanājñayā*
the ancestors and of th *ṛtīyo bhūj jinālayaḥ ||*
religion. As to the pitiable rem[nant] (who, though [redu]
reduced to a few districts of Southern Annam, some them practise Islamism, others a debased form Hinduism wherein no trace of Buddhism is found.

II

In its palmy days, Campā had as neighbour in the W a state which is known to us only through the Chin historians and which consequently passes by the name th give to it, *viz.*, Funan.[1]

It was a great empire which had the centre of its pow in the territory of modern Cambodia and extended suzerainty from the Lower Cochin China to the [...] Bengal and from Upper Laos down to the Malay P[eninsula] [...] aspect [...] Buddhiqu[e]

[1] Funan probably corresponds to the Khmer word *rnam* "mount[ain]" [...] erection [...] the kings of the country were called *Krung rnam* "kings of the mo[untain]" [...] Sailendras of Sum[atra]

s disaster, for, in 664 A D , that is to say, only
fter the conquest, and precisely at the time
ommenced his journey, the reigning king,
n, praises two eminent Bhiksus (bhiksu-
g in his kingdom both of whom are (said to
f virtue, science, kindness patience, charity,
prudence" (ISCC , p 62) *Sila-śruta-sama*
gyama dhī nidhi

d possibly happen was a strengthening of Śai-
the religion of the Khmer kings, but there is
obability of a persecution or *a fortiori* of an
f the Buddhists by the new sovereigns An
e same epoch (7th century)[1] which associates
ous donation, the Buddha, Maitreya and
proves that it was the Mahāyāna which was
form of Buddhism prevailing in Cambodia,
remained till the inroad of the Hīnayāna
mese wars, towards the 15th century when a
a commences

pular figure of the Mahāyānist pantheon in
kesvara This merciful Bodhisattva is the
the kingdom , it is under this patronage that
laced , it is his image that appears on the
harmaśālās built along the roads in order to
r to the pilgrims [2] He is very often associ-
-jñāpāramitā and Vajrapāni It is especially in
century that his cult seems to have been flourishing

[1] Inscription of Ampil Rlm *cf* Aymonier *Le Cambodge* I p 449
[2] Cf L Finot *Lokesvara en Indo Chine* in *Etudes asiatiques publiées à l'occasion du 25 anniversaire de l'Ecole Française d' Extrême Orient* Paris 1925 T I pp 267 296
Id *Inscriptions d Ankor et Dharmaśalas au Cambodge BEFEO* T xxv

at the end of the 5th and in the beginning of the 6th century (*ibid.*, p. 294).

Our information on Funan does not allow any conclusion as to the particular form of Buddhism which was reigning there. Perhaps several sects divided this vast empire among themselves.

In the south of Funan, the Malay peninsula was essentially a Buddhist country. The inscriptions found in the region of Ligor and in the province of Wellesley prove that in the 4th century A.D. there were some important Buddhistic centres on the coasts.[1] Other inscriptions discovered on the south of the isthmus of Krā dating from the 8th and 9th centuries witness the continuation of the same religion in those countries. One of them which commemorates the construction of three caityas in honour of Avalokiteśvara, Buddha and Vajrapāṇi in 775 A.D. proceeds from the kings of Śrī-Vijaya (Palembang).[2]

III

Towards the middle of the 6th century, a political revolution broke out in the western Indo-China: the Khmers or Kambojas, till then vassal of Funan, overthrew the sovereign state and took its place.

It is no doubt to this event that I-tsing alludes in the passage quoted above, when he speaks of the wicked king *who exterminated the* Buddhists of Funan. We may be permitted to believe that the pious writer has strongly

[1] H. Kern, *Over eenige oude Sanskrit-opschriften uit't Maleische Schiereiland* (Verslagen en Mededeelingen, 1883). L. Finot, *Inscriptions du Siam et de la péninsule Malaise* (Bulletin de la Commission archéologique de l'Indo-Chine, 1910, I).

[2] G. Coedès, *Le royaume de Śrivijaya* (*BEFEO*, XVIII, n° 6).

the Jina Amitābha (Unlimited Light) as a consequence of his having ascertained the limited light of the Sun and the Moon

"Homage to thee Blessed One! who are called Prajñā-pāramitā, in whom the Omniscients have attained their Omniscience"

Inscription of Ta Prohm, 1186 A D (n° k 273)

Sambhāra-vistara-vibhāvita dharmmakāya
sambhoga-nirmiti-vapuh bhagavān vibhaktah |
yo gocaro jina-jinatmaja-dehabhājām
vuddhāya bhūtaśaranāya namo stu tasmai ||
vande niruttaram anuttarayodhimārggam
bhūtārtha-darśana-mārayanaikadrstim |
dharmman trilokavidītāmarayandyayandyam
antarasat-sadarisanda-vilhanda-khadgam ||
samyagvimukti-paripanthitayā vimukta-
sango pi santatagrhītaparārthasangah |
sangīyamāna-jinasāsana-śāsitān yān
sangho bhisamhita hitaprabhavo vatād vah ||
trailokya-kāṅksita-phalaprasavaika-yoni
agrāngulih vitapa-bhūsita-vāhu śākhah |
hemoparīta-latikā-parivīta-kāyo
Lokeśvaro jayati jangamapādapātah ||
munīndra-dharmmāgrasanam gunādhyān
dhīmadbhir adhyātmadrśā nirīksyām |
nirastanihśvesavikalpajālam
bhaktyā jinānām jananim namadhvam ||

"To the Blessed One, whose previous merits, as a result of their growing, are manifested in the bodies of Law, Beatitude and Creation and who (thus) is divided, who is the domain of those who put on the bodies of Jina or of Bodhisattva,—to the Buddha, the Refuge of the beings, homage!

mā tvāśanir mmā paraśur mānilo mā hutāśanah
mā rājā mā gajah kruddho rmāśam upanesyati ||
akṣispandam bhruo spandan dussrapnan duri vicintitam
aśvattha śamayet sarvam yad divyam yac ca mānusam ||

"Oh, Thou whose roots are Brahmā, trunk is Śiva, branches are Visnu, Oh, Eternal One, king of the trees, Fortunate One! Universal Refuge, Giver of fruits!

"Let neither the thunder-bolt nor the axe, nor the wind, nor fire, nor the king, nor the furious elephant cause thy ruin

"Eye-blinking, eye-brow-trembling, bad dreams, evil thoughts, O Fig-tree, dispel all these, whether divine or human!"

Under the reign of Sūryavarman I (1002—1040 A.D.) who, according to a Pāli chronicle,[1] was the son of the king of Śrī Dhammarāja (Ligor) and probably belonged to the Buddhist religion, as is shown by his posthumous name of Paramanirvānapada, the Khmers wrested from the Mons the valley of Menam The first Khmer inscriptions at Lopburi date from his reign[2] One of them, the object of which is to lay down some rules and regulations for the temples monasteries and hermitages, makes a distinction between the Sthaviras and the Mahāyāna Bhiksus[3] It is therefore, probably on the Lower Menam that the Mahāyāna of the Khmers and the Theravāda of the Mons met A little afterwards, the advance of the Khmers towards the North put them in contact with another race which was, in a short time, to drive them back on the Mekong and finally to wrest from them

[1] *Camadevivamsa* cf *BEFEO* XVI pp 23 ff
[2] *Ibid*, p 25
[3] *Aymonier Le Cambodge* II p 81

the hegemony of western Indo-China. It was the *Thai*, descended from Burma.

IV

The first record of the introduction of Buddhism into Lower Burma is that of the Sinhalese Chronicles (Dīpavaṃsa, VIII, 12, Mahāvaṃsa, XII, 6, 44) concerning the mission of the theras Soṇa and Uttara sent to Suvaṇṇabhūmi by the council of Pāṭaliputra during the reign of Aśoka. Admitting the historicity of this mission, it does not follow that it marks the beginning of a continued development of Buddhism in these countries. In fact, we lack information on the following centuries.[1] A flash of dim light shows us something of the religious state of Lower Burma towards the 6th century. We owe it to two documents found near Hmawza (Prome), the one is a pair of gold-leaves upon which is engraved the well-known "Thammapariyāya": *Ye dhammā*, etc., followed by some other Buddhist formulas; the other is a terracotta tablet which bears a fragment of the Vibhaṅga.[2] All these texts are in Pāli and written in characters intimately connected with those which were in use in Southern India towards the 6th century of our era.

This is about the time when the study of the Pāli Piṭakas flourished in Kāñcipuram (Conjeveram), under the direction of the learned commentator Dhammapāla.[3] Now, as Pegu, according to its own traditions, had a continued communica-

[1] Those of Tārānātha's *Geschichte des Buddhismus*, p. 262, do not seem to have a very great value.

[2] Cf. L. Finot, *Un noveau document sur le bouddhisme Birman* (Journal Asiatique, 1912, 2, p. 121); Id. *Le plus ancien temoignage sur l'existence du canon pāli en Birmanie* (Id. 1913, 2, p. 193).

[3] Ed. Hardy, *Ein Beitrag zur Frage ob Dhammapalaim Nalandasaṅgharāma seine Commentare geschrieben* in Zeitschrift der d. Morgenl. Gesellsch., 1897, p. 126.

tion with Kāñcipuram[1] it is tempting to look to that country for the origin of the Hīnayānist school of Prome, which might have received from there through Thaton its religious culture. That school continued to prosper in the following centuries side by side with a community of Vaiṣṇavas, who has left some remarkable sculptures.[2] The exact time of the destruction of Prome is not known, but it is likely that it took place in the course of the 9th century.[3]

In 1057, Anuruddha, the king of Pagan, invaded the Delta, became master of Sudhammapura (Thaton) and brought back to his own kingdom the collection of the holy books in Pāli together with several learned monks and dethroned the sovereign From that time, the Theravāda of Ceylon completely superseded the mighty [illegible] whose cult was a mixture of serpent worship, spirit worship and Tāntric Buddhism[4] It is strange that Pegu, which was evidently in a state of civilization more advanced than Pagan, should have left us no literary work anterior to the conquest of Anuruddha and that the first hearth of Pāli literature should have been kindled at Pagan.[5]

Thirteenth century witnesses a general advance of the Thai or Shan race facilitated by the fall of Pagan dynasty, which followed the Chinese invasions. They overran rapidly the whole Burmese territory and passed onwards into the

[1] M H Bode, *The Pali Literature of Burma*, p 8

[2] R C Temple, *Notes on Antiquities in Ramannadesa*, Pl XIII XIV, L. de Beylie, *Prome and Samara*, pt VII, p 2

[3] M Harvey the last historian of Burma, places it 'not long after A.D 800' (*History of Burma* p 12) It cannot be prior to the embassy of Pho to the court of China in 807 A D (Pelliot, *Two Itineraries*, p 163)

[4] On the Ari, see the excellent memoir of Mr Charles Duroiselle. *The Ari of Burma and Tantric Buddhism* (Arch Survey Annual Report, 1915 16. pp 79 93)

[5] The first work is the Kārika a treatise on Grammar, written in 1064 A D by Dhamma-senapati, a Burmese of Pagan (M H Bode, *op cit*, p 15)

Sukhodaya professed the Theravāda with Pāli as its religious language.[1]

Rāma Khamhéng had as his second successor Lüthai, a cultured and learned king, author of a Buddhist Cosmology, entitled *Traibhūmi*. He ascended the throne in 1347 A.D. under the name of Dharmarāja. In 1361 he received the ordination and wore for a time the yellow robe.

At that time, in the Buddhistic world, a growing esteem was shown for the Sīhalagaṇa, a Sinhalese sect,—founded in 1190 by the Talaing monk Chapata—which admitted as valid only the ordinations dating back to the Mahāvihāra of Ceylon. It is under the influence of these ideas that Dharmarāja called from Pegu the thera Sumana, disciple of the thera Udumbara, who had left Ceylon to settle in the Ramaññadeśa. The king of Nabbisipura (Chieng-mai) obtained afterwards from the king of Sukhodaya the permission that Sumana should be sent to him to restore the religion in his kingdom. Dharmarāja was a zealous follower of Buddhism, but this did not prevent him from raising, in the celebrated Mango-grove (Ambavana), by the side of the great monastery which was there (Ambavanārāma), statues of Maheśvara and Viṣṇu.

Under his successors Sukhodaya steadily declined before the growing power of the kingdom of Ayodhyā, founded in 1350, which reduced it first to a small vassal state, then, to complete subjection.

On the other hand, this new state repelled, towards the East, the Khmer kings who had to abandon their capital Angkor, probably in the course of the 15th century.[2] This

[1] For what follows, cf Coedès, *Inscriptions de Sukhodaya*, pp. 8 ff and *Documents sur la dynastie de Sukhodaya* (*BEFEO*, XVII, 2, pp 36 ff)

[2] *BEFEO*, XIII, 6, pp 6 ff and XVIII, 9, p 27

event marks the disappearance of Hinduism and of Mahāyāna which had, for such a long time, reigned in Cambodia. The whole country now professes the Theravāda which the Thai influence introduced there at the end of the 13th century[1] and to which the triumph of Siam assured an uncontested hegemony.

[1] Tcheou Ta Kouan (1296 A D) 'The *Ch'u Ku* shave their head', (*BEFEO*, II, p 148) *Ch'u Ku*=Chan-Ku, My lord" appellation of the monks in Siam (Id, xviii, 9, p 6) This precise detail shows clearly the Siamese origin of modern Buddhism in Cambodia

CHAPTER XXXIII

CHRISTIAN MYSTICISM IN THE LIGHT OF THE BUDDHA'S DOCTRINE

The Buddha's doctrine contains not a trace of mysticism To be sure it brings unusual knowledge, and teaches also how to set up the conditions for unusual powers, but all this with the normal human cognitive faculties even if in the state of their highest possible development, and the whole thing in the form of the Law of Causation, *i e*, of the consideration of all objects of knowledge exclusively from the point of view of Causality[1] But not only does the Buddha's doctrine contain no mysticism, *in reality there never has been such a thing at all anywhere in it* The solution of this problem of mysticism in general ought to be one of great interest to Buddhists also because it is precisely the consideration of this question which makes the Buddha's doctrine shine forth in all the more bright a light This consideration of mysticism will be undertaken in this manner, that the system of the greatest of all Western 'mystics" Master Eckhart will be subjected to a critical evaluation If the method by means of which he acquired his knowledge is penetrated then precisely thereby without anything further, all other mystics also *as such* are comprehended, just because they have all arrived at their results upon the same path

[1] *Cf* the essay "Is the Doctrine of the Buddha Science" in the Maha Bodhi Journal 1926, 1927

The characteristic form of all mysticism is this,—a mystic "inner light," altogether different in its nature from normal cognition, which begins to shine in different individuals; and then, as the result of this mystic "illumination," a knowledge which, just because not won through by normal perception, cannot be imparted with the apparatus of this normal perception, words and concepts. The real *object* of mysticism, however, is the süper-sensual, the transcendental, the divine, which lies at the roots of the world.

What position, now, does Master Eckhart occupy in this field?

I.

Eckhart, as a Dominican monk, was a faithful son of his Church, a convinced Catholic. That comes out prominently in all his sermons. This also he expressly affirms, in as many words, when he says that he believes the Scriptures more than himself. This also is specially confirmed in the declaration which he had read out on the 13th of February, 1327, in the Dominican Church in Cologne, in reply to the attacks made upon him: He had always only looked to the true Faith and to the right Doctrine; every error which could be pointed out to him, he withdrew in advance, and wished he had not uttered or written. Nay, without thereby abandoning a single one of his utterances, he corrected and recanted every utterance of his of which any one would be in a position to point out that it was based upon a faulty use of reason. For him, therefore, the entire structure of the teachings of Catholic dogma stood unshakeably firm.

Eckhart, however, was also of a nature inclined to *meditation*, or, more accurately, inclined to *looking within*; and this in a manner and to a degree which for Buddhists, gives rise to a surprising supposition to which due expression will later be given

These two points of view must be well borne in mind if one wishes to understand Eckhart, and arrive at a correct judgment of him, nay, they are of fundamental importance to such an understanding

Next, as regards the second characteristic of Eckhart, his endeavours after knowledge on the path of contemplative meditation, according to him the cognitive activity of the soul directed outward, never penetrates to the essence of things "All its activities—(the Sankhāras in the doctrine of the Buddha)—the soul carries out by means of the forces. What it cognises, that it cognises with the reason If it thinks of aught, this it does with the memory Should it love, this it does with the will, and every one of its outward motions is ever joined to some one means or other The power of sight it sets going only by means of the eyes, elsewhere it may not fulfil or bestow any such thing as seeing And so with *all* the senses Ever for their manifestation does it make use of some kind of means or other" "If now the powers of the soul enter into contact with the creature, they take and create from it an image and likeness and draw that into themselves Closer the creature may not press *into the soul* *Also the* soul never busies itself more closely with a creature until it has beforehand fully taken into itself an image thereof, be it a stone, a rose, a man, or whatever it be that it seeks to know, each time

it first brings forth an image which it has taken in beforehand Only in this wise may it unite itself with the object But if a man in such wise takes an image into himself, this of necessity must come from without through the senses '

But every image does not point to and offer, itself, it ever leads, and points to that of which it is the image ' Because the soul through external cognitive activity cannot penetrate to the essence but always only to the outer wrappings of things, that is to their *image* naturally therefore it also cannot upon this path come to a knowledge of itself Nay with regard to itself it never even manages to get as far as to such a mere *image* since she stands *behind* her senses, the senses which convey the images to her, thus for example behind the mediating eye Therefore to the soul is there nothing so unknown as herself The soul so says a Master, is not able to make or project any image of herself Therefore has she naught whereby she might know herself For an image ever enters only through the senses consequently she can have no image of herself Therefore does she know all else only not herself Of nothing does she know so little as of herself —even because of this mediating And yet although the soul knows nothing of herself, nevertheless Eckhart knows what it is just as he also knows of the unknown God beyond God what he is God is Spirit And yet through and through God so is Spirit that compared with Him the soul and the angels are almost something corporeal If any one should paint the most exalted among the seraphim with black pigment the likeness would be far greater than if one should paint God in the form of the highest seraph beyond all measure it would be

unlike" Elsewhere he also says: "The divine Being is Reason" "God is Reason, since he alone lives to his own knowledge" And then again "Because the Godhead by His very nature is reason" "And this rational Being or God to the rational soul has *given a shape even as his own*" "Therefore does Augustine rightly say 'As God is made, so also is the soul'" 'For the soul is created like unto the Godhead" *Therefore*, thus, since God is pure spirit, so also is the soul pure spirit And how does Eckhart know all this?

He knows it through his *Church* which teaches him that God is the very highest reason, the human soul his exact image, and therefore likewise pure spirit As a believing Catholic, these for Eckhart were axioms which stood fast antecedent to all individual experience To doubt them, more especially to doubt the axiom that the soul is *essentially* spirit, was for the man in Catholic Orders a simple impossibility His individual experience could, and might, merely serve to *confirm* for him the truth of these axioms

And because the soul at its *foundation*, or because—on that very account—"*the soul basis*" is pure spirit, a pure mass of cognition, therefore the mode of cognition previously described which has the assistance of the five outer senses, is not *essential* to the soul[1] "All its activities the soul carries out by means of its powers," we heard above But "these powers by means of which she works, verily spring out of the basis of the soul, but in that basis itself there is only deep silence" In this basis "there is no kind of work

[1] In contradistinction to the Buddha Eckhart naturally knows only *five* senses since thinking thus cognition in its narrower and genuine sense, for him is an *immediate* function the activity of the *essence* itself

whatever" Thus the soul may also again cease from those "activities," yea, from all its powers whatsoever, thus, for example, also "the force by means of which man digests food"; it can again "withdraw" them, "again call them home"

Eckhart calls these *inessential* attributes of the soul—thus, what the Buddha calls *anattā*—the "created," "the imaged," "the pertaining to the creature," that "which has name" All these attributes are painful for us, and therefore in truth unsuited to us 'What is of thee and in thee, all this is very sickly and corrupt" Hence he names as the most direct aim, "the becoming empty of all that is created," "the turning away from all that is created" Therefore does he require that to all that has name the soul should not *attach itself*, nor this to it Therefore, finally, the soul must "pass out of her created nature," it must again become *pure* spirit, a *pure* mass of cognition, and must become this, all the more so, that thereby at the same time it makes possible the hitherto impossible, to wit, that thereby, it cognises the *essence* "The formless, image-less essence" can in fact only be cognised by its like, thus, by a cognition equally free from all limitations arising through the senses "Thus, then, all that is imaged, strip off, and unite yourselves to the image less and formless essence!' To be sure, the *essence* of the soul, the soul's basis, is *always* pure, formless cognition even when the soul is externally occupied with *the powers* of the senses thus with its creature like parts inasmuch as no image nothing creature like forces its way into its *basis*, In the purest that the soul may have to offer, in her noblest in the basis, in short, in the *essence* of the

soul, there is the deep silence, for thither reaches never a creature nor any image whatsoever" But, "the soul is so straitly bound to the powers, that she flies away with them whithersoever they fly away For in everything that they effect the soul must be present, and that verily with attention, else with their action they would bring about nought If now in external action she should dissolve away with her attention, inevitably must she be all the weaker inwardly in her *internal* efficacy" And so there results as a self understood *path* the realisation of perfect "*separation*," in the sense of the soul withdrawing to her innermost, to her basis, where she is wholly "one with herself" "Perfect separation wills only to be one with herself" "Thus must the soul keep herself altogether pure, and live altogether nobly, wholly united and wholly inward, and not run outward through the senses into the multiplicity of creatures, but be completely inward and united in the purest that she possesses *This* is her state all that is lesser goes against this" "Will thine eye behold all things, thine ear hearken all things, thy mind have all of them present verily, in all these things shall thy soul be dispersed Therefore does a Master say if a man would perfect an inward work, he must draw in all his powers, as it were, into a corner of his soul, and conceal himself from all images and forms, and then he may work In a forgetting and in an ignorance—(of the external world)—must he come hither Stillness and silence must there be" "Now has the soul dispersed and scattered herself abroad along with the powers, each in its work, the power of seeing in the eye, the power of hearing in the ear, the power of tasting in the tongue And in

equal measure are they all the weaker for carrying on their work *inwardly* For every scattered force is imperfect. Hence, if she will unfold a powerful efficacy inwardly, she must call all her powers home again, and bringing them clean out of scattered things, gather them together into an inward working Here is an example There was a Master among the heathen He was devoted to an art, the art of reckoning He sat before the fire and wrote down figures and practised himself diligently in his art Then came one with a drawn sword who knew not that it was the Master, and cried "Quick, speak! What is thy name? Or I kill thee!" The Master was so wholly withdrawn within himself that he neither saw nor heard anything of his foe, neither did he in any wise understand what was wanted of him And after the enemy had several times cried out to him, and he had made no answer, he struck off his head This in order to attain to a natural art How incomparably much more also ought we to loosen ourselves from all things, and to gather together all our powers where it is a matter of regarding and cognising the one only measureless, uncreated, eternal truth To this end summon up thy whole reason and all thy thinking, and thus turn them into the bottom where this treasure lies concealed If that is to befall, then know that thou must drop all else thou must attain unto an *ignorance*"

From these passages it stands out ever more clearly what Eckhart was aiming at *practically* Exactly like the Buddha, he aimed at *Concentration of mind*, at *purest* cognition, undisturbed by anything else whatever —"Hail, of a truth, to the noble mind, that is taken up into the rich, the

bare cognition that is unknown to all those that are not stripped of their *I*, and of all things" Only, Eckhart ever and again insists that in this concentration of mind we gather together our deepest, most genuine essence, inasmuch as we withdraw into it only upon the *basis* of our essence, upon our *soul basis*, which is precisely pure cognition, *i e*, cognition bound to no kind of mediating *organ* of cognition "Thus—(that is, just in this pure spirituality)—must thou tarry and abide in thy *essence*, in thy *basis*"

This concentration of the mind must reach such a degree as, with the Buddha, brings about the raising of the mind into the "*Realm of Nothing Whatsoever*" The powers of the mind must be so completely drawn inwards that the senses come to a complete standstill, and thereby become entirely unreceptive to impressions from without Nay, even every *remembrance* of the outside world, of one's own personality indeed, and therewith of one's own life, must be completely wiped out And not yet that! The organic life itself exactly as in the Buddha teaching from the Fourth Jhāna onwards, —must temporarily cease —'Then mayst thou all at once become unknowing of all things, yea, thou mayest fall into an ignorance of thine own life also! As also befell St Paul when he says 'Whether in the body or out of the body, I cannot tell God knoweth' Then had the mind so wholly withdrawn all its powers within itself that for him the body had disappeared Then, was neither the memory any longer active, nor the reason, nor the senses, nor yet those forces upon which it lies to guide and embellish the body, the fire of life and the heat of life were stayed,

whereby the body did not decline, though he neither ate nor drank for three days Thus then ought a man to withdraw from his senses, to turn his forces inwards and come inwards in a forgetting of all things and of himself" Then the mind stands quite alone by itself, then it is *absolutely* no longer aware of anything *imaged*, and thus can affirm *that nothing more for it is present*.—"And now the separateness borders so nigh upon the Naught, that between perfect Separateness and the Naught there is no distinction."—"Perfect Separateness seeks to be one only with itself. But to be this or to be that, this it does not seek For whosoever seeks that, seeks to be something; but Separateness seeks to be Naught." "If the mind is to have perfect readiness then must it rest *upon a pure Naught*: in this resides also the highest power there can be Take a likeness from life If I wish to write upon a white tablet, even though something ever so beautiful already stands written thereon, yet does it confuse me If I wish to write well, then must I wipe out what already stands thereon, and never does it serve so well thereto as when *nothing at all* stands written upon it Even so all that is called this or that, must be out of the heart As it verily is the case with the separated heart Hence, thus, is no this and that the *object* of the separated heart" 'The soul sinks into the pure Naught' Empty of all go-betweens and of all images" There shall one then win a free *penetrating vision* with indrawn senses," there may the miracle of the vision of *Essence* succeed[1]

[1] All religious geniuses seek to make their way out of the transient the non essential, which is the world, into the intransient, the essential, into which all things should return This essential the marvellous thing" the ordinary man pictures to himself as a personal God, the mystic as the Godhead, and the Brahmins as Brahman (neuter)

1 First of all it was *confirmed* for the seer that the *soul base*, thus our genuine essence actually is completely pure cognition and confirmed by this fact, that *everything* else is stripped off as well the entire external world with all its splitting up into some one and something, as one's own body with its sensitive and vegetative functions, so that in fact nothing more remains over but just the spirit that has become free the *undifferentiable cognition* alone, bare of all determination' And as for me no definite thing and no individual is any longer present so also am I for none any longer a soul Therewith it is said that she is so completely stripped of every kind of determination yea and of her own *I* also that she has nothing more of herself to be present as *anything whatsoever* for *any one whatsoever*, —words in which Eckhart again describes with all the—clearness one could desire *the realm of Nothing Whatsoever* In order to penetrate this quite clearly, let us look attentively at the following two parallel passages which in their similarity nay their sameness, together with the extreme rarity of the occurrence they describe excite our awe struck astonishment more especially when one remembers that one set of words was spoken in Germany thirteen hundred years after Christ and the other in Central India about five hundred years before Christ Let us read thoughtfully, word by word these significant documents for the fact that all real wisdom finally tends toward *one* centre Thus

The Buddha in perfect fashion calls it *Nibbana* since there a single concept any longer holds good —

'Those who see the essential (*sara*) in the non-essential (*asara*) and the non essential in the essential

They arrive never at the essential
But those who know the essential and the non-essential as what they are
They at the essential verily do arrive (Dhammapada 11 12)

Master Eckhart says of the soul that finds itself upon that high pinnacle "All is fallen away from it to which any one whatsoever could be anything whatsoever, or whereby it could be anything whatsoever to any one whatsoever" The Buddha says I am not anywhere whatsoever, with any one whatsoever, in anything whatsoever, neither does anything whatsoever belong to me anywhere whatsoever, with anything whatsoever such a thing there is not Thus ye monks is called the third stage to the realm of Nothing Whatsoever [1] In the face of such passages can there be the slightest doubt that the domain depicted by Master Eckhart is just that of Nothing Whatsoever?

2 But with this cognition Eckhart was not content In this fashion indeed his own *I* his genuine essence his own *soul base*, had so far unveiled itself to him that in no case had he anything to do with the *creature like* parts of him thus with his body and the five external senses and thereby with the phenomenal world made accessible to him through these But Eckhart wished to know more than merely about himself he wished to fathom the nature of the *entire* world This *underpinning* this *kernel* of the world this ultimate *essence*, which supports all upon which all rests for him as a believing Catholic was naturally *God* Essence in itself and God were therefore for him synonymous concepts For him again that stood sure *before* all individual experience *This his Church guaranteed to him* and guaranteed it all the more readily that this dictum about God as the primary principle of all is precisely what constitutes its foundation To shake in any way this foundation

[1] Majjhima Nikaya II 263

of his Church never entered his mind. For him it was something not to be touched ; All the more so that every thinking man, of himself simply, through mere reflection, is led to the thought—just as Eckhart the extremely inclined to metaphysics, quite naturally was led to it—that this world of appearances in which we find ourselves placed, cannot be the ultimate, but rather that something unconditioned must lie at the basis of the conditioned, something eternal at the base of the temporal[1] ; and that the Christian Church just means this unconditioned, this eternal, when it speaks of *God* For Eckhart, as for every master of "divine wisdom" it was merely a question of penetrating with his reason as deeply as possible into this God-concept as his Church had entrusted it to him. Only with reason in its genuine sense namely, through *reflexion*, and thereby, through *deduction* not through immediate envisagement, does this concept permit of crystallising out as the highest and ultimat abstraction that is won from the flood of appearances, an allow of being filled with content. "If any one imagine that he has known God, and pictures to himself anythin whatsoever under that name, he has known anything whatsoever, only, not God." "And so, man may not know a all what God is. Somewhat he well knows . what God i *not*. All this, then, the *reasoning* man strips off." "Th reason pulls off this wrapping from God, and takes simply God : when he is stripped of goodness, being, and all names." In *this* wise, thus, did Eckhart seek to settle with the God-concept handed on to him by his Church, and with the

[1] *Cf* Itivuttaka, 43 "There is, ye monks, a not born, not become, not made, not arisen *If there were not* this not born, not become, not made, not arisen, then also a way out of the born, become, made, arisen, were not discernible."

is "a light that out of God's nature streams directly into the soul." This 'divine light" must arise in a man in contradistinction to the "natural light" if he is to envisage truth. And it arises: the man thus becomes a participant in divine Grace if he shows himself worthy of it, i.e. if he makes himself fit for its appearing. It is perfectly clear without further words that for a nature like Eckhart's the opening up of such a prospect was bound to constitute *the most powerful imaginable spur to the experiencing of* this 'divine light.' Upon this precisely on this account was concentrated the whole of his *practical* religiosity. And he never rested until the great event was actually consummated—consummated in that most profound isolation in that desolated self estrangement' in that 'total stillness and void'• which we have just seen him praise as the Highest in which 'the man stands in a pure Naught' thus precisely in the *realm of Nothing Whatsoever* wherein man as nothing goes to nothing. Let us just try to picture to ourselves Eckhart in this state as vividly as *possible*.

All that was corporeal in him he had for the time being stripped off and therewith *also put a complete stop to* the activities of the senses and thereby also completely broken down the bridge that connects us with the world. Even every mere memory of this world and of its sense endowed body had disappeared from his mind and thus he had become *pure mind pure knowing* which stood over against a 'Naught' which yet was not *the* Naught, for the mind *experienced* this nothing with its profound silence' in its elevation above space and time where one escaped from

time," "stands wholly benumbed" *experienced* this 'bottomless abyss" wherein nothing any longer is present to which one might still cling, experienced this "unbeing being' wherein everything "*of the nature of an image*" was blotted out, and which "makes the soul flow out of itself with joy and rapture" Was not Eckhart obliged, thus living and moving and having his being in the midst of what for him was the divine, to see his warmest wish, his boldest strivings, fulfilled in coming into union with the Godhead? Was he not bound to believe that he, 'torn out of himself, looked upon the nameless essence?"

Can one even merely imagine that he in the least doubted that he had found the 'secret entry into the divine nature where all things come to naught," the secret access to God who "dwells in a stillness that is beyond all stillness?" And so, as a matter of fact, during his whole life, he never wearied of extolling this situation, this *realm of Nothing Whatsoever*, to which his iron energy in striving after concentration had raised him, as 'the true seeing into the mirror of God," as the 'seeing into the divine, miraculous mirror" There opens the pure and clear spring of the medicine of Grace which so enlightens the inward eye, that in rapturous beholding, it experiences the delight of the divine visitation But he not merely *saw*, Master Eckhart also *heard* 'the eternal voice," heard the Word' 'In the midst of the silence was the secret word spoken' "It opened and shone before me that it wished to reveal something to me, and *gave me to know* of God *For which cause* it is called a Word"

At other times, nay, by preference, Eckhart also calls

this immediate revelation of God *the birth of God* in the soul 'Where man fetches and brings hither God from outside, he has not the true" 'Born is God in the empty soul, inasmuch as he *reveals* himself to her in a new fashion that is void of all fashion, in an enlightenment that is no longer enlightenment, which is the divine light itself"

3 But even with this revelation of the *actuality* of God—anything further had not hitherto been revealed to him—Eckhart was not yet content As theologian and philosopher he knew that there can be only *one* God only *one* essence Theology taught him "God is an united one Thus is, as such, only through itself and not through another' God is present in all places, and in each one of them, complete But since now God is one and all things and all places are a single state of God Thus are all things full of God,—full of his divine essence without intermission" 'Here the holy teachers answer 'All things are God' For this lies in the dogma according to which they eternally have been *in God* and through this is it proven" As a philosopher however who works without the assistance of theological dogmas *merely* with the *abstracting reason*—'the more powerful and the subtler she is, in that same measure what she knows is *gathered together to a unity*, and becomes one with her —he knew What is the calling of Essence? Its calling is, not to be anything outspoken or a person but unchangeably to persist in its unity of essence One and the same is the natural essence of the person, and also the essence of all things It is Being in all Being, the light in all lighting the nature in all natures All this it is as the absolutely simple

Eckhart, for whom already as a reflecting theologian and philosopher, these theses also stood firmly established, naturally sought their confirmation in the "realm of Nothing Whatsoever,"—and also found that confirmation there For in this state of nothing whatsoever, all particularities, all persons, and all things have disappeared, yea, in it "disappears" for the soul even her "own nature" as soul, *inasmuch as she bears this "designation" only in so far as she gives life to the body, and is the form of the same* Rather does there remain nothing more over save the idea of an united, undifferentiated, thoroughly empty, shapeless and, indeed, un-spatial Being since space also is dismissed from the mind "Nothing more is left save a united 'is'" With this, however, Eckhart believed to have directly grasped the *All*-Highest, the Godhead, the Essence in itself, believed that he had directly envisaged this Godhead, this Essence In this "united *Is*" "she envisages the Absolute One" "This *Is* exists as the unity, which is Being itself,—her own, and that of all things" This *Is*, according to Eckhart, is also alluded to by Dionysius, so often quoted by him, when he says 'The United One is the life of all that has life, the being of all that has being, the reason of all that has reason, the nature of all that is natural, the light of all that has light, and yet is not light, not life, not nature! The primary thing, says Dionysius is above all names, it is withdrawn from love, and understanding, and conceiving It is higher than 'Being," higher than "Nature" It is neither light nor darkness! Truly, how strange to all it has founded is this foundation!'

But that this "*Is*" is a *rational* "*Is*," a rational Being,

Eckhart infers in *confirmation* of the teaching of his Church precisely from this, that it includes also the true being of the soul, inasmuch as upon these heights, the latter is no longer able to distinguish herself from it and the genuine essence of the soul, the *soul-basis*, Eckhart had found in pure knowledge, thus, in pure mentality. And precisely on this account, "whoever seeks to penetrate and establish the divine miracle, easily draws his knowledge—out of himself." "In the measure that man knows himself, even in that measure may he come to the knowledge of God." With this at the same time was demonstrated the eternal vocation of man. It consists precisely in this, that "one becomes to all things an alien, a waste," that "the outer as the inner capacities with all their activity," that "all this must be away," in short, that one must cast off one's *personality*, in which, however, Eckhart does not include knowing. "The peculiarity of the essence is that it is without personality." Precisely thereby one then has withdrawn oneself to one's genuine essence, the soul-basis, which is pure mind, pure knowing, and without anything further, flows into it, since now that which gives form and name, and also alone is subject to death, namely the personality, is cast off in the divine essence itself. "The soul, in the unity of the divine essence, has lost her name. Therefore is she no more called soul. Her name is: measureless essence."[1] Just "upon this, that I and God thus become one, rests the eternal blessedness," which, on its part again, "consists in pure knowing inweaving with itself." "Where God is blessed, in pure knowing

[1] With this may be compared the words of the Buddha "An Accomplished One freed from corporeality, is deep, immeasureable, unfathomable, as the great ocean" *Cf.* George Grimm, "The Doctrine of the Buddha," p 196

inweaving with itself, there also shall the noble soul draw and receive her blessedness, even in that wherein God is blessed "[1]

4 Thus flowing into the Godhead in accord with the modern spirit of the age to day is frequently apprehended as a doctrine of All One, as understood by Pantheism, on which account Eckhart also again begins to become modern, nay, our materialistic monists actually think that they may claim him as one of themselves But here we have before us the same incredible misunderstanding which would fain stamp the Buddha the representative of the highest transcendency of our essence, as a shallow modern naturalist, and therewith as a materialist Eckhart through and through was so much a believing Catholic theologian that nothing was further from his thoughts than to have the God concept become submerged in the concept of the world *i e* to let God be swallowed up in the eternal world process identifying him with this latter All to the contrary for Eckhart it was a question of making comprehensible the triune God as the concept embracing all truth more especially, all true being the world however as an outflow from this divine Being and union with this God because the actualisation of eternal bliss as the highest goal of man Eckhart thus, did not teach Pantheism did not teach that Pan the All, is God, but he taught Pan en theism that the All has its origin in God He did not teach Physio monism which regards nature as the One What he taught was a *Theomonism* which finds the One in God If once this is under

[1] *Cf* with this Nr 8 att tag Up 1 The Atman has as sole taste thinking founded only in the certitud of its own self *i e* a thinking that is limited to the cognition of the certitude of its own self

stood, then our modern "monists" also who, as genuine materialists, one and all are Physio monists, will, as quickly as possible, take their hands off him, as also another kind of modern materialists will soon be obliged to take their hands off the Buddha's doctrine These gentlemen had much better leave the titans of religion alone, and content themselves with their own "great ones" of whom they have legion

Eckhart teaches Pan en theism He teaches it thus "In the Godhead distinction is to be made betwixt the *essence* and its *realisation* Essence, in the sphere of the divine, means the Godhead in the narrower sense, and that is the first that we lay hold of in it" It is "in itself changeless unity and breathless stillness" "It abides" as a united 'unbeing Being" "above all knowing" "and yet manifest to itself" Along with this however, it is *at the same time* "a living spring of all individualisation," and in so far becomes '*God*" "God and Godhead are distinguished as doing and no doing'[1]

The Godhead becomes a living spring of individualisation "As itself a simple thing, it also holds things enclosed within itself in simple form" since in itself there absolutely cannot be anything that is *outside the Godhead just* because this is absolute Being Not that we would have been manifestly in God as we now are we were eternally in him as the art in the master' Yet the essence as such does not give birth to things nor yet does it set them For the Godhead does nothing it has nothing to do Within it there

[1] None the less Eckhart uses the word God also not seldom in the sense of "Godhead

is nothing to do, and never has it looked about it for work to do." "God, as He is *in Himself*, has essence, and the essence dwells in inaccessible stillness; therefore is it immovable: it converses not, it loves not, it begets not *And yet it moves the movable.*" This, however, takes place in the form of a "welling forth." There stream forth "the eternal life-forms" out of the essence which to this extent—thus, so far as it proceeds to become the generative principle—represents the "outward-pressing, divine Nature," this "generativeness" being a "subsidiary and dependent property" of the "divine essence." Those "eternal life-forms" or "the archetypes of things" are thus "the organised expression of the divine essence" itself, "but in the eternal going forth in which they are emanated, yet without being a self, they are there, as in God, themselves God."

This "eternal going forth," to the Godhead itself—since "it is from the very foundation, reason"—presents itself in this divine reason "as conceptually another" "The eternal going forth is a self-revealing of God in pure knowing, wherein that which is knowing is that which is known" In so far as the essence *proceeds* to become "the eternal, primal source of things," and it thus "inwardly comprehends itself," "its own nature becomes the object of its understanding," "it observes itself," *i e*, "the becoming self-conscious" enters "as a further determination,"—in so far has it developed itself onward to "*God the Father*" Is it asked Which of these determinations becomes the person of the Father? Our answer runs The *essence* in the Godhead Only, now no longer in its former indeterminateness, but in the deter-

mination of engendering This determination projects the *Father* as divine person" 'The Father, mode and essence constitute only one single individual"—*God the Son*, however, is that which is conceived in mind by God the Father "In every rational conceiving, so teach the Masters, there is included a perceptible Word Since now God, inwardly conceives himself, thus does his own nature become the object of his understanding the Father observes himself in this sense, as concerns his essence, the Son remains in the Father, and at the same time comes before him as a person, according as this process—(the self comprehending)—is divided into two determinations In such wise is 'the Son' born and proceeds forth out of the paternal heart *the Word* is uttered" As the comprehended, this Son is just *the totality* of the outward streaming life forms, as the "organised expression of the divine essence" Thereby this Son is at the same time *the formative principle* which determines the several life forms as such it is that which effects the organisation as such 'The Son is in the Father, *the shaper* of all things" "In the birth of the Son all creatures have gone forth and have received life and being, as life, thus do all things shape themselves in the Son" 'If thus" this 'shaper of things had not from all eternity dwelled in the Father the Father would not have been able to create any thing' 'This is the eternal stream of which never a drop has fallen into a creative reason—this the going forth 'of the Son' from the Father'—The third person in the Trinity, however, the Holy Ghost is the product of the Father and the Son 'The Father and the Son put together the Holy Ghost' Inasmuch as the Father loving pours himself into the

Son, here, as it were, the love breaks and pours itself, now as the Son, again into the Father"

Therewith we get this result "The eternal primordial source of things is 'the Father,' the prototype of things in him is 'the Son,' and his love towards this prototype is 'the Holy Ghost'" "Up, noble soul! Exalt thee to a divine miracle! Ah, to this noble company the three persons, united into an absolutely single being!"

This is "*the kingdom of God*," "he himself in his complete actuality," *at the same time* as essence in his changeless, breathless stillness, and *at the same time* in his "actualisation," as "divine activity" in the three Persons Both, inactive essence in its breathless stillness, and divine activity in the three persons, for eternities have been united, included, in God "Essence cannot exist without the Persons, and the Persons not without the divine nature" 'Without intermission has the Father given birth to the Son, gives birth to Him, and will give birth to Him" 'The Father, in *eternal* giving birth, is the primal origin of the Son Father and Son together, in eternal pouring forth, cause the upspringing of the Holy Ghost"

This is the kingdom of God *for itself*, and *independent* of the created world "Here alone, in such essential unity, since he exists above all existence, is God *in himself* a kingdom

To this kingdom of God "above all existence," stands opposed the *created world* Truly the essences of all creatures abide in the second Person of the Godhead, the Son, "the image of the Father," and *to this extent* the Trinity is already the world But yet this is only what we call the world *in*

itself "The Trinity is at the same time the world, because all creatures are *pre typified* therein" In this world in itself, just on this account there is as yet no multiplicity 'In God the prototypes of all things are equal And yet are they the prototypes of unequal things The highest angel, the soul the flies have all their equal prototypes in God" This world in itself as the mere 'organised expression of the divine essence' is as eternal as this essence itself "In the *eternal* streaming out wherein the Son is born, the prototypes of things are also streamed out Thus is this eternal outwelling a primal source of things in respect of their *eternity*" In contradistinction to this, the world spread out in space in names and forms thus the world *of appearance, is created* by the Trinity *in time out of* nothing "All things that are there, are not through themselves, but have sprung up in *eternity* out of a primal source which there wells up out of itself, and *in time are created out of nothing* through the Holy Trinity" 'In time are they created out of nothing, and by that are they *creatures* But in the eternal going forth wherein they have flowed out, yet without being a self, they are there as of God, themselves God" "Give heed to this distinction between the going forth in eternity and that in time! In this wise have we also gone forth in time out of the overpoweringness of His Love"

We also have gone forth in an *eternal* and in a *temporal* birth in the former case, in our *prototype* which is suspended in the second Person of the Godhead, and in the latter case, as the *made creature*, endowed with that "which has name, which itself is created out of nothing" "All that is created,

is a Naught" To be sure, in a wider sense, our prototype also is itself a creature like thing, namely, in so far as it also is based upon the "divine activity," in contradistinction to the genuine, divine *essence* in its breathless stillness, and its unreality ineffectuality

Because the soul has merely welled forth out of God, therefore is it also not *identical* with the Godhead 'If it—(the soul)—also sinks and sinks in the unity of the divine *essence*, yet can it never win to the bottom thereof"

Accordingly, the path of the soul's salvation is as follows —

(*a*) First of all, the soul must "step out of" its "nature as a creature," *i e*, it must pass over *into the realm of Nothing Whatsoever* In this condition it has stripped off all that is material in Eckhart's understanding of the word, she has become *pure* mind, *pure* knowing She is then "no longer in a condition to know herself as a creature and a natural thing" And because she no longer knows anything of all this, therefore in this condition she naturally also knows no more of a creator, and therewith also nothing more of *God*, by which Eckhart understands just the Godhead as a creative potency God no longer is for the mind' The soul is also set upon no longer having any God" And this is the greatest honour which the soul can do to God that she leaves him to himself and stands emptied of Him' In fact she is filled by nothing by absolutely nothing further what ever save by this one thought There is nothing any longer present for me' Be it well noted, also of her own *body* and its *powers* she knows nothing more There has taken place "a dis becoming' of all What," 'whereby I do not wish to say that this form of existence of the soul comes to

nothing such as she was before she was created This coming to nothing holds good only of having and holding All here fails the soul, God and the creature it must all be lost The soul's existence must be upon a *free nothing*" She has "gone over," "so that she now stands only in her pure indeterminateness," and "*knows singly and solely herself*—as God"

This knowledge, however, more in detail is as follows —

Since the soul in the condition of nothing whatsoever knows itself in "her pure indeterminateness," naturally with the limitation that she is mind, she cognises herself in this her pure formless mentality as standing outside the law of arising and passing away, which holds good, of course, only of the material part of her that now is stripped away she is "rapt into eternity" This, however, is just that which for eternities has been suspended as *prototype* of the soul in the second divine Person And precisely the consciousness of this flames up in her she comprehends herself as *prototype*, and therewith at the same time comprehends the second Person of the Godhead, the "Son" "in which are suspended the prototypes of all creatures," there "shines upon her the uncreated prototype,—(here simply the "Son,") —in which also she finds herself as an uncreated"

In this retreat upon the eternal prototype at the cost of giving up all "that has name," is also "entreated" the death· "this is that dying wherewith the soul dies into God" Such a man is "a deified man" 'So much as to the first going out, wherein the soul has to go out from her nature as a creature"

(*b*) "Then she has to go out from the nature which is

hers in the eternal prototype" inasmuch as she "breaks through" to the "Father" That, however, takes place thus The mind does not abide by the prototypes as of like nature with God Rather does it become forthwith conscious that these prototypes at bottom are nothing else but the divine *essence* itself, in so far as this has passed over to the point of becoming the eternal primal source of things In this determination, however the divine essence is called *God the Father* And so, then, the mind—precisely in its own prototype—forthwith recognises this Father as not only *like*, but as constituting with it, *one* essence "And so to the mind, its eternal archetype also comes to nothing" "The soul through this, its archetype, breaks through into the essence, in so far as it *presents* itself in the *Father*" This is the second death and the second going forth, whereby the soul goes forth out of the nature it has in the eternal archetype

(*c*) "The third nature out of which it has to go is the generative power of the divine nature which as creative, is presented in the *Father*" , that is to say, the soul has also to surmount the determination, "*God the Father*" That also is not difficult for her For already "the prototype of the soul—beyond the Father—beholds without limitation the divinity residing within her, as she is free and empty of all activity, and thus gives at the same time an indication whither the soul shall again be conducted by her dying"

On this account "the soul's abiding is not even with the idea "God the Father," just because this idea also does not yet contain the divine unity in its highest form" And so, "when the soul becomes aware that *every* determination

makes the eternal archetype into something different, and loosed, from the unity," then "she dies her highest death," she "swings herself" "with the Father right over into the unity of the divine essence where God comprehends himself as something absolutely simple." "In this unity the Father has never been conscious of a Son nor the Son of a Father, for there, there is neither Father nor Son nor Holy Ghost." "In this *experience* is" "the mind" "one essence, one substance, with the Godhead, and is at the same time its own and all creatures' blessedness." "This mind is dead and buried in the Godhead; and the Godhead lives for none other save for itself. Ay, noble soul, put to the proof this splendour! Verily, so long as thou dost not drown thyself in this bottomless ocean of the Godhead, thou canst not come to know it, this *divine* death."

II

This, in its fundamental outlines, is Eckhart's system, almost exclusively set forth in his own words, since only so does the reader acquire the certainty that he really has Master Eckhart before him, and not the mere fantasies of a reporter about him. One would think that it only needs the reading of this exposition to understand without further words that even in this greatest of all western "mystics," there can, in *truth*, be no talk of mysticism in the modern sense of the words, the less so that at bottom he only depicts *the Realm of Nothing Whatsoever* of the Buddha's teaching, and upon this basis proceeds to speculations concerning the basis of the world, the Godhead; and all the less so, that this Realm of Nothing Whatsoever, has nothing

at all to do with mysticism [1] It is true that Master Eckhart himself speaks the language of mysticism But this, for by far the larger part, is the language of the *theologian* Eckhart, who, as we have already sufficiently well seen, is absolutely inseparable from the *seer* Eckhart It is, for by far the larger part, the language of the Christian Catholic theology, in which Eckhart too was so deeply submerged that he could not but speak the language of this theology . as a faithful Catholic, Eckhart wanted to behold God When he thought he had found him, with logical consistency he also spoke the language in which a man in Catholic Orders speaks of union with God To the extent, however, that it is not the specific language of Catholic theology, to this extent Eckhart, in his manner of expression himself, coincides with the non-Christian mystics, more especially with the Brahmin mystics, in this, namely, in the doctrine of the All One, even if they are mere *illusions*, arising from a false *reflexion* upon "the Beheld," that is, the *immediately* known, to which Eckhart, like those other mystics, has fallen a prey This judgment may be established at more length, as follows —

We have already learnt to recognise as the specific mark of all mysticism, a mode of cognition, in its whole manner completely different from normal cognition an inner *light* which at a given point of time begins to shine forth, in contradistinction to the entirely inadequate light of nature *wherein every day cognition runs its course, and*, as a consequence thereof the impossibility of clothing what thus is cognised in clear concepts and words

[1] *Cf* The Essay L the Doctrine of the Buddha Science ? in the Maha Bodhi Journal Vol XXXIV

1 As regards the first point, the utterances of Eckhart himself, already cited up to this point, have fairly well yielded this result, that he too owed the totality of all his knowledge only to the mental force present in us *all*, nay, that in principle is shared, in like manner, by all living beings in general, save that, according to him, as also according to the Buddha, this mind, by strenuous labour, must be freed from all obstructing barriers "Direct thy mind at all times towards a wholesome contemplation" "Yea, verily, *the mind becomes free* in its isolation, compels God to itself And were it in a condition to stand there unshapen and void of any alien addition, it would rend God's very own nature to itself" "Hail, of a truth to the noble mind that is come up into the rich, the *bare* knowing!" According to Eckhart, however, the mind has 'become free" and "void of any alien addition," then only when it "clings no longer to all that has name, nor this to it," when it 'is above time and space," that is when it has wholly cut itself loose from that cognising activity that is directed *outwards* and comes about through the assistance of the five external senses which transmit mere "images," so that it resembles an uninscribed tablet, or the eye, which, only because it is itself colourless, is able to perceive colour 'If the eye is to perceive colour, then must it be stripped of all colour' Such a *purified* mind is in the proper condition to behold God Nay, this God *must* then offer Himself to it, He "*must* in actuality come forth and pour Himself into thee, even as when the air is clear and pure the sun must pour himself forth and cannot in any wise withhold himself therefrom Of course! For such a mind, which

has also left behind the idea of space—and it has left it behind because it is "above time and space,"—then truly stands "*in a pure Naught*," sees itself confronted with that "complete stillness and void," in which absolutely nothing more offers itself to it, more especially has its own body also disappeared from consciousness "Then had the mind so withdrawn all its forces within itself, that to it the *body* had disappeared" Such a mind stands face to face with that "abyss," which conceals within itself the "freedom from all movement," "still stillness," "secret stillness of unity," "pure stillness," "immovable stillness," "still eternity," in which nothing more remains save a united "Is," the "unbeing being," in short, *the Primordial Being* and therewith, "*the Godhead*"

Thus there is in fact a perception beyond the five external senses, or, as Eckhart says, "independent of the soul-*forces*," under which term he understands precisely the *external* senses, since according to him, pure—contemplating and reflecting—thinking is not at all a sense, but acts *immediately* in *the essence* of the *soul*, without organs Thus there is in fact "a contemplation" free from "all images and forms," there is, in fact, an *intellectual* perception But this too belongs, despite Eckhart, to *normal* perception, inasmuch as it is nothing more than the normal domain of the *purified*, that is, the concentrated, thinking sense "And whoso, brother, has loosed himself from the five (external) senses, what can such an one cognise with the purified thought cognition ?"—"Whoso, brother, has loosed himself from the five senses, he can with the purified thought-cognition, in the idea of boundless space, cognise the Realm of Boundless

Space, in the idea of the boundlessness of consciousness, cognise the Realm of Boundless Consciousness, *in the idea*, "*There now is nothing whatsoever, cognise the Realm of Nothing Whatsoever.*" (Majjhima Nikāya, Discourse, 43). And so thus the Buddha has also completely cleared up for us this concept of *intellectual perception* which our philosophers and psychologists, great and small, commonly do not know what to make of. This intellectual, entirely normal perception—normal, because constituting the perfectly natural domain of the purified organ of thought—has for its object "the sphere of the formless (*arūpa dhātu*)" that is, the just mentioned three realms, of which the two latter exactly represent what Eckhart always has in his eye.

2. On the heights of the Realm of Nothing Whatsoever, the cognising subject first of all cognises all that is formed and manifold, more especially his own body, as *not* belonging to him (*anattā*), since it has deliberately thrown off all that. On the other hand, it still cognises itself as *pure mind*. "This mentality, this cognition, *that* belongs to me, *that* am I, *that* is my self," thus it still speaks here. Therewith this mentality itself melts away again into "pure indeterminateness," inasmuch as the determining, the individualising, factor resides precisely in the corporeal organism, which, however, is now discarded. That this formless mentality also might be *inessential* to the cognising subject, that it also might be a mere "addition," and hence, that it also, exactly like the body together with the phenomenal world conditioned by its five sense-organs, might be stripped off,—such an idea does *not* arise. In this unshapen mentality the knowing subject sees itself confronted with a "bottomless

abyss" which opens up before it where formerly the phenomenal world had place, and which represents a "nameless Naught" which yet is not *the* Naught, an un-become Being, which latter, just on this account, is *the* Being These two—pure mentality and this abyss—are the two elements of pure intellectual perception upon the heights of the realm of Nothing Whatsoever Naturally in this perception also *the reason* must take a part, of which holds good the dictum "The reason, the more powerful and the more subtle it is, in that measure what it cognises, is gathered together into unity, and *becomes one with it*" Nay, this reason, here where it is directed inward, becomes all the more active "The subtler and more mental it is, all the more, and all the more powerfully, does it work inwardly" With this "*creative* reason" the cognising subject cognises that itself cannot be different from the *Primordial Being* as this has revealed itself in the bottomless abyss, because there is indeed only one Primordial Being And so then, the cog nising subject, together with its mentality, flows into this bottomless abyss, thus flooding it, "the nameless Naught," with the splendour of its own indeterminate mentality It only "beholds" still the absolute One" "with the glance of unity," beholds it as *one* pure *mentality* When it cognises with Indian coloured reason, it beholds *the Brahman*, and when it cognises with Christian-coloured reason, it beholds *God* as Godhead,—*concepts under which is conceived* precisely the highest, the ultimate, the Primordial Being, yet not *absolutely*, not undetermined, but still affected with the determination of *mentality*, of cognition, thus, as *rational* Being "Because to the Brahman appertains cognition,

as light to the sun, as a natural property, therefore does it need no organs for the same," teach the Brahmins "God is reason, forasmuch as He alone lives to his own cognition," says Master Eckhart Into this rational Primordial Being, into this Brahman, into this *God*, the cognising subject melts, the mind melts, *I* melt "Who knows such, he is without desire, free from desire, of stilled desire, himself his desire For *Brahman is he, and into Brahman does he dissolve*," exults the Brahmin, while Master Eckhart exclaims "Sink thou from all that in any wise is *thou*! Flow wholly into *His* essence's rest! What only is for itself, there *He*, here *thou*, now closes together into one *we*, where thou, now *He*, cognisest Him with eternal sense a nameless Naught, an un-become 'Am'"

But despite the majestic peace of the "Tat tvam asi" which speaks out of the Upanisads, despite the overflowing rapture on account of the "overmastering super miracle" of the "pure uniformity of essence which is the essence of all essences," which ever and again overpowers Master Eckhart, none the less, in the light of the Buddha's doctrine this rational Primordial Being, this Brahman, this Godhead, and along with it, also the union with this Brahman, with this Godhead, in short, also the *unio mystica*, proves itself to be *a pure illusion*

As we already sufficiently well know[1] our *true* essence, and therewith also the realm of essences the Nirvāna sphere, the Primordial Being is absolutely free from *all* determinations, and thus, also free from the determination of

[1] *Cf* The Doctrine of the Buddha the religion of Reason by George Grimm published by the Offizin W Drugulin Leipzig

mentality, or of cognition, or of rationality This mentality also, is only an *inessential* determination of us, is only linked up with us by way of conditioning "In manifold wise, brother Sāti, was the conditioned nature of cognition made known by the Sublime One Without sufficient ground arises no cognition Upon whatsoever ground, ye monks, cognition arises, precisely through that, and only through that, does it come about Through the eye and forms arises cognition, comes about precisely eye cognition, through the ear and sounds arises cognition, comes about precisely ear cognition Through thinking and ideas, arises cognition, comes about precisely thought-cognition "[1] That is to say: Cognition is a product of the six-fold activity of the senses, and *therewith presupposes sense-organs, and therewith a* corporeal organism, even if this ultimately evaporates at the higher stages of existence, especially at the stage of Nothing Whatsoever, into a thinking organ consisting of mere radiant matter "A corporeal organism is the cause that the group of cognition can appear "[2] 'His *cognition* which one might have in view when speaking of Him, is done away, is annulled from the very foundation, and a Perfect One is raised above all comprehensibility by means of the form of apprehending that we call *cognition* He is (absolutely) undefinable, indeterminable, unfathomable, like the great ocean" it is accordingly also said of a deceased Holy One The Buddha very well knew why he thus specially emphasised also this freedom of a completely Delivered One from cognition in every form For he knew very well the standpoint of the Upanisads, and in it also the standpoint

[1] Majjhima Nikaya, 38th Discourse [2] Ibid

of Master Eckhart and of all "mystics" in general, as is shown by his succeeding utterance which is quite specially directed against this last and most subtle aberration of the human mind "It is a question of a case where a Samana or a Brāhmana may simply rely upon logic and pondering In such an one, then, it may well be that upon the ground of logic and pondering, the thought may arise to which he lends these words 'What is called eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, that is the transient, the impermanent, non eternal self, subject to change But what is called mind, thinking, cognition, that is the intransient, the permanent, eternal self, not subject to change'' [1]

Had not Eckhart let himself be led astray through the circumstance that upon the heights reached by him, he found himself pure mind, and for the rest, betrayed by the teaching of his Church into drawing the overhasty *conclusion*, that he now *essentially* was pure mind, and so, in his reflexion outrunning his perception, which latter merely indicated to him the fact that in any case also at this stage, he was still subject to cognition, but not that one could not also strip off this property of cognition,—if Eckhart had not done this, then he certainly also would not have endowed the Primordial Being itself with the predicate of pure mentality, but, along with the Buddha, would have cognised himself, and with himself, also this Primordial Being, as *absolutely* void of determinations, and therewith, as *wholly and entirely* unknowable With this, however there then would have been no more room whatever for attributing to the "non-being" Primordial Being even the mere predicate *of unity*,

[1] Digha Nikāya I 2 13

since this concept also, like every concept in general, is abstracted from experience, thus, may be applied only for so long, and in so far, as stood in question any element whatever of perception, were it no more than *intellectual* perception, and were this element no more than pure mentality Then, in truth, that "pure indeterminateness" would be left of which Eckhart speaks, although with him this concept does not possess unconditioned validity, since with him this "pure indeterminateness" is only just one *of the mind* With this, however, he no longer could have come at the idea of a flowing into the divine *unity*, or *of a union* with it, thus, of the *unio mystica*, just because here there no longer is a something into which one could flow, nay, *because here, there is not even any longer room for the* concepts of flowing, of union, themselves, since these concepts also are drawn from the realm of the *cognisable*, and therefore possess validity only for this realm And so it turns out that the *unio mystica* is in fact a mere illusion, having its rise in the delusion that the genuine essence of man and the world consists in pure mentality Had Eckhart known that the predicate of mentality also does not apply to our essence, he would have been obliged to look round for some other expression than this *unio mystica*" whereby to indicate our return to the primal state In such a search, if in this manner he came to clearness about it that this our primal state, and with it, *the Primordial Essence* is *absolutely* indeterminate, *and therefore also that absolutely no positive* concept applies to it, he then unquestionably with the Buddha would have hit upon the idea of making clear this primal condition *and the return to it by an allusion to fire*,

which *in going out* is not annihilated but merely returns to its absolutely incognisable primal state, as, for the rest, the Upanisads already have recognised "Just as fire, *void of fuel*, comes to rest *in its place*,"—"Brahman by his nature is . comparable to fire *after it has devoured the fuel*"[1] Eckhart, too, would then no longer have spoken of a "*unio mystica*"—no one will speak of the extinction of a fire as a *unio mystica*, because there is absolutely *nothing* present for cognition *with which* such a union could take place—but with the Buddha he would simply have said The Holy One does as does the "home going" fire, he *goes out*, goes out into the state (*āyatanam*) "of the departed Awakened Ones, of those removed from the phenomenal world (papañca)" This is as sure as that Eckhart, with the Buddha and, for the rest, also with the Masters of the Upanisads—and precisely herein is revealed the full depth of his insight—penetrated this going out of the fire, not, as our more than shallow, namely, superficial, naturalistic thinkers understand it, as annihilation, but just as the going home into its primal state in the realm of essences —' There where is the earthly fire in its true nature, there it burns and hurts not The heat that streams forth from the fire, it alone burns here below Yet, where the heat is still enclosed in the nature of the fire, there it does not burn and is harmless And yet there also, where it is still enclosed in the fire, it stands as far removed from the true nature of fire, as heaven from earth"

Thus, then the *unio mystica* is a product of over-hasty "logical deduction and pondering" based upon imperfect

[1] Çvetâçvatara Up , 6 19 Maitrayana Up 6 34 Nrsimha uttara tâpanîya Up , 2

perception. And because it is this and because the contemplator himself is also very well aware of all this, more especially, of the defective perception even if only obscurely, *therefore* then he must naturally also speak an obscure language, must just speak a *mystical* speech The contemplator feels very well that "here one mounts to a higher form of knowing" "Even if it is called an unknowing, a non-cognising, yet has it more within itself than all knowing and cognising outside it" Yea, already he distinctly hears "the eternal voice" calling "Could I but grasp it I should know all truth." But on the other hand, all still remains in a *half-light, since one does not get over* "*a half-knowing*, half-unknowing." "It opened out and shone before me that it would fain reveal somewhat to me, and gave me to know of God—(of the Nirvāna-sphere)—, for which cause it is called a Word. But it was hidden from me *what* it was Therefore is it said In a whisper, a stillness, it came, in order to reveal itself." "She (the soul) well feels *that* it is, but knows not *how* and *what* it is" "It appeared, and yet was concealed" "I well feel *that* it is something, but *what* it is, *this I cannot grasp*" 'But what is that, this darkness? How is it called? What is its name? One can only call it a *possibility* and *susceptibility*, which yet is not lacking of actuality, which has for content only, 'that thou becomest perfect'" 'Then she (the soul) tasted where yet was nothing over all that may be perceived hovers one and the same dark unity" "*What there she hears is without sound, for it is an inward perception, and* takes place in an original feeling" "This seeing is an undetermined dark being aware in the Naught" "In the

grey of the night vision he cometh and whispereth men in the ear And the whispering goeth upon the flowing into unity, where the known and knower are one" Do these words mean that the contemplator has indeed clearly known something, and only fails to find words in which to impart it? Or do they not rather obviously attest *that the cognition itself is a defective one*? And because, thus, Eckhart, instead of wrestling his way through to the all penetration, and there with, the radiant clarity, of a Buddha, remains held in a mere 'feeling," in a mere "undetermined, dark being aware," in a mere "whispering," just in a mere "half knowing, half-unknowing," therefore also is the total picture of his seeing not free from false appearance and error, that is, it is not free from the appearance of *mentality*, in which, with him, the Primordial Essence, like a far, primeval range of mountains, seems still enfolded in the light of the setting sun And it is not free from the error of *unity* there, there is as little unity as there is difference[1] And so then, also the incomparable enthusiasm of Eckhart over the streaming in "into all the eternity of the Godhead, where, in the eternal stream, God flows into God," is truly a powerful symphony about the realm of essences, the Nirvāna sphere—*para mattha-sāro Nibbānam*—but even still, only a symphony that for a great part is a *fantasy* But still more powerful than this powerful symphony is the unconditioned *silence* of the Buddha about the Nibbāna sphere, for it is itself—*silence*[2]

[1] *The Doctrine of the Buddha* Note on p 519

[2] For the rest Eckhart did not arrive at his world picture solely of himself but is based upon Dionysius Areopagitica whom he also frequently quotes and through him, upon the great neo-Platonist Plotinus

3 If up to this point we have seen Master Eckhart stand upon the heights of the Upanisads as an equal with their ancient Masters, now when we have to consider the influence which his Christian Catholic faith had upon him, we must take a considerable step downward As we already know, for Eckhart the axioms of Catholic dogma stood still more firmly established than his own direct cognitions Precisely on this account, for him it stood firmly established, without anything further, that in the highest good which he had found, he also had come into contact with the Christian God This Christian God, however, imparts himself—when he does impart himself—only *out of Grace* on his part And just on this account, Eckhart was obliged to find a place in his system, also for this concept of Grace And that was quite easy As we have already learnt, Grace is "a light which streams out of God's nature directly into the soul ' It is thus synonymous with the "divine light" of which Eckhart so frequently speaks, as of a ' far higher light ' in contra distinction to the "natural light" of the every day reason, which is exclusively directed outward This, however, means The cognition of an object always depends upon the object to be cognised *showing* itself to us thus, to this extent in a decisive manner, depends upon the object itself If now this object is a rational being which by its own resolve enters into the domain of our cognition then one speaks of its *Grace* Now according to Eckhart the divine light itself advances to meet the mind in the "void Naught " with which, as sole object, the mind sees itself confronted upon the heights of the Realm of Nothing Whatsoever Thus, precisely in this light is the grace of the Godhead manifest

Because the object of cognition upon the heights of the Realm of Nothing Whatsoever is the divine light itself, precisely on this account *must* this light show itself, and in it, the Godhead itself, if only one has brought the mind into the condition which raises it into the Realm of Nothing Whatsoever, as we have likewise already seen "If man makes himself completely idle, then God himself *must* carry through the work, *must* himself be the foreman, and *reveal himself*!" Does it not leap into sight that what lies at the foundation of these utterances is simply hypostasis, that is, simply the deification of *the object* of cognition upon the heights of the Nothing Whatsoever?

4 Grace and divine light are Christian concepts, but still, not exclusively Christian They are also to be found outside Christendom In particular, the lower science of Vedānta recognises the conception of Grace Quite specifically Christian, however, is the concept of *the Trinity*, of the Three in one Thereby this concept is at the same time entirely transcendent, lies beyond all possible experience, since it supports itself *exclusively* upon alleged divine revelation Precisely on this account where he comes to an understanding with it—and this, of course, he must do very often and very thoroughly, since the Trinity constitutes the pivot of Catholic dogma—Eckhart is a *pure theologian* He constructs "a One Being in essence, with a trinity of persons," and 'the further, divine self completion,' although the Godhead there "dwells above all essence," thus, beyond all possible experience, exclusively on the ground of certain passages in the Bible, with an assurance such as only can be lent by the unshakeable faith of a good Catholic in the

"divine word" itself contained in the Bible Of course Eckhart, in this construction, the results of which have been summarised in the first part of this essay, has been very considerably influenced—as, moreover, is quite comprehensible in itself—by the, outcome of his own inner life, that is, by the world-picture which he shaped for himself on the basis of his own immediate experience during his sojourn in the Realm of Nothing Whatsoever. And so then there results a motley mixture of deepest ideas and cognitions; and of fantastic transcendental speculations, full of obscurities, of inward contradictions and inadequacies.

And because Eckhart did not remain a pure theologian, towards the close of his life he also came into conflict with his Church, and only through his death escaped the prosecution that would have followed *In Master Eckhart, the seer had simply spoiled the theologian* He undertook to place theology upon a higher, and thereby upon a more solid, basis than the normal sense-world can furnish it ,by placing it upon the basis of the Realm of Nothing Whatsoever, in which the eternal, and thereby the genuine, divine stood out in its *peaceful* blessedness much, much more unveiled than in the world of sensuous pleasure Precisely on this account, however, Eckhart, for the normal theological brain, which is entirely swallowed up in the sense-world, had become naturally incomprehensible. and thereby, suspect, nay, a heretic For the Catholic Church Master Eckhart was, and is, *too great*!

In Master Eckhart, however the theologian has also spoiled the seer The whole of Christian theology, especially the whole doctrine of the Trinity in itself has nothing in the

least to do with the Realm of Nothing Whatsoever, also nothing to do with the classification of the world, further constructed through *reflexion*, in interpretation of this realm. Above all it has nothing to do with the classification of the human soul into the "law of life of divinity," as can clearly be perceived in the Veda which, from the heights of the Realm of Nothing Whatsoever, has passed *immediately* to the construction of its one, undifferentiated Brahman, thus, *without* the intermediate link of the three divine persons. Hence before Eckhart, in his *reflexion*, pressed forward to the unity of the Brahman, or, as he calls it, of the Godhead wherein the whole world lies enclosed, yet without its being swallowed up in the world,[1] it was urgently necessary for him first to settle in his mind with these three persons of the Trinity, also with the archetype of his soul which had to furnish the connecting bridge with the second person of the Godhead, and thereby, with this Godhead itself. One can hardly refrain from a touch of humour when one follows up the downright childishly naïve manner in which he discharges this task He simply *dismisses* from his mind, one after the other, the idea "archetype." then, with it, the idea, "God the Son," and lastly, also the idea, "God the Father," by "swinging himself out over' with this God the Father, into the unity of the divine essence. exactly as the disciple of the Buddha "dismisses the idea 'village,' the idea 'earth,' the idea 'boundless sphere of space,' " and so on, in order finally to press on to the concentration of the mind without perception of an object.[2] This thus means

[1] Thus Pan-en theism, not Pantheism, the Upanisads also teach, of course "Only one fourth of Brahm is incarnated in the world; three fourths remain free from it, as blessed Brahm "

[2] *Cf* Majjhima Nikāya, 121st Discourse

that Eckhart simply dismisses again, one after another, out of his mind, the images of fantasy which the Catholic theology had implanted in this mind, and then is highly rejoiced, nay, overflows with rapture, at the miracle that the archetype and the divine persons are completely swallowed up in the unity of the divine essence! In a word, Eckhart's path of salvation for the greater part is the path of salvation *of the Catholic theologian*. It is the path on which a believing Catholic, in pressing on to the truth, can keep on good terms with the dogmas of his Church without coming into conflict with his conscience! Hence then one can eliminate this entire theological part from Eckhart's doctrinal structure—and it is a *very* large part, well the larger part of it—one can also, in the foregoing, strike out the exposition of this doctrinal structure given under the number 14, without in any way exposing the building itself to danger of falling. The whole of this theological section represents nothing more than the scrolls which, in the eyes of a good Catholic, the structure must bear if it is to be beautiful, nay, if it is only to be at all solid. The *fundamental experience* of Eckhart is nothing more than the Realm of Nothing Whatsoever, and the doctrinal structure erected upon this experience by means *of reflexion*, is nothing more *in itself* than the ancient Indian Upanisads' doctrine of the unity of Brahman as the Primordial Being, with the Ātman, our deepest essence, in which Upanisad doctrine Içvara, the personal God likewise is swallowed up by the Turīya, the abyss of one's own *I* (*atman*). Nay, this harmony of Eckhart's system with this Upanisad doctrine is so great that a Buddhist who is really in earnest about the Doctrine of the Buddha

in looking upon the entire traffic of the world, also *practically*, in its light, and in face of the further consideration of how tremendously difficult it must be for a mind teeming with Christian ideas to raise itself to the Realm of Nothing Whatsoever,—such a Buddhist cannot help having the idea that in Master Eckhart was re born an "ancient master of the Three Vedas" who found his way right through all the mazes of Christian Catholic dogma, back again into his "*Tat tvam asi*, That thou art" which of old made him so happy

And certainly it brings happiness, *this* doctrine of identity It includes in itself all the happiness, all the 'blessed rest" which elevation into the sphere of Nothing Whatsoever brings with it 'What there is of enjoyment of the senses of this world, what there is of enjoyment of the senses of the world beyond, what there is of sense perception in this world, and what there is of sense perception in the world beyond, what there is of forms of this world, and what there is of forms of the world beyond what there is of perception of forms of this world and what there is of perception of forms of the world beyond it is all perception Where this wholly and entirely disappears that is the peaceful, that is the high exalted *that Realm of Nothing Whatsoever*"[1]

The sojourn in this Realm of Nothing Whatsoever makes a man so happy so blessed that one willingly renounces the enjoyments of the sense world, nay, in their presence one shudders at the thought that whoever wishes them, must forego that other happiness And so then the whole *practical morality* which Eckhart teaches, is tuned to this key Of

[1] Majjhima Nikaya 106th Discourse

this world, only what is absolutely necessary, no more, in order to press on to that other! 'Wilt thou know what is right requirement?" "Yea! It is a spring, and bread, and a coat. this is right bodily requirement"

But all the same, also this happiness of the Realm of Nothing Whatsoever is not yet the highest, is not yet the *eternal* happiness, for it also is transient, because also the mind with which one enters this sphere and enjoys it, again must be dissolved And so then, Master Eckhart also had not fully overcome Ignorance, he was *not* a Perfected One. For such a thing he was *too small!* Also of Eckhart holds good the saying. "It may well be, Sunakkhatta, that some monk or other may think within himself, 'Ignorance is the poisonous salve, this poisonous salve have I got rid of.' *Thus does he imagine imaginary well being*"[1] Precisely on this account, Eckhart did not even know of the cycle of re-births,[2] let alone press through to the real cause of suffering, that thirst with which we are filled for the phenomenon of life, which thus must first be rooted out, stalk and stump, in order that we may be able to take possession of the *real*, highest, eternal blessedness,—and indeed, must be rooted out in *all* its forms, also in its form as thirst for a life in pure mentality *This* thirst, however, Eckhart had so little overcome, that on the contrary he taught and praised precisely eternal *life* in this form of pure mentality in the Godhead, as the very highest —"In God now the soul receives a new *life*: here the soul is resurrected out of death into the life

[1] Majjhima Nikāya, 105th Discourse
[2] Which Brahmanism also allows to hold good only *allegorically*, only *mythically*!

of the Godhead" Thus, above and beyond life Eckhart also knew of nothing higher whatsoever

And so then for him who would dare the *highest* path Eckhart need come under no further consideration Such an one must rather adopt toward Eckhart the same attitude which the Buddha before his Awakening adopted towards Āāra Kalāma who also set forth the Realm of Nothing Whatsoever —'This doctrine does not lead to turning away, to the abrogation of willing, to the dissolution of causality, to perfect penetration, to *Full Awakening*, to Nirvāna but only to attainment to the Realm of Nothing Whatsoever And so, ye monks, dissatisfied with this doctrine, I took my departure content therewith no longer "[1] Nevertheless Eckhart was a great mind, a great mind even in the eyes of a Perfect Buddha "A great mind was Āāra Kālāma Had he known of the doctrine very soon would he have comprehended it" And as such a great mind therefore does a Buddhist also esteem and honour Master Eckhart[2]

The consideration of Eckhart s system however, yields us this as the genuine character of mysticism All so called mysticism is nothing further than a more or less close approach to the Nirvana sphere that is to a thoroughly *immaterial* state beyond all *life* in any form whatsoever possible to us after the stripping from us of all knowable constituents And because all mysticism is only such a mere *approach* to this already in itself unparalleled state without its ever being reached hence the vagueness nay the defectiveness of its knowledge hence even the specific

[1] Majjhima Nikāya 26th Discourse [2] Ibid.

"mystical" obscurity, hence further, all the speculation also, or more correctly, the simple romancing, of the "mystics," in which they carry over their received theology into the new land spied in the further distance Ever do they bring tidings from this land Hence then, despite all their lack of clarity, do the hearts of the more deeply disposed fly to them Then only do they no longer fly to them when the Doctrine of a *Fully* Awakened One, of a *Buddha*, comes within their field of vision For such an one a really trodden "the untrodden land" of the still eternity, and therewith, of changeless, peaceful blessedness, has himself landed there, and therefore brings from it perfectly clear, yea, radiant tidings thereof Then has all mysticism fulfilled its time, then have all mystics fulfilled their mission "The glow worm shines so long as the light-bringer has not arisen When, however, the sun is up then the brightness of the glow worm is past, and it shines no longer [1]

[1] *Udana* VI 10

CHAPTER XXXIV

CHIPS FROM A BUDDHIST WORKSHOP

I

BUDDHISTS UNDER PERSECUTION

Every authority on Buddhism says that there was a great split in the Buddhist fraternity in the second century of the Nirvāṇa era *i e* from between 100 and 200 of the era Some say it took place in the year 106 some, in 140 and some, in 160 The information of this split comes from the Pali canons and the Mahāvaṁśa The age of the Pāli canons is uncertain, but there is no doubt that they were at least three centuries older than the Mahāvaṁśa, and the Pāli canons are founded on older traditions based either on the lost Māgadhi or Paiśāci canons

The next information about the split and the rise of various sects in Buddhism comes from the Kathāvatthu, a work compiled by 500 monks in the 17th year of Asoka's reign, immediately after the Third Council or Sangiti This work treats of the various doctrines of the various sects, but its sole object is to establish the doctrines of the Vibhajjavadins, the word, 'Vibhajjavādin' was a puzzle for a long time, some said that it was a sect of the Sthaviravada, others said that it was the Sthaviravāda itself It simply means the analytical school The doctrines only are to be found in the Kathāvatthu but they are not fathered on different sects The names of the

sects were then well known and so the compilers did not think it necessary to attribute these doctrines to sects. That good work was done in the fifth century A.D. in Ceylon or Southern India by Buddhaghoṣa. But there is a school of thought in Europe who think that the Saṅgīti of Aśoka's time is a myth and so the time of compilation of the Kathāvatthu is unknown Aśoka's time falls within the third century of the Nirvāṇa era when the Sthavīravāda was split up according to Vasumitra into nine or ten sects. After the fall of the Maurya empire in the fourth century of the Nirvāṇa era, Buddhism in Central and Eastern India had to undergo a very severe persecution under the orthodox Brahmanic dynasty of the Śungas. It is said that Pusyamitra, the founder of the family, wanted to eradicate Buddhism He massacred the monks, destroyed their vihāras, and expelled them from his empire which extended from the Sutlej to the Bay of Bengal This is quite *natural*. Pusyamitra was a Śunga. The meaning of the word, "Śunga," was a matter of speculation for a long time, but the Lātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra of the Sāmaveda quotes the Śungas as an authority in one of its sūtras[1]; so the Śungas were Sāmavedī Brāhmanas—Brāhmaṇas who were deeply concerned with animal sacrifices and soma sacrifices, and naturally they smarted under the prohibition of animal sacrifices throughout the Aśokan empire proclaimed in the very first Rock Edict, and one of the first public acts of Pusyamitra's reign was a horse-sacrifice described in the Mālavikāgnimitra of Kālidāsa and we now know from

[1] 4 6 20 Agnimindrāya upāsmai pavasva vaca iti Stotriyam Śungāḥ (p 312) Drāhyāyaṇa also has the same sutra

recently discovered inscriptions that he boasts himself as a dvih aśvamedhayājī, *i e*, he performed horse sacrifice twice So his attitude towards the Buddhists patronised by Aśoka can easily be inferred

The Śungas were a martial race Among the fighting Brāhmanas, two are distinguished amongst the rest, the Viśvāmitras and the Bhāradvājas The wife of a Viśvāmitra Brāhmin proving barren, a Bhāradvāja was requested by the ancient custom of 'niyoga' to beget a son on the Bhāradvāja's wife The issue was Śunga He was the progenitor of a gotra and that gotra took up the Sāmaveda for their study The Śungas are called a Dvyāmuśyāyana gotra, *i e*, gotra issuing from two gotras In the works on 'gotra and pravara' the Śungas and the Śaiśiras are the only two Dvyāmusyāyana gotras known, the Śaisiras took to Rg Veda and the Śungas Sāmaveda [1]

The condition of the Buddhists under the imperial sway of the Śungas, orthodox and bigotted, can be more easily imagined than described From Chinese authorities it is known that many Buddhists still do not pronounce the name of Pusyamitra without a curse

In the fourth and fifth centuries of the Nirvāna era, *i e*, the second and first centuries B C we hear of the literary activities of the Brahmanas, but very little of the Buddhists It was during this period that the Mahābhāsya was written, that the Manusmrti was redacted by Bhrgu, that the great Hindu sastras were written or redacted, but we hear only of one or two works of the Buddhists and that beyond the Śunga

[1] Pravara manjari p 58 Āpastambokiam Bharadvaja gotra kaṇḍam In p 70 they are also called dvyamuśyayana fro[illegible]

empire The Milinda-praśna was written in its original shape and language about this time in the Punjab where Menander reigned and most probably the Lankāvatāra sūtra was written Buddhism survived the persecution of the Śungas and of their Gurus, the Kānvas, too But they survived in Frontier kingdoms, in the Andhra country, in Paiṭhānā, in Saurāṣtra, in the Punjab, in Kāśmīra, and in Kabul The Sthaviravāda which had its principal home at Magadha, emerged after these two centuries as Sarvāstivāda in Vasumitra's book on sects

II

THE POSITION OF VASUMITRA

In order to determine the position of Vasumitra, it would be necessary to ascertain the starting point of the Nirvāna era There are two opinions now, one, the traditional one of 543 B C prevalent in Ceylon, and the other from the Chinese dotted records as modified by modern scientific methods, *i e*, 483 B C The centuries of the Nirvāna era will read in terms of the Christian era as follow —

I	century	—483 383 B C
II	,,	—383 283 B C
III	,,	—283 183 B C
IV	,	—183-83 B C
V	,,	—83 B C —17 A D
VI	,,	—17 A D —117 A D
VII	,,	—117 A D —217 A D
VIII	,,	—217 A D —317 A D
IX	,,	—317 A D —417 A D
X		—417 A D —517 A D

The first century of the Nirvāna era was characterised by quiet progress and spread of Buddhism among the people of Northern India The people who fell under the magnetic influence of Lord Buddha's personality, were dying out gradually their places being supplied by younger people who did not know much of that personality But the older people always had a strong hold on the community

Still there were discussions on doctrine There were four groups, (1) Nāgas, or serpent worshippers, (2) the frontier people, (3) people with many sided learning and (4) the Elders

In the second century there was the split the younger majority with enthusiasm took to the work of proselytising, but their activity was checked by the action of the Government then in existence Kautilya in his Arthaśāstra distinctly prohibits their entrance into agricultural villages, he classes them with theatrical parties, dancing parties and parties contributing generally to amusements and entertainments, and says that they simply dislocated the work of the agriculturists, demoralised them and were a hindrance to agricultural prosperity This prohibition shows that the Buddhists, at least the younger generation of them, were making some headway, that is also proved by a statement in Vasumitra, that in the 2nd century of the Nirvāna era, the Mahāsāmghikas only split into 9 sects, while the Sthaviravadas kept compact Thus shows the activity of the Mahāsāmghikas, activity generally produces party spirit and sects The men of many sided learning I believe, joined the majority bodily, for, it is known that there was a sect, Bāhuśrutiya from which again other sects proceeded

In the third century the older people obtained the patronage of Emperor Aśoka and so they increased their activity and were split into 9 or 10 parties They made an attempt to codify their Vinaya, and their Dhamma, but that is not the Pāli canon It was some Māgadhī canon, some chapter-headings of which are to be found in Asoka's Bhābdā Edict The edict of the expulsion of schismatists is also written in that language and accords well with the objects of Aśoka's Third Council

The fourth and the fifth centuries are disastrous to both the great sects and they had to fly to the outskirts of the Sunga empire or beyond it The Bīrhut railings contain one or two references to the Sungas but Bārhut is at one end of the Sunga empire

In the seventh century comes Kaniska, a great supporter of the then modified Buddhism Here we are met with a very great difficulty The Chinese uniformly place Kaniska in the fourth century of the Nirvāna era but the scientific investigation places him in the beginning of the seventh, *i e*, about 120 A D How to reconcile this is at present one of the greatest problems in the Buddhist chronology. I would propose to solve the difficulty by a theory which I do not put forward for being accepted (It is this, that the fourth and the fifth centuries being disastrous, they were struck out from the Buddhist chronology and the sixth and the seventh became fourth and the fifth And in the present case a solution of the difficulty is very necessary, because Vasumitra's date depends on that of Kaniska Materials for the solution are not forthcoming Under the circumstances there is only one way, *viz*, to

reject the Chinese traditional date and to accept the scientific one.

So Vasumitra writes in the beginning of the seventh century of the Nirvāna era or a little earlier. And Vasumitra omits Sthaviravāda and places Sarvāstivāda there, though in the same breath he calls the Haimavata sect the Mula Sthaviravāda; some of the Tibetan authorities call it Mula Sarvāstivāda too. Here it would not be out of place to mention a fact rather unique in Buddhism. In 1898 Prof. Bendall and myself were examining the contents of the Durbar Library in Nepal. In a big copy of the Mahābhārata we got a bundle of decayed palm leaves in which the table of contents of what we then thought of the Pali canon was given. That might be a remnant of the Haimavata or the Mula Sthavira vāda literature.

Vasumitra comes before Mahāyāna, because he does not name it and even does not name triyanas. His yanas are two, Śravaka and Pratyekabuddha. But he is explicit on one point. He does not attribute this split in the second century of the Nirvana era to the ten points on discipline as in the Pali canon all concerning Vinaya or discipline but his points of dissension are five and all these relate to the position of an arhat and of the path. (He says that the quarrel was on five points (1) whether the arhats can retrograde (2) whether they are subject to doubt (3) whether they are susceptible to instruction (4) whether they are susceptible to fall off and (5) the realisation of the path.) These points are far more important than the ten points of Vinaya and the question is "where did he find them?" Another point in Vasumitra which is of great

importance is that he recognises Lokottaravādins as a sect of the Mahāsāmghikas, but this is only in appearance Vasumitra gives forty-eight points in which the Mahāsāmghikas, the Ekavyavahārikas, the Lokottaravādins and the Kaukulikas agree and nine points in which the last three differ from the Mahāsāmghikas, and the difference came in their later history But the real Lokottaravādin is to be found in the first sixteen points of the united four sects

Vasumitra in giving the names of the different sects on Nikāyas brings in the Sautrāntika at the end, but he does not at all speak of the Vaibhāsikas This shows that in his time the four philosophical schools of the Buddhists were not yet developed It is the formation of these philosophical schools that led to the idea of Mahāyāna and Hinayāna In the second century of the split, the points of difference were about discipline, *i e*, Vinaya, but in the Kathāvatthu we find doctrines come in abundance The most important point raised in the Kathāvatthu in the very beginning and expatiated on in several sections, is the belief in the existence of soul This is certainly not discipline but abhidharma So from the third century of the Nirvāna era, Abhidharma was being discussed with enthusiasm in the Sthaviravāda school of Buddhism This is also evidenced by the small inscriptions in Mathurā, Karle and other places in some of which the epithet, 'Ābhidharmika', is given to some of the donors, *i e*, there were monks who studied Abhidharma mainly, so in order to oppose them, a little before Vasumitra, there arose another class of monks who depended more upon Sutrānta, *i e*, narratives than on anything else Vinaya, in Vasumitra's time was regarded as of secondary importance

This, I believe, is the origin of the Sautrāntikas. As a comparison of the list of these sects in Pāli Canon and in the Kathāvatthu on the one hand and in Vasumitra and Bhavya on the other will be exceedingly interesting and instructive, the next section will contain this comparison.

Though in Vasumitra we do not hear of the Vaibhāṣikas, Vasumitra is credited with being one of the writers of the Vibhāṣā, which, we know from Yuan Chwang, was a commentary on the pre-existing Buddhist literature made in Kaṇiṣka's time.

II
KATHĀVATTHU

MAHĀSĀṂGHIKA

Vajjiputtaka
 Dhammuttariyas
 Bhadrayanikas
 Channāgarikas
 Sammitiyas
 Sachchhatthikas
 Rājagirikas
 Apaseliyas
 Pubbaseliyas
Vetulyakas
Uttarapathakas

STHAVIRAVĀDA

Mahīsāsakas
 Sabbatthivādins
 Kassapikas
 Sankantikas
 Suttavādins
Hemavatikas
Vajiriyas
Haituvādins

III
VASUMITRA'S LIST

MAHĀSAṂGHIKA

Ekavyavahārika
Lokottaravāda
Kaukkutika
Bahusrutiya
Prajñaptivāda
Caityaśaila
Aparaśaila
Uttarasaila

STHAVIRAVĀDA

Sarvāstivada or Hetuvāda
Haimavata
Vatsiputriya
 Dharmottariya
 Bhadrayanika
 Sammatiya
 Channagarika

Mahīśāsaka
 Dharmagupta

Kasyapiya or Suvarsaka
Sautrāntika or Sankrāntika

IV
BHAVYA

MAHĀSĀṂGHIKA

Ekavyavahārikas
Lokottaravādins
Bahusrutiya
Prajñaptivādins
Caityika
Pūrvaśaila
Avaraśaila

STHAVIRA OR HAIMAVATA

Sarvāstivādins
 Uttariyas or Sankrānti vādins

Vatsadvarādins
Hetuvādins
Vatsiputriyas
Dharmottariyas
Bhadrayāniyas
Sammatiyas
Mahīśāsakas
Dharmaguptikas
Sad Dharmavarsaka or Kasyapiya

MAHASAMGHIKA—The word means the 'Great Brotherhood' In later times and even now the word 'Samgha' means the bhikkhus of one vihāra collectively In Nepāl the word 'Samghabhojana' means feeding the bhikkhus of one vihāra But the Nepalese have often to feed the entire body of the bhikkhus in the valley They *do not* call that feeding Samghabhojana but 'Samyak-sam bhojana' But in ancient times the Samgha comprehended the whole body of bhikkhus It was for this extended meaning of samgha that samghabheda, *i e*, secession from the samgha or division among the bhikkhus was regarded as the greatest offence against the Buddhist religion, and there are severe penalties prescribed for the seceder in an inscription at Benares of Asoka The Mahāsamghikas were the majority of the bhikkhus at the beginning of the second century of the Nirvāna era, who claimed the ten indulgences and not receiving them at the hands of the elders, assumed them by something like a plebiscite These are called the Mahāsāmghikas

STHAVIRAVĀDA— The word, 'Sthavira,' Pāli, 'Thera,' means an old man These old men for hundred years were the rulers of the Buddhist community and their word was law They had simply to evoke the authority either of Buddha or one of his elder disciples They did not yield to the importunities and even to the bullying of the younger majority, and kept them into a solid body

GOKULIKA—This is a mysterious term Some people thought this was derived from the name of a Master But the Sanskrit equivalent in Vasumitra is Kukkulika or Kaukulika Kukula in Sanskrit means an 'oven' The Kukku-

lhkas thought the world to be on fire, and they were regarded as pessimists in the Kathāvatthu The Gokulikas were united with the Mahāsāmghikas in Vasumitra's list along with Ekavyavahārikas and Lokottaravādins The four sects, Vasumitra says, were united in the beginning but they separated later on This appears to be true, for Mahāvastu, the only record of the Mahāsāmghikas which has come down to us, begins with three descriptions of hells The first in prose, the second in verse, and the third in prose but in very great detail Not only does the work begin with the description of hells but also of all the lower 'gatis,'—tiryak, asura and piśāca At one time the Mahāsāmghikas seem to have been pessimists and the pessimists later on separated from them and became a distinct sect

The Gokulikas or the Kukkulikas seem to have been a distinct sect rather early, as the Pāli canons and the Kathāvatthu both say that there were several sects such as Paññattivāda, Bāhulika and Cetiyavāda issued from this sect

But that is not the case with the Lokottaravādins and the Ekavyavahārikas These have left no descendants and that shows that they were not distinct sects The words 'Lokottaravādins' and 'Ekavyavahārikas' were mere epithets and adjectives of the Mahāsāmghikas Writers of the history of the sects, after the tradition was broken by Brahmin intolerance, took them to be names of independent sects Reading through the Mahāvastu, the only record of the Mahāsāmghikas, it is found that the sect took Buddha to be superhuman, *i e*, lokottara and so they can

with propriety be called Lokottaravādins. Vasumitra too distinctly says that Mahāsāṅghikas, Lokottaravādins, Kaukulikas and Ekavyavahārikas had in the beginning forty-eight points in common, *i.e.*, they were not distinct sects, and that later Lokottaravādins, Ekavyavahārikas and Kaukulikas formed new sects with nine different points. But reading through these nine points it is difficult to find in which point or points each of them differed from the Mahāsāṅghikas. It is especially difficult to find the difference from the Lokottaravādins among the nine, there is none which would apply to them. It is for these reasons that people may not be disposed to treat Lokottaravādins as a distinct sect.

'EKAVYAVAHĀRIKA' is a very difficult term. The explanation given by Rockhill on p. 183 is at best not clear. He says "Some persons contending that all the doctrines are thoroughly understood by an unique and immediate wisdom, for all doctrines of the blessed Buddhas are comprehended by the intellect, are for this reason called 'Disciples of the dispute on one subject,' or 'Ekavyavahāra."

Reading through the Mahāvastu it is clear that Śākyamuni for many koṭi kalpas tried with uniform ardour to become a Buddha. This uniform practice is regarded as Ekavyavahāra and those who think that Buddhas steadfastly adhered to the determination of becoming a Buddha are Ekavyavahārikas. It is to be noted that these Ekavyavahārikas too have left no descendants.

BAHUŚRUTĪYA—In Sanskrit they are called Bahuśrutiya or Bahuśrutika, but in Pāli they are called Vāhulika. Vasumitra says that before the points which led to the

first schism were mooted, there were four groups of men the Nāgas, the Borderers, the Learned and the Elders They were groups but not sects They held slightly different opinions as they are sure to do when they are geographically and intellectually separated Among these the learned, the Bahuśrutiyas, after the schism, formed a sect of the Mahāsāmghikas The probability is that as learned men they differed in many important points from the Sthaviras but they did not care to create a split The split was made by the young and enthusiastic sons of the Licchavis or Vajjis and when the split was an accomplished fact, the learned group joined them heart and soul The Bahuśrutikas are the people who gave a spiritual or supermundane character to Buddha's teachings The Mahāsāmghikas gave a supermundane character to Buddha himself but not to his teachings It is the learned follower of the Buddha in the first century that gave his teachings that character and continued to do so after the schism These Bahusrutikas cannot, on any account, join the Sthaviras who are Laukika in every thing

Of the four lists the third that in Vasumitra's work, gives the doctrines in detail of each of the sects, but nowhere does Vasumitra give the derivation of the words or the extent and influence of the sects, though without such derivation we are not sure whether the doctrines have been properly fathered on the sects

The fourth list, that by Bhavya, is to be found translated from Tibetan translation in Rockhill's work It generally follows the wake of Vasumitra, only dropping Kukkutika from the Mahīsāmghika and Channagarika from the Sthavi-

ravādalists As I have said before, Vasumitra's date depends upon that of Kaniska He is to be placed somewhere between 150 and 200 A D Bhavya is later still He is one of the commentators of Nāgārjuna's Mādhyamika sutras Candrakirtti the commentator of that work in the fifth century, often quotes from Bhavya's commentary Bhavya must therefore come between Nāgarjuna and Candrakirtti, i e between 250 and 450 A D These are late authorities as regards the history of early centuries of Buddhism, and therefore not always reliable The value of the first list from the Pali canon is much more reliable because it is drawn up from old traditions still current in Pali The list in the Kathāvatthu has a particular interest The Kathāvatthu deals only with doctrines and never fathers them on any particular sect that is done by Buddhaghosa in the fifth century A D Some of the doctrines were still held by sects still surviving in his time, and he was very full and informative about them But others were mere names to him The sects were either too remote in space and in time from him or they were non existent Still he had a living tradition to support him about the Sthaviravada group But about the Mahasāmghika group he may not be so reliable because they were far away from him both in time and space

III

MAHĀVASTU AND VASUMITRA

The publication of the English translation with notes of Vasumitra's work on the Nikayas or sects from the Chinese version has thrown a new light on the interpretation of the

Mahāvastu. Vasumitra is connected with Kaniska The Chinese tradition says that Kaniska flourished in the fourth century of the Nirvāna era, but the modern scientific method places him in the beginning of the seventh century of that era, and we are bound to follow the results of scientific investigation, so we must take Vasumitra to belong to the end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century of that era Vasumitra wrote his work in Sanskrit, most probably in the Punjab or in countries beyond it It was thrice translated into Chinese, the three versions being respectively called Chin-lun Chen-lun and Tang lun, according to the dynasties under which they were translated Masudā, the translator into English, took the Tang lun version for his guide, though he very carefully and conscientiously consulted the other versions, too He did another thing He was a Sanskrit scholar He translated the Chinese terms into Sanskrit in his mind and then translated them into English As the Sanskrit version is not at all available, this is the next best thing that we can expect to have and must proceed on the basis of this translation

I have already stated that the Northern Buddhism, nay, we may say with Nariman the Sanskrit Buddhism, lost its tradition by being twice expelled from middle country, the home of Buddhism Once by Asoka who compelled all sectarians who did not believe in the analytical theory of Buddha to wear white cloth and expelled them from the congregation Once more they were expelled from the empire of the Sungas under whom the Brahmins regained their influence and power, and the Buddhists were not only discouraged but expelled from their home country They

had to obtain the patronage and support of foreign kings and others beyond the Sunga empire In this way we can easily see how they lost their old tradition This loss of tradition accounts for the different reasons given for the split by Northern and by Southern Buddhists Here we are not much concerned with the Southern Buddhists We are concerned only with the Northern and Vasumitra was the first Northern scholar that wrote about these northern sects We may not believe the causes assigned by him for the first great split between Mahāsaṃghikas and Sthaviravādā but we are bound to believe the history of subsequent events narrated by him He says that the Mahāsaṃghikas Ekavyavahārikas Lokottaravadins and Kaukkulikas originally held forty eight points in common but that in subsequent ages they differed in nine points only but he nowhere says the distinctive doctrines of each of the sects He has given the doctrines in which they agreed and the doctrines in which they differed in two groups only We have to know the distinctive doctrines from the derivation of the names I have already said that no sect as Lokottaravādins is known from the Pali sources which give the true version of the split and subsequent events from an unbroken tradition while the Northern people lost their tradition and got in things which did not happen

The term Mahasaṃghika has already been explained, so also is the term Ekavyavahārikas this term has nothing to do with how sects as Rockhill says but it means fixity of purpose attention to one object only The Lokottaravadins consider the Buddha to be superhuman or super mundane and not a human being The Kaukkulikas are those who

सर्व्व आदीनवं लोक सर्व्व लोकं आदीपितं ।
सर्व्व प्रज्ज्वलितं लोकं सर्व्व लोकं प्रकम्पित ॥

These pessimistic passages show that when the Mahāvastu was written the pessimistic Kaukkulikas and the Mahā sāmghikas were a united body

Of the forty eight points of the union of these four sects, the first fifteen relate to Buddhalogy or the nature of Buddha The first of these points is that the Bhagavān is Lokottara, that there is no impurity in his character, conduct, etc, that his speeches are the preaching of the virtuous law, that he preaches with single utterance etc The Mahāvastu says—

अथ खलु सर्वमेव महर्षिणा लोकोत्तर । तथाहि सम्यक् सम्बुद्धाना समुदागम सोपि लोकोत्तरो ॥ (p 159)

लोकोत्तरा भगवतो चर्य्या लोकोत्तरं कुशलमूल ।
गमन स्थितं निषद्य शयित लोकोत्तर मुनिनो ॥
यत्तत् सुगत शरीरं भवति भवस्य बन्धनक्षयकरणं ।
लोकोत्तरं तदपि भो इत्यत्र न संशय. कार्य्यो ॥
चीवरधरण मुनिनो लोकोत्तर अत्र संशयो नास्ति ।
आहाराहरणमयो लोकोत्तरमेव सुगतस्य ॥
देशना नरनागानां सर्व्वलोकोत्तरा मता ।

(pp 167-168)

Everything concerning Buddha is Lokottara All these passages in which the word Lokottara occurs will cover the fifteen points of Buddhalogy of Vasumitra

Throughout the work Mahāvastu and it is a pretty extensive work, one vyavahāra pervades that any how even after the lapse of innumerable Kalpas I will become a

Mahāvastu that the later additions are done a little carelessly. This feature is very prominent in the mss. of Purāṇas, and the work like the Mahāvastu, in Hindu literature, would be treated as a Purāṇa.

IV

ORIGIN OF SPLIT

There is a good deal of discrepancy as to the origin of the first schism in the Buddhist Brotherhood. Th Pāli sources attribute it to the ten points of Vinaya. The say that it took place in Vaiśālī where the Vajjiputtaka or the people of Vaiśālī known for their unruly spirit, wer chafing under the strict regulation of life under Buddha an his disciples in the first and second generations

But the northern authorities. Vasumitra and others say that the split took place at Pāṭaliputra on five points not of Vinaya but of Abhidharma. Four of the five point relate to the status of arhat and one point relates to the path

These two statements of the origin of split appear to b irreconciliable. But Vasumitra says that at the end of the second century, Mahādeva who several times proved to be ar apostate, took his re-ordination in the Mahāsāṁghika Orde and pressed the five points on his contemporaries and neighbours. In the second chapter of the Kathāvatthu these five points are discussed in the same order as insisted upon by Mahādeva. So Mahādeva was certainly earlier than the Kathāvatthu. This fact is admitted by Vasumitra who says that this split by Mahādeva took place at the end of the second century of the Nirvāṇa era. If it is so, these points may very well be discussed in the Kathāvatthu which was

composed in the third century of the Nirvāṇa era And the result of this split was the formation of three schools—Caityaśaila, Aparaśaila and Uttaraśaila, and not the great split dividing the Buddhist Fraternity into Sthaviravāda and Mahāsāṅghika.

Vaśumitra, however, says that this arhat Mahādeva, who came in the end of the second century of the Nirvāṇa era is a second Mahādeva; and that he took the same five points of dissension as the first Mahādeva. Here is a duplication of Mahādevas by Vasumitra which seems to be rather strange. The points are the same, but the orders are different though of the same name Is not this suspicious? The second Mahādeva's schism had no general and far-reaching effect Its influence was confined to the three hills which have been recently identified as standing south of Kṛṣṇā in the capital of the Śātakarṇis. But the first schism had abiding results, and pervaded all the countries inhabited by the Buddhists

The duplication of Mahādeva by Vasumitra appears to be that the first split at Vaiśālī was on Vinaya points and therefore of wider significance and deeper meaning. Here the accounts of the Pāli canon seem to be true history, while that of Vasumitra shows that in his time which came after the persecution of the Buddhists by the Śunga king shows a break in the tradition Two hundred years of persecution made the northern monks forget the history of the first split and fill up the gap, Vasumitra invented the story of the first Mahādeva, while his second Mahādeva appears to be an historical person

In the early years of the second century the Vaiśālī

split divided the Samgha into two groups, (1) younger and proselytising, and (2) old and conservative In the whole of the second century the Sthaviras had no sects while the active Mahīsāmghikas had nine The Sthaviras moved only in the third century and were several times divided The so called second Mahādeva was himself a Mahāsāmghika He came at the end of the century and the sects that started by his actions also belong to the Mahāsāmghika group This theory reconciled the contradictory statements

Vasumitra and the rest of the Northern Buddhists, as a rule, confound the two Aśokas—Kālaśoka who is identified with Kākavarna, the son of Śisunāga of the Pāli canon and Dharmāsoka, the historical Emperor Aśoka, whose inscriptions are found all over India If he could discriminate between the two Asokas, Vasumitra would have been under no necessity of duplicating Mahādeva

V

THE LANKĀVATARA—A NEW TRADITION

The Lankāvatāra is a work attributed not to Śākyamuni or Śākyasimha of the Gautama gotra, but to a Buddha of the Satyayuga named Virajo Buddha of the Kātyāyana gotra Śākyamuni came from Tusita bhavana but he from Suddhāvāsa Śākyamuni was born at Kapilavāstu but he at Campā Śākyamuni's father was Śuddhodana, his Prajāpati, Śākyamuni's mother was Māyā Devī but his was Vasumatī Śākyamuni's grandfather was Simhahanu but his was Somagupta Śākyamuni came from the Solar race and he from the Lunar Because he belongs to the Satyayuga, he preaches his religion to the Yaksas and Rāksasas

headed by Rāvaṇa in Laṅkā.[1] In one place the Laṅkāvatāra says that there would be no Buddhas in the whole of the Tretā and Dvāpara Yugas, not even in Kali, though we know from other sources that Śākyasiṁha belonged to the Kali age.[2] Virajo Buddha transmits his Śāsana to Mahāmatī, his chief Bodhisattva, whom he announces as the future Buddha and to whom he gives the *abhiṣeka*. Mahāmatī transmits the Śāsana to Dharma and Dharma to Mekhala, his disciple, after whose time there is a confusion and the Śāsana is lost.[3] Though the first chapter of the Laṅkāvatāra entitled the Rāvaṇādhyesanā is regarded as a later addition, there is sufficient indication in the second chapter (p. 43) that Virajo Buddha preached at Laṅkā, and that in his maṇḍalī (circle) there were innumerable Bodhisattvas headed by Mahāmatī

This is the tradition of the Laṅkāvatāra It shows that there was a complete loss of the tradition of Śākyamuni and all that pertains to Śākyamuni of the Gautama Gotra In fact, reading through the Laṅkāvatāra one cannot help the inference that it is a new system of thought altogether It deals more with psychology, epistemology and ontology than the earlier works in Pāli and the Mahāvastu The theories of Yānas and of Kāyas have their beginning in this work. The Kāyas are not the three phases of the same absolute substance as in later Mahāyāna works after Nāgārayuna but something like a trinity of the personality of Buddha. The Yānas are three, but the third Yāna is Tathāgatayāna embodying much higher aspirations of the Buddhist community. It is not yet the Bodhisattvayāna.

[1] Sagāthakaṁ, 798 99 [2] Sagāthakam, 804. [3] Sagāthakam, 800 01

The Bodhisattvas come here in large numbers. They are not Bodhisattvas alone but Bodhisattva Mahāsattvas. They are much higher beings than Arahats and Pratyeka Buddhas and even ordinary Bodhisattvas pure and simple. They are inferior, if we may call so, to the trinity of the person of Buddha, *i.e.*, Dharma Buddha, Nissanda Buddha or Vipāka Buddha and Nirmāṇa Buddha. They have the right to sit in Buddha's maṇḍalī wherever it may be held in our own universe called the Sahālokadhātu or in other universes presided over by innumerable Buddhas.

The chapters of the Laṅkāvatāra deal mostly with the training not of inferior disciples of Buddha but of Bodhisattva Mahāsattvas. In psychological aspiration and in attaining Nirvāṇa when these Bodhisattva Mahāsattvas pass the eighth bhūmi and enter the ninth, they are announced as future Buddhas and they are given the abhiṣeka in the tenth stage. But here they are given the option either of entering Nirvāṇa or Buddhahood or remaining as Bodhisattva for ever, for the relief of suffering humanity or other sentient beings and they can transform themselves into all gatis or assume the forms of worms, flies, beasts and reptiles without being in any way contaminated by association with these lower beings. But their position in relation to the Nirmāṇa Buddhas is rather obscure. The Nirmāṇa Buddhas go wherever their help is needed and the Aicchantika Bodhisattva-Mahāsattvas also do the same thing. But the interrelation between the two is not clear in the Laṅkāvatāra. Perhaps one merges in the other or one acts in subordination to the other.

Thus the Laṅkāvatāra brings in a new and exalted

tradition, more exalted than that of the followers of Śākyamuni; and for this new tradition a new and older Buddha and Buddha system are invented adumbrating a new departure from the tradition of the past This complete break has been emphasised by the creation of a new literature, *i.e.*, the Bodhisattva pitaka—literature all about Bodhisattvas, as opposed to Sutrāntapitaka, Vinayapitaka and Dharmapiṭaka. In one of the Mss. and also in the Buddhist Text Society's edition the whole of the Lankāvatāra is said to come out of the Bodhisattvapitaka and that the statement is made at the outset of the work, but in Nanjio's edition that statement is not given at the outset but in the second chapter, the Bodhisattvapitaka is mentioned as opposed to previous pitakas and we have other works also from this pitaka Prominent of this is the Ārya-Mañjuśrī-Mūla-Kalpa which declares in every colophon that the work is taken from the Bodhisattvapitaka

In the Lankāvatāra again we get for the first time a system of mantras and even of monosyllabic mantras (9th Parivarta) It may be thought that this is the beginning of the great Mantranaya or Mantrayāna which developed in centuries subsequent to Asanga and Vasuvandhu a vast literature giving rise to several sects, Vajrayāna, Sahajayāna, Kālacakrayāna, Bhadrayāna and others

One of the curious features of the Lankāvatāra is an emphasis given to the prohibition of animal food, though ahimsā or not-killing of animals is the chief Sikhāpada or the vow of the Buddhists from the very inception of Buddhism (8th Parivarta) Why does the Lankāvatāra undertake to condemn animal food again in such bitter

terms ? The inference is irresistible, that the food regulation of the Vinaya of Śākyasimha was, when the Lankāvatāra was written, honoured more in the breach than in the observance thereof The Lankāvatāra says when you eat flesh you do not know perhaps that you are eating the flesh of your father or your mother, for you do not know that your father or mother in some of your innumerable previous existences have not been reincarnated in the animal killed for your food (p 245)

This fictitious Buddha, Virajo, though placed in the Satyayuga, came after Śākyamuni whose system he takes for granted as existing and whose system he attempts to improve But the Sagāthakam or the last chapter is a very late work, because it prophesies that a man named Nāgarjuna will arise at Vedali in the Deccan and improve the Buddhayāna and go to heaven, and it is well known that Nāgārjuna flourished at the end of the second century A D Taking his stand in the Satyayuga, Virajo speaks of Vyāsa, Bhārata (perhaps Mahābhārata), Rāma, Pāndavas, Kurus, Mauris, Mauryas, Nandas and even Guptas in a prophetic tone In the same tone he says that the Mlecchas will follow Guptas and after the Mlecchas there will be a fierce struggle with open arms and then will come the Kali yuga He also speaks of Panini, the author of the Śabdasastra, Kautilya, Kātyāyana, Yājñavalkya, Śākyamuni, Akṣapāda, Kanāda, Kapila and others showing that his own existence was later than theirs Taking the Sagathaka with 884 verses as a later production than the Lankāvatara we may place the work to which the Sagāthaka is added as an appendix, in the centuries after Śākyamuni, Panini and Kautilya, *i e*, about the time while

the Buddhist community was stirred up to death by the persecution of Aśoka and the Śungas Though not in the Sanskrit of Pānini, most likely it was written in Western India, the birth place of Pānini, whose works were more respected in the east than in the west In the body of the book and not in the later addition we find mentioned Śrīmālādevī-Paripṛcchā (Lankāvatāra, Nanj Ed pp 222-23) which is sometimes called Śrīmālādevī Simhanāda That work must have been written before the Lankāvatāra and Aśvaghosa in his Mahāyāna Śradhyotpāda Sūtra takes some ideas from three previous sūtras, Śrīmālī, Gandavyūha and Lankāvatāra So the Lankāvatāra must come between Śrīmālī and Asvaghosa That is the chronology of the work which we are at present justified to give The Lankāvatāra is earlier than Mahāyāna Śraddhotpāda and later than Śrīmālā

The Lankāvatāra in one place says that there would be no Buddhas in Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali and in another (Sg V 802) mentions, Krakucchanda, Kanakamuni and Kāśyapa, the middle three of the eight mānusi Buddhas of later times In Nepal the belief is that there are eight mānusi Buddhas equally distributed over 4 yugas, Satya, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali The first three Buddhas are Viśvabhū, Vipasyī and Śikhī and the last two are Śakyasimha and the coming Maitreya The Lankāvatāra first mooted the idea of having Buddhas within the limited period of the four yugas, and the idea gradually expanded into that of eight Buddhas in four yugas The Mahāvastu in its Nidāna Namaskāra enumerates a large number of Buddhas in several kalpas but not in the limited period of four

yugas But it is not stated whether they were mānusi Buddhas

VI

BODHISATTVA PITAKA

In the Buddhist literature three pitakas are well known The word "Pitaka" means a Pyāṅtrā in Bengali, an oval shaped cane basket with a pyramidal lid, the whole covered with leather The pitaka contains manuscripts There are three pitakas containing manuscripts of three sorts, some are (1) sūtras or narratives, some (2) vinaya or discipline and some (3) abhidharma, or religio philosophical discourses There is a good deal of difference of opinion amongst scholars as to the origin of these three pitakas, some say Buddha did not preach abhidharma, some say that he preached only vinaya, sūtra and abhidharma are later additions Mahāvastu speaks often of dharma and vinaya in the body of the work and rarely of the sūtra, though at the end of many narratives it is written as such and such *sutta samāptaṁ* The abhidharma pitaka is rather difficult to deal with Is it a development of dharma of the Mahāvastu ? It is difficult to say anything positively One thing is certain that Abhidharma took a developed and extensive form after the third Sangiti at Pataliputra

Abhidharma and dharma are not the same Dharma concerns itself with some truths which the followers of the religion take as axiomatic It has very little to do with philosophy, logic, epistemology and ontology We may say that dharma means some metaphysical assumptions, but abhidharma is different It is philosophy proper, mixed, of

course, with religious ideas In modern Pāli literature abhidharma comprises of seven books containing seven categories of thoughts. These seven books are Dhamma sangaṇi, Vibhanga, Dhātukathā, Puggalapaññatti, Kathā vatthu, Yamaka, and Patthāna In Mahāyāna, Abhidharma becomes Abhisamaya, but in this section I am going to speak of another pitaka, named Bodhisattva pitaka, which is found in Lankāvatāra and also in Ārya-Mañjuśrīmūla-kalpa. In Mañjuśrī every colophon speaks of the chapter as coming from Bodhisattva-pitaka and it has 25 patalas We often hear of Bodhisattva-pitaka in the Lankāvatāra too. For instance in the very opening line of the Lankāvatāra in the B. T. S. edition, we hear of the Bodhisattva-pitaka But if the first chapter is considered as a later addition, there is a mention of this pitaka on p 69 of the Buddhist Texts Society's edition (2nd Chapter) and Nanjio's ed p 66 The passage is significant, because it is put in almost juxta-position with Sutrānta, vinaya and Moksa pitakas What this Bodhisattva-pitaka is, no body has yet explained But it pervades both the Pāramitā-naya and the Mantra-naya of the Mahā-yāna, *i e* both philosophical and mystic works

The jump from Śrāvaka yāna and Pratyeka yāna to Mahā-yāna is a long one there must have been some intermediate steps and I believe one of the intermediate steps is the idea of Bodhisattva-pitaka The followers of this pitaka were Bodhisattvas, *i e*, beings higher than the Śrāvakas and Pratyekas, and they should study books of higher thought and aspire for higher status Hence the origin of Bodhisattva-pitaka With the pitaka came the yāna, the third yāna is ordinarily called the Bodhisattva-yāna But

the name Bodhisattva-yāna had to struggle for its existence with such words as Buddha-yāna, etc. How Bodhisattva-yāna came to be called Mahā-yāna and how even mysticism was included into the connotation of the term is rather difficult to understand Modern people think that the Vaibhāsikas or Sautrāntikas are Hīna-yāna and the Yogācāra and the Mādhyamakas are Mahā-yāna. But Advaya-vajra does not think so, and he was a Buddhist, lived in Bengal when Bengal was a Buddhist country ruled by Buddhist emperors He thinks that the Vaibhāsikas are all Śrāvaka-yāna, but the Sautrāntikas are divided among Śrāvaka-yāna, Pratyeka-yāna and Mahā-yāna The lower Sautrāntikas are Śrāvakas, those who go a little higher than the Śrāvakas are Pratyeka-yāna and the highest Sautrāntikas are Mahā-yāna As regards the other two, Advayavajra is at one with the moderns.

Perhaps the Bodhisattva-pitaka affords some clue for bridging the gap amongst the yānas. Bodhisattvas are very rare in Pāli literature. Śākyasimha was perhaps the only Bodhisattva recognised; the second may be the coming Maitreya The Mahāvastu has but one Bodhisattva and that Lord Buddha, though it describes the ten stages of Bodhisattva's progress towards Bodhi After the third Saṅgīti and after the great persecution of the Buddhists partially by Aśoka and wholly by the Śungas, the Buddhists conceived the idea of a fourth pitaka and to soar high in the field of literature The works of Bodhisattva-pitaka are, however, either lost or have yet to be discovered The two works that have come down to us, one philosophical and another mystic, have not yet been properly edited, still from this

remnant and from the way the pitaka has been handled we can say that it has an extensive literature which stands midway between what is called the Hinayana and the Mahāyāna

Suzuki in his 'Awakening of Faith' speaks of other works besides the Lankāvatāra as the early works of Mahā-yāna which word I should like to substitute now by the word Bodhisattva pitaka He speaks of Śrimālā and Gandabyūha

VII

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE YĀNAS

During the early centuries of the Nirvāna era the idea of yāna developed gradually The earliest yānas were the Śrāvaka-yāna and the Pratyeka yana The aim of the Śrāvaka yāna was arhattva, *i e* worthiness of obtaining Nirvāna But an Arhat could not, by his own exertions obtain Nirvāna For that, he must have to depend on the appearance of another Buddha who would give him Nirvāna Even then a Buddha, promoted from Arhatship could not save others but himself *i e* free himself from the bondage of birth, old age and death

Pratyeka Buddhas are powerful individuals who by their own exertions during the absence of a Buddha could save themselves from the bondage of birth etc He also could not save others

The meaning of the word yāna' is very obscure and it has been made more obscure by the translation in foreign languages To a native of India it means the same thing as a pantha—body of religious doctrines collection of beliefs

as in the cases of Nānak-pantha, Kavīr-pantha, Dādu-pantha, Nātha-pantha, etc. The word 'vehicle' is not a proper translation of the word 'yāna,' but it has been so frequently made that it has acquired a right to be there.

In the seventh century of the Nirvāṇa era, *i.e.*, in Kaṇiska's time, another yāna has come in. It is called Mahā-yāna or the 'Great Vehicle' as it is translated, and in opposition to it, other vehicles are, by the followers of Mahāyāna, called Hīna-yāna or 'Lower Vehicles,' *i.e.*, the Śrāvaka-yāna and Pratyeka-yāna. The steps by which two vehicles developed into three are yet obscure. An attempt is made here to trace these steps as far as the existing literature would allow.

In the Mahāvastu, which was written in the first century of the split, *i.e.*, the second century of the Nirvāna era, we rarely meet with the word yāna, but the aim of the Buddhist aspirants have become higher. They are not satisfied with saving themselves; they want to save others after having saved themselves. And Bodhisattva is more in evidence in this work than in Pāli literature. It seems as if a higher class of disciples have come in between the Arhats and the Buddha. The steps by which disciples attain arhatship are (1) falling in the stream, (2) once returning, (3) not returning, and (4) Arhat. But Bodhisattvas had to pass through ten stages or bhūmis, the tenth of which reaches Buddhahood.

All this was in the second century of the split and the third century of the Nirvāṇa era. In this century, Aśoka expelled from the Saṅgha all who did not believe that the Buddhist system was a system of analysis. To him and to

those who supported him, the whole Śisana was vibhajya-vāda The expelled aspirants fled to different countries, but Aśoka's empire was so vast that they had to travel great distances to go beyond his empire It may be expected that some had themselves within the empire and some took refuge in borderlands. But in the fourth century, all Buddhists were persecuted, expelled and killed by the Brahmin emperors who destroyed the empire of the Mauryyas and became their successors The expelled monks found shelter in the Punjab among foreigners, in the Deccan and South India among more tolerant rulers The Sthaviravāda and the Vibhajyavāda of Aśoka emerged after the fall of the Brahmin emperors as Sarvāstivādins Vasumitra, in his account of the Sarvāstivādins in the 37th article of their faith, says that "The Buddha and the two vehicles have no differences as to emancipation (vimukti) The Aryan paths (mārgas) of the three vehicles, however, differ from one another" Where are the three yānas? Two are only mentioned The third must, therefore, be Buddha yāna

Masuda, the translator of the Chinese translation of Vasumitra's Sanskrit work, adds a footnote on the 37th article of faith of the Sarvastivādins in the following words— 'There is no corresponding proposition to this in the Tibetan version nor in the Ch'in lun Vassilief thought this to be an interpolation of the later Mahayānists (*cf* Vassilief, p 275, note 4) But he is entirely wrong in this supposition This is one of the doctrines of the Vaibhasikas and not of the Mahā-yāna The Vaibhasikas maintained that as to the final goal, the three vehicles are the same (Vibhasā, Vol XXXI), while as to the mode of realisation there are some

differences, just as the three beasts, the horse, the hare and the elephant cannot cross a river in the same manner (*cf* Vibhāsā, Vol CXLIII and Fa-jên, III p 21 a) —Masuda, pp 49-50 Asia Major, Vol II, 1925

From this quotation it is apparent that the Vibhāsā, which was compiled in the early days of Kaniska, according to Si u ki of Yuan-chwan, speaks of three yānas, without, of course, naming them The Sravaka and Pratyeka yānas are well-known; what is the third? The other word along with the two yānas is Buddha, so I take the third yāna to be Buddha-yāna and I am supported in my contention by the Lankavatāra which speaks of a Tathāgata-yāna There is another thing which supports this theory. The three yānas are compared to the horse, the hare and the elephant, and the most appropriate simile of Buddha is the elephant

Suzuki, in his 'Studies in the Lankāvatāra Sūtra,' p 359, says— Besides this eka-yāna and dvi-yāna, the Mahā-yāna sūtras generally speak of tri-yāna which consists of the Srāvaka-yāna, Pratyekabuddha-yāna and Bodhisattva-yāna Lankāvatāra is a Maha yāna sūtra, therefore, when it speaks of tri yāna, it means those three But throughout the Sanskrit text, edited by Nanjio, the compound word Bodhi sattva yāna is nowhere found In Sagāthakam, verses 457-58 and Chap II, p 135, we have—

Deva yānam Brahma-yānam, Śrāvakiyam tathaiva ca
Tathāgatam ca pratyekam yānīn yetīn vadāmi aham
Yānānām nāsti vai nisthā yāvaccittam pravarttate
Citte tu vai parāvrtte na yanam na ca yāninah

But there is no Bodhisattva yāna here. Suzuki again says—

"The Dvi-yāna comprises Śrāvakas and Pratyeka Buddhas, whereas the Eka-yāna is meant for the Bodhisattvas" But the text says, Sagāthakam, 445,

'Yāna-vyavasthā nairvāsti yānamekam vadāmi aham
Parikarsanāya vālānām yānabhedam vadāmi aham."

Sagāthakam, 165-166,

"Daksināpatha vedalyām bhiksu śrīmān mahāyaśāh
Nāgāhvayah sa nāmnā tu sadasatpaksadīrakah
Prakāśya loke mad-yānam mahāyānamanuttaram
Āsādya bhūmim muditām yāsyate 'sau sukhāvatīm"

Here mad-yāna means Buddha-yāna and not Bodhisattva-yāna

From pp. 63-67 the Lankāvatāra speaks of 'pañcābhisamaya-gotram' and explains their position The five are—(1) Śrāvaka-yānā-bhi-samaya-gotram, (2) Pratyeka-buddha-yānā-bhi-samaya-gotram, (3) Tathāgata-yānā-bhi samaya-gotram, (4) Aniyata-ikatara-gotram, and (5) Agotram Here also the word 'Bodhisattva-yāna' is conspicuous by its absence. The Tathāgata-yānā-bhi-samaya gotram is of three kinds—(1) Svabhāvanihsvabhāva-dharmābhisamaya-gotram (2) Adhigama-svapratyātma-āryyābhisamaya-gotram (3) Vāhya-buddha-ksetra-udāryyā-bhisamaya-gotram Here even the word 'Bodhisattvayāna' does not occur

So it is now proved that the word Bodhisattva-yāna does not occur in the Lankāvatāra—neither in the text, nor in the Sagāthakam, which seems to be a much later addition not only of the gāthās to be found in the Lankāvatāra, but also of several hundreds not to be found there The Sagāthaka is later, because it directly mentions Nāgārjuna

who flourished in the end of the second century A.D. and the Guptas who reigned with various changes of fortune from 319-606 A.D. (Sagāthaka, vv. 785-86), the verses are—

Mayi nirvṛte varsaśate vyāso vai bhāratastathā,
Pāṇḍavāh Kauravā Rāma paścān Maurī bhavisyati :,
Mauryā Nandaśca Guptaśca tato Mlecchā nṛpādhamā,
Mlecchānte śastra sanksobhah śastrānte ca Kalir yugah.

In another place in the Lankāvatāra Chap. II, Buddha says—that my yāna is ekayāna, but I do not preach to others, because the Śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas depend on me for salvation. The text is as follows :—

"Mahāmatir āha kim kāraṇam bhagavatā yānatrayam upadiṣṭaṁ ekayānam no-padiśyate. Bhagavān āha. Svayaṁ aparinirvānadharmatvāt mahāmate sarva-śrāvaka-pratyeka-buddhānām ekayānam na vadāmi. yasmān mahāmate sarva Śrāvaka-pratyeka-buddhāh-tathāgata-vinaya-viveka-yogopadeśena vimucyante na svayam." (Nanjio, p. 134).

The third yāna in the Lankāvatāra cannot but be 'Tathāgata-yāna' and cannot be 'Bodhisattva-yāna.' Any how, reading the Lankāvatāra, we are not sure that the author or authors thought only of three yānas and not five In one place Buddha had been made to say—yānānām nāsti vai nisṭhā, *i.e.*, there is no end of yānas.

Though the No. 3 is generally accepted, still it was an open question whether it could not be many more, and it was an open question even in the 11th century, when we hear of a new yāna called the Bhadra-yāna.[1]

Suzuki regrets that the chronology of the Lankāvatāra

[1] Indian Historical Quarterly, 1925

could not be asserted but if the later additions Chap I — Rāvanādhyesanī and the last chapter—Sagīthalam are excluded the work would be earlier than the "Awakening of the Faith in Mahā yāna" by Aśvaghosa which Suzuki has himself translated For he says in note 1, p 51 of that work "The view here proposed by Asvaghosa, which is called by Chinese Buddhists the theory of the evolution of Tathāgata-garbha is considered to be an elucidation of the doctrine taught by Buddha in such mahā yāna sutras as the Lankāvatāra, Ghanavyūha (perhaps Gandavyūha) and Śrīmālā"

In the Dharma samgraha[1] of Nāgārjuna the three yānas are Śrāvakayāna, Pratyekayāna and Mahāyāna In the Mahā-vyutpatti (1911) there is no Bodhisattva yāna but the five yānas as in the Lankāvatāra So these kosas do not help in determining the name of the third yāna Yet the third yāna is Bodhisattva yāna, that is the general im pression How does the impression come about?

In the Saddharma pundarīka the gathas do not mention Bodhisattva yāna at all as the third yana, but the Sanskrit prose mentions it several times We cannot rely on the Sanskrit prose because in the fragments of the Saddharma pundarika found buried in the sands of the Taklamakan desert dating from the fifth century A D there is no Sanskrit prose but the prose portion is written in the language of the gāthās It is surmised that this old dialect has been translated into Sanskrit in subsequent centuries in Nepal or India What the prose in that dialect contains we do not know

[1] Anecdota Oxoniensia Series

In the Vajra-cchedikā which is said to be a portion of the Prajñāpāramitā, the third yāna is uniformly called the Bodhisattva-yāna The Prajñā-pāramitā too, calls it by the same name

In the Lankāvatāra the Buddha is not the absolute unificatory principle of the world, material and spiritual But when the Kāya theory developed, this principle was expressed by the word Dharma-kāya and the other kāyas were mere manifestations of it The absolute can have no yāna, so in the Kāya theory Buddha-yāna would be a misnomer, and so the function of the third yāna was transferred to the Bodhisattvas, and it was called the Bodhisattva-yāna

VIII

THE THREE KĀYAS

Another characteristic of the Mahāyāna is the theory of the three Kāyas—Dharma-Kāya Sambhoga-Kāya and Nirmāna-Kāya We hear nothing of this theory in the early Pāli literature The early Buddhists have no idea of it The Mahāvastu speaks of Dharma-Kāya (III , pp 344, 452) but not in the sense to help the kāya theory It speaks of the Nirmitas, but the meaning is wide away from Nirmāna-Kāya The Kāya theory was not even conceived in the early days when the Mahāvastu was written or compiled

The Lañkāvatāra speaks of (1) Dharmatā Buddha or Dharma-Buddha, (2) Nisyanda-Buddha or Vipākastha *Buddha or simply Vipāka-Buddha, (3) Nirmāna-Buddha* or Nirmita Buddha or Nirmāna-nairmānika-Buddha But they are a trinity,—one is separate and distinct from the other The Kāya theory, elucidating three different phases

of the same absolute substance, has not yet been propounded.

The Kāya theory, in its full development, came after Asaṅga, Vasuvandhu and others in the third and fourth centuries of Christ, and they are Dharma-kāya, Sambhoga-kāya and Nirmāṇa-kāya. Dharma-kāya is the absolute, hard as diamond which has another name, Vajra or Śūnyatā, the character of which is given in the following verse :—

"Dṛḍhaṁ sāramasau sīryyaṁ acchedyābhedya-lakṣaṇaṁ
Adāhi avināśi ca śūnyatā vajramucyate"

i.e., absolute. It is inconceivable, without limits either in space or time, unapproachable, infinite and cannot even be imagined. So far is its philosophical character. But in its religious character, it is the source of all that is good and it is the thing from which emanates individuality. But human beings, with limited powers, cannot approach it, cannot imagine it and is always in awe of it. So there must be somebody with sympathy to the sufferings of sentient beings, and that is the Sambhoga-Kāya. He sits exalted in his Lotus palace, in the Śuddhāvāsa Heaven, Imperially decorated with gems and jewels, with a benign expression, surrounded by higher class Bodhisattvas who alone can approach the formless, resplendent heaven of Śuddhāvāsa. He may have sympathy with sentient beings, but they cannot approach him to go to the Śuddhāvāsa heaven, where he enjoys the quiet bliss of his efforts of infinitely long time quietly in samādhi. Emanations from him called Nirmāṇa-Kāya go about for saving all sentient beings in different forms. These are called Dharma-Kāya, Sambhoga-Kāya and Nirmāṇa-Kāya according to the Kāya theory. This

theory is made from the point of view of the absolute, developing into useful forms for the relief of sufferings They are all one, but have only phases or manifestations

But in the Lankāvatāra, Dharma-Buddha is a distinct personality He is absolute, inconceivable, incomprehensible, etc But the next Buddha is Nisyanda Buddha or Vipāka-Buddha The word Nisyanda Buddha comes from the root "syand to exude Nisyanda Buddha therefore means a Buddha exuding from the Infinite Vipāka Buddha comes from the root pāc' 'to cook' It is in cooking that exuding takes place Then exuding would mean overflow Vipāka-Buddha and Nisyanda Buddha have been treated, in the Lankāvatāra, as one Exuding, of course means that the Nisyanda Buddha depends upon Dharmatā Buddha and has his abode in the Akanistha heaven He is not absolute He is within the range of phenomenal existence He is also engaged in training his disciples but how he teaches is not known The Nirmānas are many and have their being all over the universe teaching and relieving sufferings The Lankāvatara's idea is that they are distinct personages and not different phases of the same person

How the idea of the Lankavatara of a trinity of persons developed into three phases of the same substance is not possible to find in the literature so far known But Suzuki says that even Nāgārjuna is not clear on this point The Suvarna Pravāsa and the Saddharma pundarika seem to give some information about the development But the thing is not yet clear

CHAPTER XXXV

PHILOSOPHY OF LANKĀVATĀRA[1]

According to this work, the author of which is unknown to us, all the dharmas or phenomenal entities are but imaginary constructions of the mind. There is no movement in the so called external world as we suppose, for no such world exists. We construct it ourselves and then we ourselves are deluded that it exists by itself. There are two functions involved in our consciousness, that which holds the perceptions, and that which orders them by imaginary construction. The two functions, however, mutually determine each other and cannot be separately distinguished. These functions are set to work on account of the beginningless instinctive tendencies inherent in them in relation to the world of appearances. All sense knowledge can be stopped when the diverse unmanifested instincts of imagination are stopped. All our phenomenal knowledge is without any essence or truth and is but a creation of māyā a mirage or a dream. There is nothing which may be called external but all are the imaginary creations of one's own mind which has been accustomed to create imaginary appearances from beginningless time. This mind by the movement of which these creations take place as subject and object has no existence in itself and is thus without any origination existence and extinction and is called the ālayavijñāna. What is meant by this ālayavijñāna which is said to be

[1] Based upon the author's forthcoming book The Development of Indian Idealism Cambridge University Press.

without origination, existence and extinction, is probably this that it is always a hypothetical state which merely explains the phenomenal states that appear and therefore has no existence in the sense in which the term is ordinarily used and we cannot form any special notion of it.

We do not realise that all visible phenomena are of nothing external but of our own minds and there is also the beginningless tendency for believing and creating a phenomenal world of appearances. There is also the nature of knowledge (which takes things as the perceiver and the perceived) and there is also the instinct in the mind which experiences diverse forms. On account of these four reasons there are produced in the ālayavijñāna the ripples of our sense-experience as in a lake and these are manifested in sense-experiences and in the five skandhas called Pañcavijñānakāya a proper synthetic form. None of the phenomenal cognitives that appear are either identical or different from the ālayavijñāna just as the waves cannot be said to be either identical or different from the ocean. As the ocean dances on in waves so the citta or the ālayavijñāna is also dancing as it were in its diverse operations. As citta it collects all movements within it, as manas it synthesises and as vijñāna it constructs the five-fold perceptions. It is only due to māyā or illusion that the phenomena appear in their two-fold aspect as subject and object. This must, however, always be regarded as an appearance whereas one can never say whether they really exist or not. All phenomena both being and non-being are illusory. When we look deeply into them we find that there is an absolute negation of all appearances including even all nega-

tions for they are also appearances This would make the ultimate truth positive, but this is not so, for it is that in which the positive and the negative are one and the same Such a state which is complete in itself and has no name and no substance is described in the Lankāvatārasūtra as "thatness" This state is also described in another place in the Lankāvatārasūtra as voidness, which is one and has no origination and no essence It may be supposed that this doctrine of an unqualified ultimate truth comes near to the vedantic ātman and we find in the Lankāvatārasūtra that Rāvana asks Buddha, "How can you say that your doctrine of Tathāgatagarbha is not the same as the ātman doctrine of the other schools of philosophy for these heretics all consider the ātman as the eternal agent, unqualified, all-pervading and unchanged" To this the Buddha is supposed to reply thus—'Our doctrine is not the same as the doctrine of those heretics It is in consideration of the fact that the instructions of a philosophy, which considered that there was no soul or substance in anything, will frighten the disciples that I say that all things are in reality the Tathāgatagarbha This should not be regarded as ātman Just as clay is made into various shapes so is the non essential nature of all phenomena and their freedom from all characteristics, and this is described as the garbha or the nairātmya (essencelessness) This explanation of the Tathāgatagarbha as the ultimate truth and reality is given in order to attract to our creed those heretics who are superstitiously inclined to believe in the ātman doctrine"

Thus the Buddha explained the doctrine of Pratītya-samutpāda with certain modifications There was with

them an external Pratītyasamutpāda just as it appeared in the objective aspect and in internal Pratītyasamutpāda The external Pratītyasamutpāda is represented in the way in which material things came into being by the co-operation of diverse elements—the lump of clay, the potter, the wheel, etc The internal Pratītyasamutpāda was represented by avidyā, tṛṣnā, karma, the skandhas and the āyatanas

Our understanding is composed of two categories called the Pravicayabuddhi and the Vikalpalakṣaṇagrahābhiniveśapratiṣthāpikabuddhi The Pravicayabuddhi is that which always seeks to take things in either of the following four ways, that they are either this or the other, either both or not both, either are or are not, either eternal or non-eternal But in reality none of these can be affirmed of the phenomena The second category consists of that habit of the mind by virtue of which it constructs diversities and arranges them (created in their turn by this constructive activity—*parikalpa*) in a logical order of diverse relations of subject and predicate, cause and effect, etc. He who knows the nature of these two categories of the mind knows that there is no external world of matter and that they are all experiences only in the mind There is no water but it is the sense construction of perceivers that constructs the water as an external substance, it is the sense construction of activity or energy that constructs the external substance of fire, it is the sense construction of movement that constructs the external substance of air In this way through the false habit of taking the unreal as real five skandhas appear If these were to appear all together we could not speak of any kind of cause or relation

and if they appear in succession there can be no connection between them as there is nothing to combine them together In reality there is nothing which is produced or destroyed It is only our constructive imagination that builds up things as perceived by us and we are the perceivers Whatever we designate by speech is mere speech construction and therefore unreal In speech one could not speak of anything without relating things in some kind of cause effect relation but none of these characters may be said to be true the real truth can never be referred to by such speech construc tion

The nothingness (*sunyata*) of things may be viewed in seven aspects (1) That they are always inter dependent and hence have no special characteristics by themselves and as they cannot be determined in themselves they cannot be determined in terms of others for their own natures being only an undetermined reference to an other are also undetermined in themselves and hence they are all indefinable (2) That they have no positive essence since they spring up from a natural non existence (3) That they are of an unknown type of non existence since all the skandhas or psychological groups vanished in the nirvana (4) That they appear phenomenally as connected though non existent for the skandhas have no reality in themselves nor are they related to others but yet they appear to be somehow causally connected (5) That none of the things can be described as having no definite nature They are all undemonstrable by language (6) That there cannot be any knowledge about them except that which is brought about by the longstanding defects of desires which pollute

all our vision. (7) That things are also non-existent in the sense that we affirm them to be in a particular place and time in which they are not. There is thus only non-existence which again is neither eternal nor destructible and the world is but a dream and mirage; the two kinds of negation are ākāśa and nirvāṇa; things which are neither existent nor non-existent are only imagined to be existent by fools. This view apparently comes into conflict with the doctrine of this school that the reality is called Tathāgatagarbha (the womb of all that is merged in 'thatness') and all the phenomenal appearances and the psychological groups (*skandhas*), elements (*dhātus*) and fields of sense-operations (*āyatana*) only serve to veil it with impurities and this would bring it nearer to the assumption of a universal soul as reality but the Laṅkāvatāra attempts to explain away this conflict by suggesting that the reference to the Tathāgatagarbha as the reality is only a sort of false bait to attract those who are afraid of listening to the nairātmya doctrine.

As a matter of fact the Laṅkāvatāra seems to criticise the tathatā doctrine of Aśvaghosa. It says that others describe the uncreated, indestructible voidness as the eternal reality as 'thatness.'[1] It is, necessary, therefore, to compare and contrast the idealism of Aśvaghosa with that of the Lankāvatārasūtra. The tathatā or 'thatness' of Aśvaghosa is sometimes described as nothingness or śūnyatā only because there is no distinction of reality of any kind in it; and because it is completely free from any attributes which are ascribed to ordinary things which are to be regarded as unreal, but at the same time

[1] Laṅkāvatāra, p 198

it contains in itself infinite merits because it is self existent, whereas the ultimate reality being in itself oneness the totality of all things and the great all including whole, it is free from all projections of our subjective self which invents relations and thereby makes all things appear as mutually related and individuated.[1] The things in their ultimate nature possess no signs of distinction and as such there is no transformation destruction or distinction of any kind, all things in their essence are but the one soul for which the name tathatâ or thatness' is a convenient symbol All words and expressions are nothing but representations projected forward by our subjective self and are not therefore realities It is in this sense that the ultimate reality is to be regarded as unspeakable When this ultimate reality is described as negation what is meant is that it is free from all signs of distinction existing among phenomenal objects So in one sense this ultimate reality may be called as that which is neither existent (in the popular sense in which all the diverse phenomenal appearances appear as existent) nor that which is non existent (because it is the ground the being and the essence of all things and in its own nature as such all things are identical with it as this alone forms their reality) nor that which is at once existent and non existent (because none of the diversities of the manifold world exist in it) nor that which is not at once existent and non existent (because in its existent form as ultimate reality it comprehends the essence of all being) It cannot be called mere unity because all duality and multiplicity have

[1] The account of Aśvaghosa's philosophy given here is based upon the translation of Śraddhotpada by Suzuki The original work being in Chinese is not accessible to the present writer

their ultimate being in it and it cannot be called plurality because all notions of plurality are but false creations. It is on this account that there is no word in our phenomenal use by which we can describe the nature of this ultimate substance for all words are relational and being relational they are the production of our particularising consciousness which is the source of all illusion. In refuting the false interpretations of the Mahāyāna doctrine Aśvaghoṣa says that hearing from the sūtra that the tathāgatagarbha is described as perfectly tranquil there are ignorant people who think that the nature of the tathāgatagarbha is eternal and omnipresent in the same sense as space is regarded as eternal and omnipresent. But this cannot be, for, where there is the perception of space there is side by side a perception of a variety of things in contra-distinction to which space is spoken of as if existing independently, for space exists only in relation to our particularising consciousness. Again he points out that hearing from the sūtras that all things in the world are perfectly emptiness (*atyanta śunyatā*), that even nirvāṇa or suchness is also perfect emptiness and is devoid in its true nature of all characteristics, ignorant people cling to the view that nirvāṇa is a nothing and devoid of all contents. But this cannot be, for the ultimate reality is not a nothing but holds within itself all infinite qualities which make up its true nature. He again points out that hearing from the sūtras that the tathāgatagarbha holds within it all qualities which do not suffer any increase or diminution in it, it is held by ignorant people that in the tathāgatagarbha there is an inherent and fundamental distinction such as is found between object and subject

or matter and mind But this cannot be, for the ultimate reality is devoid of all distinctions Then again, he points out that hearing from the sūtras that even all impure and defile things in the world are produced from the tathāgata-garbha, and that the things of the world are not different from it, it is held by ignorant people that this ultimate reality contains within it all objects of the world in their varied and pluralistic nature But this cannot be, for the so-called plurality of the world has no self existence and are simply illusory and therefore in a way the ultimate reality is wholly untouched by them He, therefore, points out that there are many Buddhists who think that the Buddha taught the doctrine of a non-personal ātman as separate from the psychological clusters or skandhas which are momentary but the true point of view is that all these psychological clusters are neither created nor annihilated They are in their ultimate reality the essence, the nirvāṇa and there is no impersonal ātman outside them which has to be achieved by our efforts As soon as we free ourselves from our particularising tendencies we find that matter, mind, intelligence, consciousness, being or non being, are all but relative terms which in their apparent nature are inexplicable and which in their inner essence are identical with the ultimate reality, the thatness ' The thatness' alone, therefore, is the ultimate reality (*tattva*) and this reality is absolutely beyond the realm of relations All so called illusory phenomena are in truth from the beginning what they were and their essence is nothing but the one soul, the ultimate reality and though ordinary people may regard this world of plurality to be true and real, wise persons

always consider it to have an appearance only originating from the particularising consciousness of our minds whereas in their ultimate essence they have but one reality, the 'thatness' We now see that the doctrine of Aśvaghosa admits one reality as ultimate, absolute and true, all the rest are mere phenomenal which though false in all their appearances as many are yet identical in their ultimate essence with this absolute which for want of specification is signified by the term thatness'

The difference of this view from the Lankāvatāra may now become evident The Lankāvatāra does not seem to admit any ultimate reality which may be regarded as absolute in itself It thinks that all the diverse phenomena are simply appearances to each individual mind The individual mind itself in its turn is also not an ultimate reality but is itself an appearance The appearances are neither caused nor destroyed, for the very notion of cause and production is false and is a mere appearance According to Lankāvatāra the whole of the wrong philosophy that has found currency amongst the people depends on the projection or assumption of false categories such as being non being, cause, effect, production, destruction, interaction, correlation, or the like All these are mere false appearances to one's own mind, we know the mind is also in itself nothing but a false appearance When the Lankāvatāra, therefore, thus describes all phenomena to be false it is not to be supposed that it presumes the existence of any reality of any kind as distinct from the falsehood The word falsehood has only valued in contrast to the notion of reality and as both these notions have the same status being nothing

but appearance there is no ultimate meaning also in calling all phenomena false All that can be said of the phenomena is that there is nothing behind them and that all doctrines of causation and all existence are meaningless and inexplicable All things are neither existent nor non existent (*sadasatpaksavigata*), neither created nor destructible, neither positive nor negative There is no movement anywhere No one hears anything nor is anything heard, no one sees anything nor is anything seen Just as an image in the mirror can neither be said to have been originated nor destroyed, neither existent nor non existent, but is mere illusory perception, so is this entire world Thus in one passage (p 176) it is said that a Brahmin spoke to the Buddha that everything is produced and the Buddha replied that this is a popular view The Brahmin then said that nothing is produced and the Buddha replied that this is the second popular view Then when the Brahmin said that everything is non-eternal or everything is eternal or everything can be produced or nothing can be produced the Buddha replied that these are all popular views The Buddha further said that the notion of oneness otherness, togetherness and the notion of neither the one nor the other, the notion that everything depends on causes, that everything is a modification, that there is something which is not a modification, that there is a self or that there is not a self, that there is this world or there is not the other world, that there is emancipation or that there is no emancipation, that everything is momentary or that nothing is momentary, all these views are mere popular views The Buddha said

that he did not believe in the doctrine of causes nor in the doctrine that there are no causes. He could not grasp this view because they are obsessed with the notion of reality, the notion of a self and its object and the notion of diverse relations. According to the Lankāvatāra, therefore, there is nothing real anywhere; everything is merely a perceptual appearance including all logical categories and relations of all kinds. Since all percepts, relations and all kinds of phenomena are but mere perceptual appearances no affirmation of any kind may be made in any sphere generally. Metaphysical discussions are possible because the notion of unity, plurality, cause, effect, correlation and the like are regarded in a sense more primary than the data on which they are applied but whether all relations and all phenomena are mere perceptual appearances none of which has a superior value to the others it is impossible that any metaphysical speculation can be made regarding the nature either of such relations or of the phenomena on which they are to be applied. There cannot also be any notion of anything in itself for the very notion of a thing in-itself is a mere perceptual appearance, and as such is not more primary than other appearances. Thus in page 108 the question is asked to the Buddha, 'Whether illusion has any existence or not," and the Buddha replies that it is impossible to say whether illusion exists or not, for if the category of existence and non-existence can be applied to any entity then that implies that the category of existence or non-existence is more primary than the illusion and that indicates an obsession of the mind which in the proper perspective ought to be got rid of these notions and the Buddhist doctrine would then

be similar to the doctrine of other philosophers who believe in the application of these categories For it is said that illusion is like the principle of māyā which may explain the origin of other notions Then this philosophy would believe in the productivity of māyā and would thus be similar to other systems of philosophy All appearances are but delusions of the perception of the mind through some wrong tendencies The seers never perceive any illusion nor any reality beyond it, for if there is any reality beyond illusion then illusion itself would be a reality, being the other side of the reality If the ultimate cause is beyond the illusory then that illusion may be regarded as the cause of that reality just as darkness may be regarded as a cause of light There is no category which can be called māyā, because all entities or appearances are similar to magic that they are called māyā All things are called similar to māyā because they are false and as evanescent as lightning sparks All philosophers who believe in the existence of the entities speak of them as being produced out of something but as Buddhism does not believe either in entities or in cause or in production, it cannot say of any entity or appearance that it has been produced or that it has not been produced The whole notion of production and non production being entirely alien to its doctrines This view however seems to come in conflict with the view described before that the Lankāvatāra philosophy admits the subjective mind called the alayavijñāna from which through beginningless roots of desire there arise the creation of sense data and their relations and the external world as well as the inner experiences There this ālayavijñana is described as if it

was the sea in which ripples arose and these ripples were the subjective creations, the sensations and their relations; and this would seem to indicate as if the Laṅkāvatāra believed in the existence of a subjective mind and if this was so, the philosophy just described, that nothing can be associated with any kind of reality and that everything was but meaningless phenomena about which no affirmations of any kind can be made, would be unobtainable. The reconciliation of both the views however can be found in the fact that two kinds of philosophy are preached in the Laṅkāvatāra, a lower and a higher. As the higher philosophy is too radical it was felt that it might scare away the ordinary people who are obsessed with the notion of some kind of reality and it is for getting their minds prepared that the theory of a subjective mind from which everything else has come into being as modifications of it or as phenomena arising out of it like a sea manifesting itself in waves and ripples, has been taught. The right view of the Laṅkāvatāra, however, is the higher philosophy which would regard all logical notions or ontological notions to be but mere appearances and would thus refute in the strongest terms any affirmation of reality to a subjective mind. Those who are familiar with European philosophy know well that according to Kant all logical notions are regarded as having emanated from the categories of the mind and as such they could only be affirmed in experience *but not beyond it. Kant, however, rather inconsistently* admitted an unknowable extra-experiential source of our sensations. The Laṅkāvatāra, however, carries Kant's programme to its logical extreme and regards all logical relations

and all ontological perceptual and psychological entities which have the same kind of status as being valid only in experience and as such it was impossible to make any metaphysical assertion of any kind regarding these entities All entities are simply as they are no further ultimate characterisation of their nature is possible, for all characterisation would be but mere appearance, yet from the ordinary experiential view it can be imagined that all our experiences including sensations and relations are being originated from a subjective mind But since no affirmation can be made regarding any of the entities in our experience which would be valid in itself or both in and beyond the experience the experiential facts would be meaningless inexplicable and unpredicable phenomena only It is in this way then that the apparently conflicting views of the Lankāvatāra may be reconciled according to the statement of the Lankāvatāra itself According to Aśvaghosa s philosophy we have both an ultimate reality as tathatā and a phenomenal mind which is subjective in its nature and thus though the reality of the phenomenal mind may be denied in its own nature as mere subjective mind with its root-tendencies and their creative developments as subjective mental phenomena and their objective counterparts as the external world yet the subjective mind is still real in its essence as ultimate thatness Both the philosophy of the Lankāvatāra and that of Aśvaghosa seem to be familiar with the upanisadic theory of causation such as the production of diverse kinds of earthen pots from a lump of earth and this view seems to have been very well utilised in the philosophy of Aśvaghosa But it is the special

feature of Aśvaghosa's philosophy that though he regards all modifications of the original cause either as subjective mind in the first grade or its second grade developments as the external world and the mental phenomena as false yet he thinks that the original cause has in itself all the diverse qualities by virtue of which such productions were possible, *though they do not take away its undifferentiated* character as mere distinctionless self-identity. No proper discussion is found regarding the question whether the ālayavijñāna can be regarded as one or many. Perhaps he does not consider it to be very important ; but it seems that the ālayavijñāna though often used in the singular is used generically to denote the individual subjective centres of self which were associated with its own peculiar beginningless history of experiences and root tendencies.- The philosophy of Lankāvatāra that has to be distinguished from that of Aśvaghosa is that the former may be regarded as being under the very influence of Nāgārjuna and as a matter of fact the Laṅkāvatāra refers to Nāgārjuna as having formulated its philosophy (p 286) Yet the positive part of the philosophy of the Laṅkāvatāra consists in the fact that it considers all ontological notions such as being, non-being, cause, effect, etc., to be as much a manifestation in consciousness (*prajñaptimātra*) as the data of our senses or memory images on which they are applied With Nāgārjuna, however, the emphasis was on the negative side. He regarded all things as having no essence , all things were in themselves self-contradictory and whatever was self-contradictory was essenceless According to the Lankāvatāra, however, the question whether anything is positive

or negative or whether anything has essence or not or whether anything is caused or not, is invalid for these notions are as much appearances in consciousness as those which were regarded to be their contents It is, therefore a false habit of ours that we make a revision of some entities as being of the nature of content or of substance and for others to be their qualities or logical relations It is on account of this false habit that such questions can at all arise. In the proper perspective, however, it would be wrong to ask such questions as, "What is real or what is unreal, what is positive, what is negative, what is cause, what is effect, what is reality, what is illusion or whether illusion ultimately existed or not" ? For these imply an illegitimate separation of contents from relations and the mode of thinking that all contents have to be grasped by the various ontological or logical categories

It is, therefore, not possible for any one to ask the philosopher in the Lankāvatāra, "How is experience possible, or what is the origin of the diverse phenomena and how the diverse phenomena came into being" as this implies the old fallacy of philosophies in general which the Lankāvatāra wishes to demolish But it seems however, that there is scope for asking such a question in the philosophy of Aśvaghosa, for there one ultimate reality is admitted and it is said that out of that ultimate reality through the influence of ignorance the subjective mind manifested itself, yet the avidyā is not regarded there as a dynamic power existing in the ultimate reality which can be distinguished in its operation as a mode of activity which has its being in the ultimate reality, for the ultimate reality

is pure self-identity Thus the avidyā is regarded as the cause of the origin of the subjective mind and its development as a projection of an objective world of the mental states, yet it is regarded as being identical in essence with the ultimate reality and the question remains unanswered how is the notion of avidyā derived from that of the ultimate reality In treating the relation of avidyā with Brāhman the Vedāntists of the school of Śankara, expose themselves to the same difficulties which can be charged against Asvaghosa But the fundamental fallacy of such philosophies is that here philosophy has run absolutely bankrupt and in the name of explaining our experiences it explains nothing and leaves them suspended in the air

CHAPTER XXXVI

A NOTE ON BODHISATTVA LOKANĀTHA AND OTHER MAHĀYĀNA GODS IN BURMA

I

Burma is professedly Buddhist and follows the Pāli canon of the Southern School The story of the introduction of Buddhism of the Theravāda school into Upper Burma from Thātoñ is too well-known to be recounted here [1] But the question as to when did Thātoñ, or more properly Rāmaññadeśa, the land *par excellence* of the Talaings adopt the faith of Theravāda Buddhism is still an open one Are we *to accept the tradition, so insistent in Burmese records*, of the Aśoka-mission of Sona and Uttara to Suvannabhūmi, or should we rely upon the later tradition that Buddhaghosa, the celebrated Buddhist commentator and encyclopædist, crossed over to Burma and preached there the religion of the Master ? Available evidence is so meagre that the question cannot be answered satisfactorily and recent criticism has thrown doubt on both the traditions *It is equally difficult to determine whether the religion was* first introduced from Ceylon or from some other country The only thing which can be asserted with certainty at this stage of historical research is that the introduction of the Faith must have taken place *not later than the 5th or 6th* century A D but the actual circumstances are totally unknown to us So long as the possibility of the penetration

[1] Harvey – History of Burma

of early North Indian Hīnayānism (as distinct from later Pāli Buddhism of the South) into Burma directly from the North is not finally disposed of it cannot be asserted that Burma originally received her Faith from Ceylon It is true that the Buddhism of Thātoñ (Lower Burma) as well as of Pagan was of the Ceylonese form, but the earliest Pāli inscriptions found at Hmawza (belonging to the 5th or 6th century A D) though unmistakably Buddhist, do not exclusively refer to the Southern School of Pāli Buddhism The formula contained in them is a well-known clause in the chain of the twelve Nidānas[1] The inscriptions are fragmentary, but they certainly indicate that they contained extracts from the Mahāvagga, the first book of the Vinaya Pitaka, one of the earliest Hīnayāna texts not originating in the Southern School of Pāli Buddhism Recent discoveries at Hmawza, Prome, have unearthed a manuscript containing twenty gold leaves inscribed with extracts from the Abhidhamma and Vinaya Pitakas (An R A S I, 1926 27, p 181) This constitutes together with those just mentioned the earliest proofs of Pāli Buddhism in Burma It is certain that they refer to texts which, as just remarked, do not originate in the Southern School of Pāli Buddhism But the evidence of palæography seems to point to the fact that Lower Burma received her Pāli Buddhism neither from Ceylon nor from Northern India, but from the Southern Peninsula The writing on all the inscriptions referred to above is in characters of an early South Indian script of the Canara Telegu type of the V VIth century A D The appearance of Pāli Buddhism in Burma thus almost com-

[1] An R A S India Excavations at Hmawza 1910 11 and 1911 12

cides with the establishment and development of a great Hīnayānist centre at Kāñci (mod Conjeeveram) and the Canara country of Southern India, so intimately connected with the Buddhaghosa tradition

But a far more interesting episode in the history of Buddhism and Buddhist culture in Burma is the introduction of Mahāyānism and Mahāyānist Tāntrikism in Pagan before Theravāda Buddhism could make its influence felt there, as well as the existence, side by side, of the two cults in other parts of Burma The Burmese chronicles, no doubt, assert that prior to the introduction of Hīnayānism, Buddhism did not at all exist in Pagan But, as Mon Charles Duroiselle has pointed out, "This is merely a sectarian endeavour to make the nation forget that there had once existed at Pagan a Buddhist sect outside the pale of Sinhalese Buddhism, and very strongly tainted with grossly immoral practices which were repulsive to the purer faith they now professed "[1] The introduction of Mahāyānism in Pagan was already a thing of the distant past when Tārānāth wrote and flourished , for, he records that, 'in the time of the Senas of Bengal under the pressure of Muhammadan invasion many learned doctors and disciples fled from Magadha to Pagan and to Cambodia and that Mahāyānism, as a result spread to the Koki land in which he includes Pagan Arakan and Hamśavati [2] The tradition as recorded by Tārānāth finds its strongest support in the existence in Pagan of the Ariś a Buddhist sect belonging to the Northern School who came to Pagan from Eastern India about the 6th century A D Mon Charles Duroiselle has found confirma-

[1] An R A S India 1915 16 Duroiselle—Art of Burma and Tantrik Buddhism
[2] *Ibid*

tion of their existence from Tibetan sources, as also from the frescoes of the Payāthonzu and Nandamañña temples of Minnānthu in Pagan. By the eighth century, they became profoundly influenced by Tāntrikism. and addicted, as revealed by the frescoes, to grossly immoral practices. Anawrahta, the real founder of the Pagan dynasty. and the king responsible for the introduction of Theravāda Buddhism in Pagan from Thātoñ, was a fierce persecutor of the Aris, but they could hardly be stamped out by his persecution. The existence of the sect till as late as the 15th century is proved by epigraphic evidences when under the influence of the great restoration of Buddhism by King Dhammaceti, they were gradually wiped out.[1]

Existence of Mahāyānism in Burma is also attested to by the discovery at Hmawza, Prome, of a beautifully executed bronze statue of a standing Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara with four arms and stylistically belonging to about the 7th or 8th century A.D.[2] The figure is mutilated so much so that it has lost its two feet and the left arm above the elbow. But its high, elaborate and mitre-like headdress, with the *dhyānī-Buddha* Amitābha sheltered within it, is particularly clear; there is thus hardly any scope for doubt as to its being identical with Avalokiteśvara (Fig I) We know of another small bronze image of Avalokiteśvara at present housed in the Ananda Museum, Pagan (Fig. 2). He is standing with his right hand in *varada mudrā* and his left holding the stalk of a lotus. But the most important identification mark is the seated figure of his *dhyānī-Buddha*

[1] An R. A S India 1915-16 Duroiselle—Art of Burma and Tantrik Buddhism
[2] An Rep A S India 1911-12 Plate LXVIII Fig 6

Amitābha on the tiara of his crown with the hands one upon the other on his lap [1] Nor is Tarā, the consort or *Sakti* of Avalokiteśvara, unknown in Burma A small bronze image of the goddess has been found near Manawgon village in the Myothit Township of the Magwe district She is there seated cross legged on a lotus throne with her right hand in *varada mudrā*, and her left which is in *vitarka mudrā* holds the stem of a lotus flower She wears anklets, bracelets, armlets, necklace, earrings, and a crown Her hair is done up into a knot on the back of her head [2] Another image of Tārā (Fig 3) is now housed in the Ānanda Museum, and is easily recognisable by her attitude [3]

In 1929 Prof G H Luce of the University of Rangoon pointed out to me the existence on the walls of many of the important temples of Pagan of a large number of Talaing inscriptions in which Lokesvara (*i e*, Avalokitesvara) has often been mentioned with Maitreya [4] And his reading of the inscriptions is wonderfully corroborated by extant examples of stone in which Avalokitesvara has often been represented with his associate Maitreya as flanking the Buddha Thus at Hmawza Prome has been discovered a piece of stone sculpture in which the standing figure of Buddha is flanked by two chauri bearers These chaurī bearers may safely be identified with Bodhisattvas Avalokitesvara and Maitreya [5] Another stone sculpture found at Sudanngdyi monastery Twante also represents the Buddha standing with his right hand in *abhaya mudra* and the left in *varada mudra* and flanked by Maitreya and

[1] An R A S Burma 1916 p 3
[2] *Ibid* 1919
[3] *Ibid*, 1916 p 3
[4] Prof Luce is editing these inscriptions
[5] An R A S Burma 1919

Avalokiteśvara standing on lotuses.[1] The Mahāmuni image of Arakan, an image all in gold and of immense size, was, in all probability, an image of Bodhisattva Maitreya; for, two early Burmese histories, the *Mahārāja Vaṅ Taw Kri* (Vol. I., p. 209) and the *Pagan Rājā Vaṅ Thit* (No. 918, of Mss of the Bernard Free Library, Rangoon) assert that the image resembled that of Maitreya.[2] Maitreya (Pāli-*Metteyya*), the future Buddha, is also not infrequently mentioned in inscriptions. For example, in the Shwegugyi pagoda inscription[3] King Alaungsithu records his wish to behold Metteyya by merit of a pious act. He is also mentioned along with Lokeśvara in a number of Talaing epigraphs to which reference has already been made. In the Ānanda Museum which is a repository of a number of very important finds, there is a stone-sculpture representing the well-known figure of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī seated in *padmāsana*. He holds the sword in his right hand which he sways over his head to dispel the darkness of ignorance; the left hand which is generally represented to hold the book of knowledge pressed on the chest is mutilated. The curls of his hair is finished up with a pointed stūpa at the top.[4] The same museum shelters another interesting sculpture in which a male and a female figure are in deep mutual embrace. This evidently represents a Mahāyāna deity with his *Śakti* in the well-known *Yab-yum* position; but in the absence of

[1] An. R. A. S., Burma, 1915, p. 17. Also foot note. In a niche of the Ānanda temple, Pagan, there is a stone sculpture in which Buddha is represented flanked by Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya. Such examples are not rare.

[2] J. B. R. S., 1912, Vol. II., Part I, p. 101.

[3] *Ibid*., 1920.

[4] Ananda Museum exhibit No. v. 6, 2 ft. 6 inches height.

other attributes or distinguishing marks of identification, it is difficult to ascertain who they are [1]

II

But Bodhisattva Lokanātha seems to have been more than such incidentally known and worshipped in Burma; and images extant of him in Burma are more in number than of any other god of the same pantheon. Thus under the roofs of the Ānanda Museum, Pagan, are sheltered two bronze images of Bodhisattva Lokanātha seated on lotus thrones (Figs. 4 and 5). Their right hand is in *varada mudrā*, and the left holds in a very delicate grasp the slim stem of a lotus flower From their right and left rise up to the shoulder two stout stalks of lotus flowers in two delightful curves finishing up in florage and foliage They are richly ornamented with necklace, waistband, *karnapuras*, armlets, wristlets and anklets which are all elaborately, though not very delicately chiselled. The head is crowned with a *jatāmukuṭa* that consists of long intertwined locks of hair curling capriciously and coquettishly The iconographic peculiarities of these two images conform exactly to the *sādhanas* devoted to the Lokanātha variety of Avalokiteśvara Of the four *sādhanas*, three represent him as single and prescribe that the Bodhisattwa should have two hands which carry the lotus in the left and exhibit the *varada mudrā* in the right He may sit in three attitudes according to the three different *sādhanas*, the *lalita*, the *paryanka*, and the *ardhaparyanka* [2] At Pagan has been picked up

[1] Ananda Museum Ex No 111'93 6 inches height

[2] Bhattacharya—Buddhist Iconography, pp 38 40 These images from Burma have up till now usually been identified as Maitreya which is obviously a mistake

a bronze stele of the Buddha seated in *bhūmisparśa mudrā* on a lotus throne and flanked by two Bodhisattvas on two sides (Fig 6) The pedestal of the throne shows in relief two gazelles seated face to face flanking the *dharmacakra* which proves that the subject-matter undoubtedly refers itself to the famous incident at the Deer Park of Benares. The Buddha is shown with an aureole schematically represented in a decorative lotus design, and the round stele is finished up with flame designs at the sides, and with a vegetable design at the centre of the top The two Bodhisattvas flanking the main figure may also almost conclusively be identified as Lokanātha , for, they are similarly seated in *lalitāsana*, i e , with their right leg folded and the left hanging gracefully from the seat, and their left hand holds a lotus with a long stalk The only difference is in the attitude of the right hand which is in *abhaya mudra* , but images of Lokanātha with the right hand in *abhaya mudrā* is not at all infrequent An almost exactly similar example with the right hand similarly posed is known from Raghurāmpura, Dacca, and is now housed in the Dacca Museum

Besides the three *sādhanas* in which Lokanātha is represented alone, there is a fourth which describes him as accompanied by Tārā and Hayagriva as well as by eight other gods, four goddesses, and four guardians of the gates , in fact, the *sādhana* describes the whole *mandala* of Lokanātha The principal god who is white in colour is described to have two hands which carry the lotus in the left and exhibit the *varada* pose in the right 'He sits in the lalita attitude, to his right is Tārā, who has a peaceful appearance, exhibits the *varada mudrā* and carries the lotus To the

left is Hayagrīva who exhibits the act of bowing and carries the staff in his two hands'[1] But we already know of representations of Lokanātha that do not exactly conform to the prescribed *sādhana* Thus we know of at least two miniature paintings representing Lokanātha standing in the *ābhanga* pose, with the left hand holding the stalk of a lotus and the right in the *Varada mudrā* One of them which is inscribed as *Champūtalā Lokanatha Samatate Avasasthāne* represents Tārā standing to his right with similar attributes, and Hayagrīva to his left Two *vidyādharas* are represented in sky on the two sides of the head of Lokanātha[2] The other which is inscribed as *Champūta Lokanatha Bhattāraka* represents Tārā and Hayagriva both seated in delightful attitudes, the former with hands in prayer, and the latter with his right hand in *vyākhyāna* pose and the left holding the stalk of a lotus[3] Still we have knowledge of another inscribed miniature painting of Lokanātha in which he is represented as standing with six hands Mon Foucher describes it as follows 'Bodhisattwa white, standing, with six hands, the right hands,—(1) in charity, (2) indistinct, (3) the book, four assistants to the right—(1) kneeling with an enormous belly long beak shaped mouth, hair yellow (2) Bodhisattwa green Tārā On the left (1) red, (2) yellow with four hands (Tārā)'[4] The miniature is inscribed *Harikeladeśe Sila Lokanatha* there can, therefore, be no doubt as to the representation being identical with Lokanātha

[1] Bhattacharya—Buddhist Iconography p 38 39
[2] Cambridge Mss No Add 1643 For note and illustration see Bhattasali's Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum pl 12 13 Plate I (*a*)
[3] A S B Mss No *Ala* *For note and illustration see Ibid*, p 14 Plate II (*b*)
[4] Foucher—Iconographique Buddhique Vol I, quoted see *Ibid* p 13

We have a similar example, though not exactly like the one just noticed, represented on the left wall of the entrance vestibule of the Kyaubaukkyi temple at Myinpagan, Pagan. The painting is a large one, covering as it does, almost the whole wall, and the most important position is occupied by a huge tall figure, coloured white and standing in a delightful *ābhaṅga* pose. But, instead of six, he seems to have ten hands of which two are clasped together as if in prayer to a more important deity, in this case probably the Buddha himself who occupies the sanctum of the temple. Two hands hold long stalks of lotus flowers, and two others seem to have been in the *varada mudrā*. The poses or attributes of the remaining four hands are indistinct. On the two sides of the main figure two deities seem to kneel on the ground with folded hands ; and over the head two other figures each with three heads, but one of whitish and another of reddish brown colour, are represented as seated on *padmāsana* holding lotus stalks in their hands. It is not unlikely that the two kneeling figures in prayer represent Tārā and Hayagrīva, for they are really attendant subordinate deities. But it is difficult to identify the two figures over the head ; they may possibly be representations of two of the eight attendant gods Even then, knowing as we do, a number of varieties of Lokanātha of which we have hardly any extant representation either in stone or in colour and brush, it will not certainly be preposterous to identify tentatively the Kyaubaukkyi temple representation as one of Bodhisattva Lokanātha.

It remains to be considered from which part of Northern India the cult of Mahāyāna Buddhism to which these gods

are known to belong, came to be introduced both in Lower and Upper Burma As for Pagan in Upper Burma we have already referred to the account of Tārānātha which by itself is proof enough of the fact that Mahāyāna Buddhism with its pantheon of gods and goddesses came in the wake of Indian emigrants who during the rule of Pālas and Senas migrated from Magadha, Gauda, Samatata and other localities of the modern provinces of Bihar and Bengal But more important than this is the evidence of the sculptures, paintings and bronzes themselves In the bronze images of Lokanātha seated in *lalitasana* in the Ānanda Museum as well as in the stone sculpture of Mañjuśrī, there can be easily noticed a distinct facial and physiognomical type and a particular mode of treatment that at once affiliate themselves to a well-known school of art, namely the Eastern School of Sculptures and Bronzes, that comprised the modern provinces of Bihar and Bengal, and flourished during the rule of the Pāla and Sena dynasties Even their dress and ornaments have a close similarity with those of the numerous examples in stone and bronze of the Eastern School[1] The conclusion is all the more confirmed by a comparative study of the wall painting of the Kyaubaukkyi temple referred to above and of those of the two illustrated manuscripts of Astasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā in the Cambridge University Library (Mss Add 1643), and in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Mss A 15) respectively They are so very alike in their features and physiognomy, poses and attitudes dress and ornaments and above all,

[1] Ray—Sculptures and Bronzes of Pagan where the subject has been dealt with in detail

in their general composition and colour scheme, in the flat but soft modelling of the contours of their body, and in clear sweep of their lines, that it is impossible to resist the conclusion that not only the cult and iconography but the art tradition as well were imported from Samataṭa, Harikel and other localities of ancient Vaṅga and Gauda.[1] As for Hmawza in Lower Burma. it is sufficient to refer to Sir John Marshall's remark with regard to the steles representing Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara discovered there. He is definitely of opinion that the sculptures derive their style from the familiar Gupta tradition of Eastern India of the 7th and 8th centuries A.D.[2] It is, therefore, natural to assume that Mahāyānism in Lower Burma was also an importation from Eastern India.

[1] Cf Bhattaśāli—Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum, Plates I, Figs (*a*), (*c*), (*d*) and 11, Figs (*a*) and (*b*)
[2] An R A S Burma, 1909 10, Art 33

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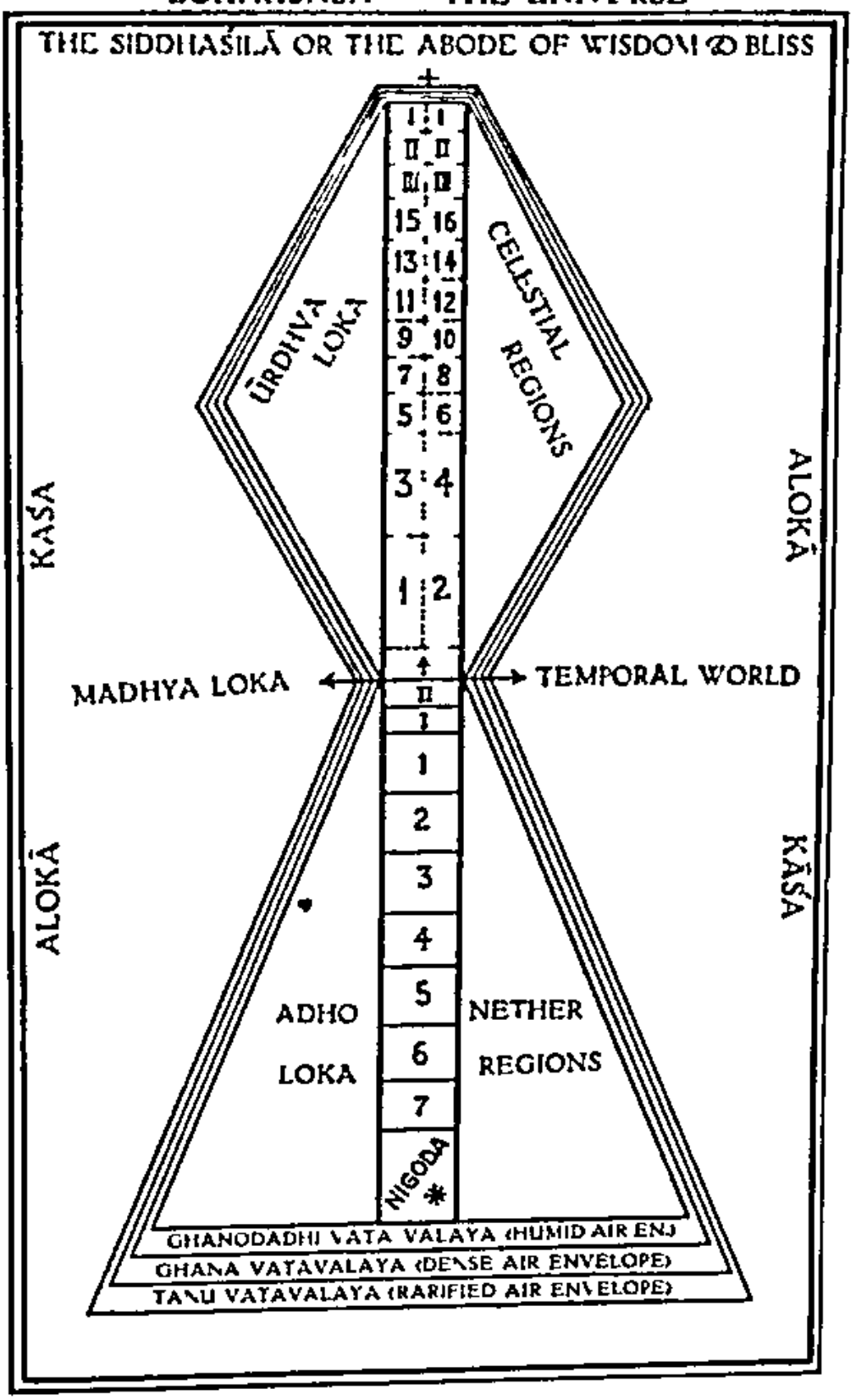




Fig. 2 Avalokiteśwara, bronze,
Ánanda Museum, Pagan





Fig. 3. Tāra, bronze,
Ánanda Museum, Pagan.



Fig 4 Lokanatha seated in *lalitasana* bronze
Ananda Museum Pagan



Fig 6 Buddha seated in *bhūmisparsa mudra* flanked b
Lokanatha seated in *lalitasana* bronze
Ananda Museum Pagan



Fig 5 Lokanatha seated in *lalitasana* bronze
Ananda Museum, Pagan